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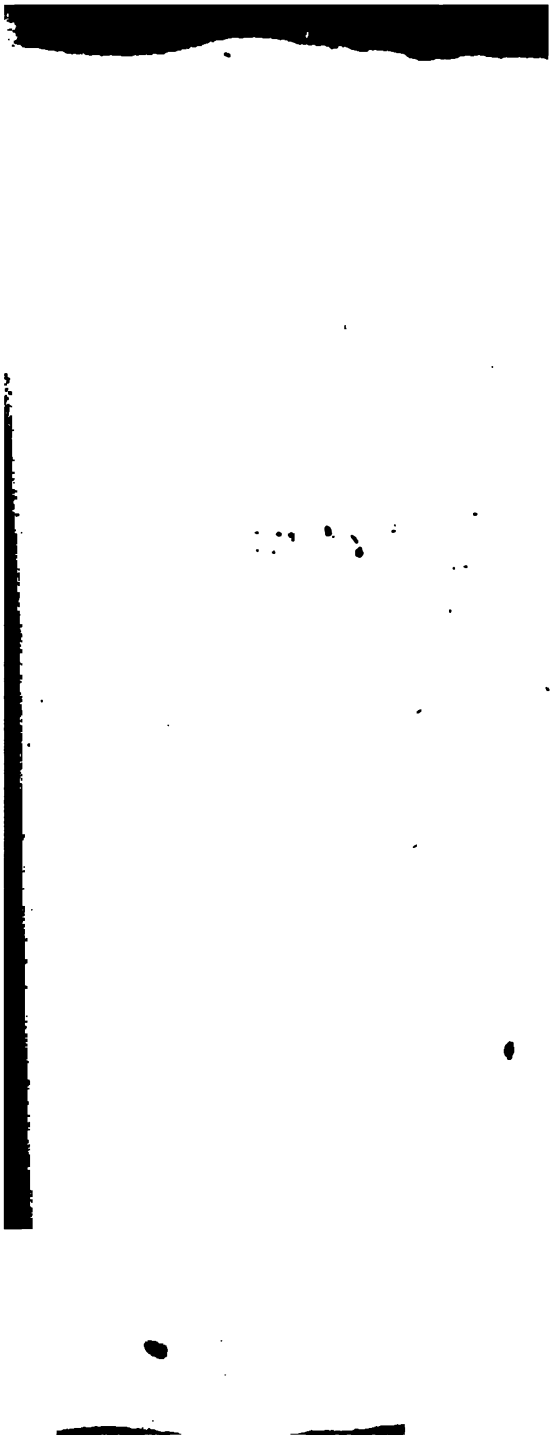

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt ACCOUNT of TIME.

VOL. XLI.

THE

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OF AN

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FROM THE

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Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

The HISTORY of AMERICA.

PENSYLVANIA.

THE family hiſtory of Mr. *Penn*, the founder of this great and flouriſhing colony, is foreign to this work. It is ſufficient to ſay, that his father was Sir *William Penn*, the famous admiral who commanded the naval armament, as colonel *Venables* did the land forces, which *Cromwell* ſent againſt *Hiſpaniola*, where, though they failed, they conquered *Jamaica*. The particulars of that expedition are to this day miſterious; but it is agreed, on all hands, that the attempt upon *Hiſpaniola* did not fail through the cowardice of either commander; and, it is certain, that the exiled family of the *Stuarts*, after the failure of the expedition, kept up a cloſe correſpondence with them both; and that *Venables* was very deeply concerned in the unſucceſsful inſurrection at *Cheſter* in their favour. *Penn* was by principle an independent; but immediately after the reſtoration, he became a reigning favourite at court with the two royal brothers. In 1665, he was appointed to command the *Engliſh* fleet under the duke of *York*; and it was univerſally thought that the laurels which his royal highneſs acquired in fighting againſt the *Dutch*, were chiefly owing to the great abilities of Sir *William Penn* as a ſeaman. *Hiſtory of Mr. Penn.* 1665.

In the mean while, Sir *William*'s ſon, *William*, was adding the advantages of a liberal education to the uncommon ſagacity he poſſeſſed from nature; but, from being an enemy, next to enthuſiaſm againſt the eſtabliſhed church of *England*, he at laſt profeſſed himſelf a quaker. While he was ſtudying at *Chriſt-Church*, *Oxford*, he and the lord *Spencer*, afterwards earl of *Sunderland*, ſo noted for the duplicity of his conduct, inſulted the ſtudents and the clergy who appeared in ſurplices, and becoming thereby obnoxious, they were by their parents ſent into foreign parts to enlarge their minds. Young *Penn*, when he was abroad, received an order from his father, on his being appointed admiral as aforeſaid, to return home; and it is probable, that, by this time, both father and ſon had digeſted within themſelves the plan of their future ſettlement. The juncture and diſpoſition of the court was extremely favourable to their wiſhes. The royal brothers wanted to ſend out of *England* as many ſectaries as they could, and thought that the government of them could not be more properly entruſted than with the *Penns*. The latter, on the other hand, could not without great grief ſee the harraſſments which thoſe of their own perſuaſion every day ſuffered in *England*; and they had before their eyes the flouriſhing examples of *New England* and *Virginia* to encourage them in their intention of making like migrations of their own ſect and their friends to *America*, where there were ſtill vaſt tracts of unappropriated land to ſettle. Sir *William* died in the weſt of *England*, and was buried in *Briſtol*; but probably left the plan of his ſettlement, in which it is ſaid he was greatly aſſiſted by a relation reſiding in *America*, with his ſon.

The young gentleman, when his father died, was ſo much immerſed in religious diſputes that he had for ſome time no leiſure to ſollicit the grant, which had actually been promiſed to his father by *Charles* II. But the perſecution againſt his ſect raging every day more and more, he obtained
1679. it in the year 1679; but was not actually inveſted with it till
1680-81. the 4th of *March*, 1680-81. The allegations of Mr. *Penn*'s petition were, a commendable deſire to enlarge the *Engliſh* empire, and promote ſuch uſeful commodities as may be of benefit thereto, as alſo to reduce the ſavage nations, by gentle and juſt manners, to the love of civil ſociety, and the Chriſtian religion. The boundaries granted by the charter
and his charter. to the ſaid *William Penn*, and his heirs were, "all that tract or part of land in *America*, with the iſlands therein contained, as the ſame is bounded on the eaſt by *Delaware* river, from twelve miles diſtance northwards of *Newcaſtle* town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the river doth

extend ſo far northward: but, if the ſaid river ſhall not extend ſo far northward, then by the ſaid river, ſo far as it doth extend; and, from the head of the ſaid river, the eaſtern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the ſaid river unto the ſaid forty-third degree. The ſaid land to extend weſtward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the ſaid eaſtern bounds; and the ſaid lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and, on the ſouth, by a circle drawn at twelve miles diſtance from *Newcaſtle* northward, and weſtward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and then, by a ſtrait line weſtwards to the limits of longitude abovementioned."

HAVING thus deſcribed the bounds laid down by this charter, it is abſolutely neceſſary for the underſtanding the hiſtory of *Penſylvania*, that we give a ſummary of the chief articles of this famous charter, which is juſtly thought to be a maſter-piece of provincial legiſlation, and was the baſis of many ſucceeding diſputes between the proprietary and the planters.

THE third ſection ſecures the true and abſolute property of the ſaid province to Mr. *Penn*, but with the ſaving of his allegiance and the ſovereignty of the *Engliſh* crown. The fourth ſection grants to him, his heirs, *&c.* full and abſolute power, for the good and happy government of the ſaid country; to ordain, make, and enact, and under his or their ſeals, to publiſh any laws whatſoever, for the raiſing of money for public uſes of the ſaid province, or, for any other end appertaining either unto the public ſtate, peace, or ſafety of the ſaid county, or unto the private utility of particular perſons, according to their beſt diſcretion; by and with the advice, aſſent, and approbation of the freemen of the ſaid country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates and deputies, to be aſſembled in ſuch ſort and form, as to him and them ſhall ſeem beſt, and as often as need ſhall require. The fifth ſection gives Mr. *Penn* a power to erect courts of judicature for the adminiſtration of the aforeſaid laws, provided they be conſonant to reaſon, and not repugnant or contrary, but (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable, to the laws and ſtatutes and rights of *England*; with a ſaving to the crown in caſe of appeals. The ſixth impowers Mr. *Penn* to make additional laws, or bye-laws, as occaſion ſhall offer (A), but ſtill agreeable to the laws of *England*; ſo as the ſaid ordi- *Contents of the ſame.*

(A) Though we only mention Mr. *Penn*, yet his heirs, executors, *&c.* are included.

nances be not extended in any ſort to bind, change, or take away the right or intereſt of any perſon or perſons for, or in, their life, members, freehold, goods, or chattels.

By the ſeventh ſection it is provided that a tranſcript or duplicate of all laws, ſo made and publiſhed as aforeſaid, ſhall, within five years after the making thereof, be tranſmitted and delivered to the privy council for the time being; and, if declared by the king in council inconſiſtent with the ſovereignty or lawful prerogative of the crown, or contrary to the faith and allegiance due to the legal government of this realm, ſhall be adjudged void. The eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth ſections contain little, but what is in common to other proprietary governments. By the fourteenth ſection Mr. *Penn* is obliged to have an attorney or agent to be his reſident-repreſentative, at ſome known place in *London*, who is to be anſwerable to the crown for any miſdeameanor committed, or wilful default, or neglect permitted by the ſaid *Penn* againſt the laws of trade and navigation; and to defray the damages in his majeſty's courts aſcertained; and, in caſe of failure, the government to be reſumed and retained till payment has been made; without any prejudice, however, in any reſpect to the landholders or inhabitants, who are not to be affected or moleſted thereby. The ſections fourteenth, fifteenth, ſixteenth, ſeventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, contain nothing particular. By the twentieth ſection, his majeſty covenants and grants to and with the ſaid *William Penn*, for himſelf, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, at no time thereafter to impoſe or levy any tax on the inhabitants in any ſhape, unleſs the ſame be with the conſent of the proprietary, or chief governor, or aſſembly, or by act of parliament in *England*.

By the twenty-firſt ſection, his majeſty, on pain of his higheſt diſpleaſure, commands all his officers and miniſters, that they do not preſume at any time to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premiſes, or that they do in any ſort withſtand the ſame: and, on the contrary, injoins them to be at all time, aiding and aſſiſting, as was fitting, to the ſaid *William Penn*, and his heirs, and unto the inhabitants and merchants of the province aforeſaid, their ſervants, miniſters, factors, and aſſigns, in the full uſe and fruition of the benefit of the ſaid charter. By the twenty-third and laſt ſection, a proviſion is made, by the king's ſpecial will, ordinance, and command, that, in caſe any doubt or queſtion ſhould hereafter perchance ariſe concerning the true ſenſe or meaning of any word, clauſe, or ſentence contained therein, ſuch interpretation ſhould be made thereof, and allowed in any of his

his majeſty's courts, as ſhould be adjudged moſt advantageous and favourable to the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs, and aſſigns; provided always, that no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due to the crown, may ſuffer any prejudice or dimunition.

His conceſſions to the adventurers.

It is an hiſtorical phenomenon, that ſo excellent a ſet of conſtitutions took their riſe from an arbitrary court, and a bigotted prince; for, it appeared that all the tract of land, now called *Penſylvania*, had been previouſly granted to the duke of *York* by his brother king *Charles*, and was by him regranted in 1682, by deeds of feoffment, to Mr. *Penn*. During the dependency of the charter, Mr. *Penn* had been buſied in collecting adventurers for peopling his new province, in which he found no great difficulty; and, in virtue of the ſixth ſection of his charter, he paſſed his firſt deed of ſettlement, under the title of "Certain conditions, or conceſſions, agreed upon by *William Penn*, proprietary and governor of *Penſylvania*, and thoſe who are the adventurers and purchaſers in the ſame province." But there is nothing particular in this deed, as it contains only the rules of ſettlement, and trade with the *Indians*, with ſome general proviſions for the peace of the colony. Next year, Mr. *Penn* publiſhed a ſyſtem of government, under the following title: "The frame of the government of the province of *Penſylvania* in *America:* together with certain laws agreed upon in *England*, by the governor and divers freemen of the aforeſaid province. To be farther explained and confirmed there, by the firſt provincial council, if they ſee meet." The introduction to this celebrated piece is perhaps the moſt extraordinary compound that ever was publiſhed of enthuſiaſm, ſound policy, and good-ſenſe, and the author tells us, that it was adapted "to the great end of all government, *viz.* to ſupport power in reverence with the people, and to ſecure the people from the abuſe of power." By this frame, which conſiſted of twenty-four articles, the provincial council, which was ordered by rotation, and the general aſſembly, were to be the great ſources of the government. The number of the provincial council was to be ſeventy-two, and the governor, or his deputy, were to preſide in it, with a treble vote. The members were to be choſen by the freemen. One third of them was, at the firſt, to be choſen for three years, one third for two years, and one third for one year; in ſuch manner, that there ſhould be an annual ſucceſſion of twenty-four new members. The buſineſs of this provincial council lay in the executive part of the government, in preparing, and propoſing to the general aſſembly, all bills, which they ſhall, at any time, think

1682.

fit to be paſſed into laws, within the ſaid province; which bills ſhall be publiſhed and affixed to the moſt noted places in the inhabited parts thereof, thirty days before the meeting of the general aſſembly, in order to the paſſing them into laws, as the general aſſembly ſhall ſee meet. As to the general aſſembly, it was, at firſt, to conſiſt of all the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and it was never to exceed five hundred. Beſides thoſe acts and conſtitutions, a ſet of laws were agreed upon in *England*, in the nature of an original compact, between the proprietary and the freemen, partly moral, partly political, and partly œconomical. Some of them are of a very extraordinary kind, and met with great oppoſition; particularly that, by which the planters, beſides paying the purchaſe money, were obliged to pay a quit-rent of one penny an acre to the proprietary, for the ſupport of his dignity as governor. The third law provides, that all elections of members or repreſentatives to ſerve in the provincial council or general aſſembly ſhould be free; and that the elector, who ſhould receive any reward or gift, in meat, drink, money, or otherwiſe, ſhould forfeit his right to elect. The reſt of thoſe laws are very moderate and plauſible, and formed upon the moſt perfect plan of regulated freedom. Beſides thoſe laws, certain conditions were agreed upon between the proprietary and the adventurers, concerning the diviſions and laying out of the province and territory; for the reader is to obſerve, that the province of *Penſylvania* was bounded, as we have ſeen; but its territory comprehended other lands granted to Mr. *Penn* by the duke of *York*, and the lands which he purchaſed from the *Indians*, and likewiſe ſome part of *Nova Belgia*, which he purchaſed from lord *Berkley* and the heirs of Sir *George Carteret* for 4000 *l.* the poſſeſſion of which was likewiſe confirmed to him by a patent.

Government of the province.

Its ſettlement.

THE number of original inhabitants, which Mr. *Penn* carried over in 1681, are ſaid to have been about 2000, moſt of them nonconformiſts, collected at *London*, *Briſtol*, and *Liverpool*; but, beſides thoſe, a conſiderable number of adventurers were already ſettled, both in the province and the territory, and he had ſent before him a great number of artificers to prepare materials for building houſes, and directing other conveniences for the colony. It is certain, that the noble plan of government laid down for this infant colony in *England* was every way ſo unexceptionable, and ſo well calculated for all the purpoſes of civil and religious liberty, that great numbers had embraced it, in firm reliance, that it would be punctually executed. Mr. *Penn* had formed himſelf greatly upon *Harrington's* principles, as the reader may ſee by his ſcheme

ſcheme of rotation, and had been aſſiſted in drawing up his laws and conſtitutions by Sir *William Jones*, an eminent *Engliſh* lawyer of the ſame ſtamp; but, upon his arrival in *America*, he found, or pretended to find, ſome reaſons for altering the frame of his government, and for uniting the province with the territory, or, as it is called, the three lower counties, granted him by the duke of *York*. In the laſt ſcheme he ſucceeded, and brought the people of the province to unite with thoſe of the territory in legiſlation and government; but it was not till the year 1683, that he introduced another charter.

Its new conſtitution.

IN *December*, 1682, the freemen of the province and territory were convened at a place called *Cheſter*; but here the inſufficiency of the original charter appeared; for, after the counties had returned twelve perſons as members of the provincial council, they inſiſted, becauſe of the fewneſs of their numbers, and their inexperience in matters of government, that, of thoſe twelve, three might ſerve as members of the provincial council, and the remaining nine as aſſemblymen, with the ſame powers and privileges that were granted by the charter or frame of government to the whole. This requeſt, if not dictated by the proprietary, was extremely conſonant to his views. The original charter was conſidered as being impracticable, and no more than as a probationary law that was alterable, and to be ſubmitted to the explanation and confirmation of the firſt provincial council and general aſſembly that was to be held in the province. Therefore the model, as propoſed by the petitioners, or remonſtrants, was admitted by a new act of ſettlement, made the 25th of *February*, 1682-3. At the ſame time, an act was paſſed for uniting the province and territory, by which all the benefits and advantages, before granted to the provincials, were to be in common to the inhabitants of the territory, as to them; and both, from that time, were to be conſidered as one people under one and the ſame government. This conſtitution, however, was liable to great objections, unleſs it could be proved that the ſame proprietary and provincial powers, that had been granted by the original royal charter to the province, and under which the adventurers had embarked, were legally communicated to the territory, and to Mr. *Penn* as being proprietary of the ſame.

1682-3.

Mr. Penn goes to England.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the people, both of the province and territory, ſeemed to be extremely well contented under his government; but, a territorial diſpute happening between him and lord *Baltimore*, the proprietary of *Maryland*, Mr. *Penn* made uſe of that as a pretext to return to *England*,

and to leave the government under the direction of five commiſſioners of ſtate, taken out of the provincial council, and who, as we apprehend, were to repreſent his perſon, the remainder of that council, and the general aſſembly. The conduct of Mr. *Penn*, after he arrived in *England*, and his cloſe connexions with king *James*, gave riſe to various ſurmiſes; and it has been confidently aſſerted that, under the maſk of a quaker, he was a concealed jeſuit. This imputation appears to be groundleſs; for it may be with equal propriety ſaid, that his majeſty was a quaker, becauſe neither of them had the leaſt concern about any matters of religion without the pale of his own profeſſion. Mr. *Penn's* attachment to king *James*, therefore, was the very ſame, that it would have been to a prince of any other denomination of Chriſtians. It is, however, certain, that, after the revolution, his perſonal gratitude to that unhappy monarch carried him to ſuch lengths, that he was conſidered as an inveterate enemy to the proteſtant eſtabliſhment, and, on that account, was ſometimes excepted out of the proclamations and acts of grace publiſhed by king *William* and queen *Mary*. Captain *Blackwell*, during Mr. *Penn's* abſence in *England*, adminiſtered the affairs of the infant colony, and one *John White* was ſpeaker of the aſſembly. An attempt was at this time made to diſſolve the late charter, but it failed; and one *Moor* was complained of by the aſſembly to the proprietary, as being a buſy meddling fellow. The complaint was ſigned by *White*, who, it ſeems, thereby became obnoxious to *Blackwell* and the proprietary, who had done all they could to divide the freemen of the colony, but without effect.

Grievances of the province.

THE aſſembly inſiſted upon a diſcuſſion of their grievances, and upon a conference on that ſubject with the council, which, upon various pretexts, was evaded. This threw the aſſembly into a flame, and occaſioned their entering not only a kind of proteſt in their minutes againſt ſo flagrant a partiality, but to come to the following reſolution, *viz.* "That no perſon who is commiſſionated or appointed by the governor to receive the governor's fines, forfeitures, or revenues, whatſoever, ſhall ſit in judgment in any court of judicature, within this government, in any matter or cauſe whatſoever, where a fine or forfeiture ſhall or may accrue to the governor." In the mean time, the deputy-governor and the provincial council gave the aſſembly a meeting, and he informed them, that the proprietary had given poſitive directions for letting all the laws, excepting the fundamentals, drop or fall; and, afterwards, for calling together the legiſlative authority, to reviſe ſome of them, or to paſs others,

as

as they ſhould think proper. The deputy-governor then complained of the great abuſes into which the government had run, the diſſention among the members of the provincial council, the uncertain ſtate of affairs in *England*, and the doubtful condition in which Mr. *Penn*'s own right as proprietary ſtood, the revolution having then but juſt taken place. *Blackwell*, at the ſame time, inſiſted that Mr. *Penn* was authoriſed by himſelf, and with conſent of the freemen, to make laws, and under his ſeal to publiſh them.

Difference between the aſſembly and the deputy-governor.

THE aſſembly, looking upon the whole of the deputy-governor's ſpeech and conduct to be an invaſion of their rights and privileges, ſteadily oppoſed them, and contended that the laws which they had made could not be dropt, and that they were in full force, unleſs declared void by the king under his privy-ſeal. So violent an oppoſition obliged the deputy-governor to have recourſe to other methods; and he prevailed with ſome of the members to abſent themſelves from the houſe, in order to introduce a nullity in its proceedings. This drew from the aſſembly a ſevere remonſtrance, which they preſented to the deputy-governor, beſides their voting ſuch withdrawing to be treacherous. Nothing but the great innate ſagacity of Mr. *Penn* could, at this time, have prevented the ruin of his intereſt both in *England* and *America*. After obtaining his patent, he had been indefatigable in procuring ſettlers for his colony; and, to render his poſſeſſion unqueſtionable, he bought from the natives all the lands they choſe to part with. The *Dutch*, before this time, had been ſettled at *New York*, and upon the freſhes of *Delaware* river; but were often interrupted in their poſſeſſion by the *Swedes*, ſo that frequent bickerings happened between the governors of the two nations, who were rivals in trade. The *Dutch*, however, prevailed, and drove the *Swedes* from their poſſeſſions, in the ſame manner as the *Swedes* did them, and great part of them fell to the ſhare of Mr. *Penn*, to the vaſt emolument of his colony. After this, every day added to the population and trade of *Penſylvania*; and the tranſporting of emigrants, from the weſt of *England* thither, became a conſiderable branch of commerce. The town of *Philadelphia* was now laid out, and a company, conſiſting of Mr. *James Claypool*, Mr. *Nicholas Moor*, and Mr. *Philip Ford*, bought 20,000 acres of Mr. *Penn*'s propriety; and ſet up a tannery, a ſaw-mill, a glaſs-houſe, and a whalery. The conditions of the ſale were, that the buyers paid 20 *l.* for 1000 acres, but ſtill the quit-rent was reſerved; but ſince that time, it is ſaid, that land there has been commonly ſold for above twenty years purchaſe, and reckoning 20 *s.* an acre.

THE

The colony flouriſhes.

THE flouriſhing ſtate of the colony ſoon enhanced to the proprietary, the price of *Indian* lands, which were purchaſed, not by the acre, but the mile. Mr. *Penn*, however, ſtill continued to purchaſe, and found his benefit from the tranquility of his poſſeſſion, in paying the advanced price. The *Indians*, on the other hand, came into new life, and by the vaſt profits they made of their peltry trade, they ſoon accommodated themſelves with the utenſils and conveniencies of the *Engliſh* peaſantry. This new manner of living kept them entirely quiet; and the mild adminiſtration of the proprietary himſelf reconciled to his government the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*, who were as numerous there as the *Engliſh* themſelves. All the rubs, therefore, that Mr. *Penn* met with in his adminiſtration were entirely owing to the circumſtances of his affairs, which, after the revolution, detained him at the court of *England*, where, as we have already obſerved, he was looked upon with a very ſuſpicious eye. This was no ſecret to the *Penſylvanians*, and encouraged them in the oppoſition they made to his deputy, who was a republican, and had been paymaſter to the parliament's army. The powers, however, that had been granted by the two royal brothers to Mr. *Penn*, were after the revolution thought to be derogatory to the royal authority; and, it is more than probable, that Mr. *Penn* compromiſed matters with the then government, by conſenting to receive a governor for his colony from king *William* and queen *Mary:* and colonel *Fletcher* was by the ſame commiſſion appointed governor both of *New-York* and *Penſylvania*.

Colonel Fletcher *appointed governor by the crown.*

THIS was a pretty extraordinary tranſaction; for in *Fletcher*'s commiſſion no manner of regard ſeems to have been had to the original charter; and queen *Mary* ſent over an order, counterſigned by the earl of *Nottingham*, then ſecretary of ſtate, requiring him, as governor of *Penſylvania*, without any mention of the freemen of the colony, to ſend aid and aſſiſtance, in men or otherwiſe, to the colony of *New York* againſt the *French* and *Indians*. In ſhort, it appears, as if the whole original conſtitution of the colony had been now diſſolved. Inſtead of ſix members, for each of the ſix counties before mentioned, thoſe of *Philadelphia* and *Newcaſtle* were reduced to four each, and the reſt to three, ſo that ſixteen members were ſtruck off at once. Upon the meeting of this new aſſembly, the governor laid before them his commiſſion, and her majeſty's letter; but the members were far from being ſo paſſive as he imagined. They paſſed a vote, *nem. con.* "That the laws of this province, that were in force and practice before the arrival of this preſent governor, are

re ſtill in force: and that the aſſembly have a right humbly o move the governor for a continuation or confirmation of he ſame." This vote was preſented in an addreſs to the go- ernor, in which they intimated that their majeſties had ap- ointed him to be their governor, on account of the abſence f the proprietary, as if the proprietary's right in appointing a governor had ſtill ſubſiſted. Mr. *Fletcher* did not ſuffer the aſſembly to continue long under this deluſion; "The ab- ſence, ſaid he, of the proprietary is the leaſt cauſe mentioned n their majeſties letters patent, for their majeſties aſſerting heir undoubted right of governing their ſubjects in this pro- ince. There are reaſons of greater moment: as the ne- lects and miſcarriages in the late adminiſtration; the want f neceſſary defence againſt the enemy; the danger of being ft from the crown.——The conſtitution of their majeſties overnment and that of Mr. *Penn* are in direct oppoſition ne to the other: if you will be tenacious in ſtickling for this, is a plain demonſtration, uſe what words you pleaſe, that, deed, you decline the other."

Supersedes the proprietary right.

WHATEVER objections could be made to Mr. *Penn's* ant, or to the conſtitution of his colony, it is certain, that is language of *Fletcher's* was intemperate, and derogatory the rights of the freemen, who, thereupon, preſented a monſtrance, in which they ſaid, "that, as to ſuperſeding the oprietary's government, they apprehended the reaſons were unded upon miſinformations; for the courts of juſtice, con- nued they, were open in all counties in this government, d juſtice duly executed, from the higheſt crimes of treaſon d murder, to the determining the loweſt differences about operty, before the date or the arrival of the governor's com- iſſion. Neither do we apprehend, that the province was danger of being loſt from the crown, although the go- rnment was in the hands of ſome whoſe principles are not r war. And we conceive, that the preſent governancy hath direct oppoſition (with reſpect to the king's government re in general) to our proprietary's, *William Penn*, though e exerciſe of thy authority, at preſent, ſuperſedes that of r ſaid proprietary. Nevertheleſs, we readily own thee r our lawful governor, ſaving to ourſelves, and thoſe whom e repreſent, our and their juſt rights and privileges."

His differences with the aſſembly.

THIS ſhrewd remonſtrance introduced a demand of having eir laws, which they ſent up by ten of their own number, ccepted and ratified by the governor. After an obſtinate ſpute, they carried their point ſo far, that Mr. *Fletcher* ſent a meſſage by two of the council to aſſure the houſe, in is name, of his confirmation of all the ſaid laws (excepting one

one relating to ſhipwrecks) during the king's pleaſure." The aſſembly voted the governor thanks for this meſſage; but, at the ſame time, they ſent a meſſage to the governor, ſignifying "that aggrievances ought to be redreſſed, before any bill of ſupply ought to paſs." This meſſage was attended by a petition of right, claiming and deſiring the uſe and benefit of two hundred and three laws, therein ſpecified, as in all reſpect conſonant to their charter, and none of them annulled by the crown in conſequence of the power reſerved to the ſovereign. This warm manner of proceeding drew from the gover an implied menace, that he ſaw nothing would do but an annexation to *New York*; and this prevailed with the aſſembly to grant the ſupply. They had, however, the ſpirit to reſolve, *nem con.* "that all bills ſent to the governor and council, in order to be amended, ought to be returned to this houſe, to have their farther approbation upon ſuch amendments, before they can have their final aſſent to paſs into laws." Though it was now plain, that the charter Mr. *Penn* had obtained for his colony was no longer regarded by the government of *England*, yet a committee of the aſſembly had the courage to enter upon the aſſembly's books, the following proteſt: "We, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, repreſentatives of the freemen of this province in aſſembly, do declare, it is the undoubted right of this houſe to receive back from the governor and council all ſuch bills as are ſent up for their approbation or amendments: and that it is as neceſſary to know the amendments, and debate the ſame, as the body of the bills: and that the denial of that right is deſtructive to the freedom of making laws. And we alſo declare it is the right of the aſſembly, that, before any bill for ſupplies be preſented for the laſt ſanction of a law, aggrievances ought to be redreſſed. Therefore, we, with proteſtation, (ſaving our juſt rights in aſſembly) do declare, that the aſſent of ſuch of us, as were for ſending up the bill this morning, was merely in conſideration of the governor's ſpeedy departure, but that it ſhould not be drawn into example or precedent for the future."

Goes to New York.

AFTER this, *Fletcher* ſet out for *New York*, without giving his ſanction to the laws required; and, by the total rejection of *Penn*'s charter, it was generally concluded that the crown had got a complete victory over the proprietary right. Next year, *Markham*, the lieutenant-governor, iſſued writs for an aſſembly, which accordingly met; but, when they began to talk of redreſſing grievances, an order was produced from *Fletcher* for their adjournment, in order to ſuperſede their farther proceedings. Notwithſtanding this, they appointed a committee

of

of grievances, and entered their complaints againſt the arbitrary conduct of the governor, aſſerting their own right to adjourn themſelves; that their caſes, legally determined by juries, ſhould not be voided by determinations in equity; and that the money which had been voted ſhould be regularly and duly applied, together with many other grievances, which they inſiſted ſhould be redreſſed. The ſtate of affairs in *England*, at this time, did not admit of *Fletcher*'s acting ſtrictly up to the tenor of his inſtructions; and, Mr. *Penn*, who continued ſtill in *England*, had found means to mollify the adminiſtration there in his behalf. Upon *Fletcher*'s return from *New York*, he met the *Penſylvanian* aſſembly with more than uſual complacency; but laid before them the danger they were in of their *Indians* joining in the rebellion of the five *Indian* nations, which had always depended upon *England*, but were then confederated with the *French*. His ſpeech, on this occaſion, ended in the following remarkable manner; "Gentlemen, I conſider your principles, that you will not carry arms, nor levy money to make war, though for your own defence; yet I hope you will not refuſe to feed the hungry and cloath the naked: my meaning is to ſupply thoſe *Indian* nations with ſuch neceſſaries as may influence them to a continuance of their friendſhip to theſe provinces. —And now, gentlemen, if you will conſider, wherein I may be uſeful to you, according to the tenor of my commiſſion, in redreſſing your grievances, if you have any, you ſhall find me ready to act by the rules of loyalty, with a true regard to liberty and property."

THOSE ſoothing expreſſions did not divert the aſſembly from their main purpoſe; and having paſſed a money-bill, they inſiſted upon their right of naming collectors for the ſame, and appropriating it to the purpoſes for which it had been voted. In this demand, they continued ſo obſtinate, that the governor thought proper to diſſolve them. All this while, the aſſembly had never thought fit to give any anſwer to the *Engliſh* government concerning the queen's letter, by which they were required to aſſiſt the province of *New York*. When the next aſſembly ſate, the ſame refractorineſs, on their part, continued; and they were again diſſolved. In 1696, Mr. *Penn* had managed matters ſo well for himſelf, at the court of *England*, that he was reſtored to his right of naming a governor; and he accordingly nominated Mr. *Markham*, who was his nephew, and had been his ſecretary. The new governor, as deputy to the proprietary, ſummoned the aſſembly, and recommended to them *Fletcher*'s late requeſt of ſuccouring the *Indians* of *New York*, whoſe corn and proviſions had

Mr. Penn's right reſtored.

had been deſtroyed by the *French*. The aſſembly readily agreed to do this, provided the governor would ſettle them in their former conſtitutions, as they ſtood before *Fletcher's* adminiſtration. This requeſt, before the aſſembly thought proper to grant the *Indian* charity, produced a joint committee of the council and the aſſembly, who drew up the following expedient. "That the governor, at the requeſt of the aſſembly, would be pleaſed to paſs an act with a ſalvo to the proprietary and people; and that he would alſo iſſue out his writs for chuſing a full number of repreſentatives, on the 10th of *March* next enſuing, to ſerve in provincial council and aſſembly, according to charter, until the proprietary's pleaſure ſhould be known therein; and that, if the proprietary ſhould diſapprove the ſame, that then the ſaid act ſhould be void, and no ways prejudical to him or the people, in relation to the validity or invalidity of the ſaid charter."

THIS expedient was unanimouſly approved of by the houſe, and a ſum of money was immediately raiſed for the ſupport of the government, and the relief of the poor *Indians*. In the act of ſettlement, propoſed by the expedient, the rotation principle was entirely ſet aſide, and it was reſolved that the elections, both for the council and aſſembly, ſhould be annual and ſtated. The members of the council for each county were to be two, and thoſe for the aſſembly four; with proper qualifications as to fortune and reſidency. The governor or his deputy was to preſide in the council; but no act of government was to be valid without the concurrence of the council, or a majority of it[a]. That two thirds were to be a *quorum* in the upper walk of buſineſs, and one third in the lower; that the aſſembly ſhould have power to propoſe bills, as well as the council: that both might confer on ſuch terms as either of them ſhould propoſe: that ſuch as the governor in council gave his conſent to, ſhould be laws: that the ſtile of thoſe laws ſhould be, By the governor, with the aſſent and the approbation of the freemen, in general aſſembly met: that duplicates thereof ſhould be tranſmitted to the king's council, according to the late king's patent: that the aſſembly ſhould ſit on their own adjournments and committees, and continue to prepare and propoſe bills, redreſs grievances, and impeach criminals, till diſmiſſed by the governor and council; and to remain during the year liable to ſerve upon his and their ſummons: ſhould be allowed wages and traveling charges: two thirds to make a *quorum*: all queſtions to

New plan of government.

[a] Vide Hiſtorical Review of the Conſtitution and Government of Penſylvania, p. 35.

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be decided by a majority: affirmations to be admitted in all courts, inſtead of oaths, where required: all perſons in poſſeſſion of lands, by purchaſe or otherwiſe, ſo to continue: ſheriffs and their ſubſtitutes to give ſecurity for office-behaviour: elections were to be free, regular, and incorrupt: no member being permitted to ſerve without wages, or for leſs wages than by this act appointed: neither the form or effect of this act was to be diminiſhed or altered, in any part or clauſe thereof, contrary to the true intent or meaning thereof, without the conſent of the governor, and ſix parts in ſeven of the freemen in council and aſſembly met: it was to continue and be in force, till the proprietary ſhould, by ſome inſtrument under his hand and ſeal, ſignify his pleaſure to the contrary: and it was provided, that neither this act nor any other ſhould preclude or debar the inhabitants of this province and territories from claiming, having, and enjoying, any of the rights, privileges and immunities, which the ſaid proprietary for himſelf, his heirs and aſſigns, did formerly grant, or which of right did belong, unto them the ſaid inhabitants, by virtue of any law, charter, or grant whatſoever, any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding."

SUCH was the new ſettlement of *Penſylvania*; but though governor *Fletcher* repeated his applications for aid and aſſiſtance to the colony of *New York* againſt the *French* and their *Indians*, he could obtain none; and thus ſtood affairs in the province, when in the beginning of the year 1700, the proprietary Mr. *Penn* came over in perſon. He immediately convened the aſſembly, and laid before them the great diſrepute which the colony had incurred in *England*, on account of their piratical practices, and illicit trade; requiring them to proceed vigorouſly againſt both. Thoſe matters were referred to proper committees; and a ſon-in-law of the late governor *Markham*, being found the moſt culpable as to piratical practices, was committed, and obliged to give bail for his appearance. As to the charge of illicit trade, the aſſembly diſclaimed it, and effectually juſtified themſelves. After this, ſome farther regulations with regard to the next aſſembly being appointed, particularly that three members of the council ſhould be choſen in every county, and ſix for the aſſembly, they ſeparated. The next aſſembly proved to be very numerous, and they prolonged their ſeſſion beyond the time limited by their charter, which probably was occaſioned by a new plan of government that was under their deliberation.

1700. *Mr. Penn returns to the province.*

The truth is, Mr. *Penn*'s notions of government were in ſome reſpects too refined to be practicable, and were perpetually fluctuating. The next aſſembly conſiſted only of twenty-

twenty-four members, that is four for each county; and inſtead of *Philadelphia*, they met at *Newcaſtle*. The governor informed them of the defects of their conſtitution, and demanded a ſupply for the ſupport of his government. Thoſe matters, eſpecially the union between the province and the territory, created prodigious debates, and threatened an immediate ſeparation; but, at laſt, the debate was referred to a future aſſembly. The ſettlement of the property was ſecured by a bill for the effectual eſtabliſhment and confirmation of the freeholders of both parts of the united colony, and a liberal ſupply was granted. The aſſembly met again the following *Auguſt* at *Philadelphia*, and a letter from his majeſty, requiring a ſum of money for raiſing fortifications on the frontiers of *New York*, was laid before them, but no regard was paid to it, under pretence that the province was exhauſted by their former grants. In *September*, 1701, Mr. *Penn* convened another aſſembly, and informed them of the indiſpenſible neceſſity he was under to go to *England*, to obviate ſome ill offices done by his and their enemies with the government there; but offered to do every thing that was in his power to ſecure them in their privileges and properties. The aſſembly, in their anſwer, expreſſed great diſſatisfaction to the ſtate of both, and required ſome farther ſecurity; to which the proprietary gave evaſive anſwers, but offered to leave the nomination of the deputy-governor, who was to act in his abſence, to themſelves: but they declined that honour, and went upon a new charter of privileges.

1701. *and from thence to* England.

THIS introduced a breach between the members of the province, and thoſe of the territory; the latter inſiſting upon ſome particular privileges, which, when they were refuſed them by the others, made them withdraw from the meeting, and it required all the authority and addreſs of the proprietary to make up the breach. At laſt, after great heart-burnings on both parts, juſt when Mr. *Penn* was about to embark, a charter of privileges was preſented to him, and, being ratified by him, is now the rule of government in *Penſylvania*. By this important charter, liberty of conſcience is granted; and, all chriſtians, taking the proper oath of allegiance and fidelity, whatever denomination they were of, were enabled to ſerve the government, either legiſlatively or executively. By the ſecond article, it is provided that an aſſembly ſhould be yearly choſen by the freemen, to conſiſt of four perſons out of each county, of moſt note for virtue, wiſdom, and ability, or of a greater number, if the governor and aſſembly ſhould ſo agree, upon the 1ſt of *October* for ever, and ſhould ſit on the 14th following, with power to chuſe a ſpeaker and

A new charter.

3. other

other their officers, to be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members, ſit upon their own adjournments, appoint committees, prepare bills, impeach criminals, and redreſs grievances, with all other powers and privileges of an aſſembly, according to the rights of the free-born ſubjects of *England*, and the cuſtoms obſerved in any of the king's plantations in *America*. If any county or counties ſhould neglect to ſend deputies, thoſe who met, provided they were not fewer in number than two thirds of the whole, were to be conſidered as the legal repreſentative of the province. *Contents of his laſt charter.*

THE freemen of each county were to pitch upon three men, whoſe names they were to preſent to the governor, to ſerve the offices of ſheriff and coroner, and he was to pitch upon one with the proviſions as uſual in ſuch caſes. The fourth article provided, that the laws of this government ſhall be in this ſtile, *viz.* By the governor, with the conſent and approbation of the freemen in general aſſembly met. The fifth article provides that all criminals ſhall have the ſame privileges of witneſſes and council as their proſecutors. By the ſixth article, all matters of complaint relating to property were to be anſwered before the governor and council only, in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, unleſs appeals thereunto ſhall be thereafter by law appointed. By the ſeventh article, the governor was to grant no licence for any public houſe, without a recommendation from the juſtices of the county, who, in caſe of miſbehaviour, were empowered to ſhut it up, or otherwiſe puniſh according to law. By the eighth article, in caſes of ſuicide, all property was to deſcend to the next heirs, as if the deceaſed had died a natural death; nor was the governor to be intitled to any forfeiture, if a perſon ſhould be killed by caſualty or accident. The ſame article provides, that no act, law, or ordinance whatſoever, ſhould at any time hereafter be made or done to alter, change, or diminiſh the form or effect of this charter, or of any part or clauſe therein, according to the true intent and meaning hereof, without the conſent of the governor for the time being, and ſix parts in ſeven of the aſſembly met: and that the firſt article, relating to liberty of conſcience, ſhould be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably for ever: That the ſaid *William Penn*, for himſelf, his heirs and aſſigns, did thereby ſolemnly declare, grant, and confirm, that neither he, his heirs or aſſigns, ſhould procure or do any thing or things whereby the liberties, in this charter contained and expreſſed, nor any part thereof, ſhould be infringed or broken; and, that if any thing ſhould be procured and

done by any perſon or perſons contrary thereto, it ſhould be held of no force or effect.

Hamilton *governor.*

THIS new conſtitution differed greatly from the original. The governor might nominate his own council, and he was left ſingle in the executive part of the government, and had liberty to reſtrain the legiſlative, by refuſing his aſſent to their bills. The aſſembly, on the other hand, acquired the important privilege of propounding laws, as well as of amending or rejecting them; but though this new conſtitution was thankfully accepted of by the province, it was unanimouſly rejected by the territory; and affairs ſtood in this untowardly ſtate, when Mr. *Penn* ſailed for *England*, after having named *Andrew Hamilton*, Eſq; to act as his deputy in his abſence. Mr. *Hamilton*'s great endeavour, during his adminiſtration, was to bring about an union between the province and the territory, but, that being found impracticable, the province met in conſequence of their new charter, and came to a reſolution confirming their own powers. In the mean while, Mr. *Hamilton* died, and was ſucceeded in his adminiſtration by *John Evans*, Eſq;

1704.

Succeeded by Evans, *who breaks with the aſſembly.*

THIS gentleman, ſoon after his arrival, affected to be ſurprized that the repreſentatives of the province, and thoſe of the territory, acted as two diſtinct bodies, and adviſed them to unite; intimating, at the ſame time, that, if they did not, neither of them would be in a condition to act at all. The provincials threw the blame of the diſunion upon the territory people, who, at laſt, offered to receive the charter, and to co-operate with the provincials, who now declined the propoſal, to the great diſguſt of the new governor. The aſſembly, after this, paſſed a bill for confirming their charter, but it was ſent back to them with amendments, which they voted were deſtructive to their conſtitution. This vote was followed by reſolutions and addreſſes, which widened the breach between the governor and the aſſembly, and the latter reſolved, that to admit of the power of diſſolution, or prorogation in the governor, will manifeſtly deſtroy or fruſtrate the elections, ſettled by the charter, which is as a perpetual writ, ſupported by the legiſlative authority of this government, and will make way for elections by writs, grounded upon a prerogative, or rather a pre-eminence, which the proprietary and his deputy are by charter debarred to reſume. The governor, in his anſwer, denied that the proprietary by the late charter had granted away that power, and refuſed to comply with the aſſembly till he could obtain inſtructions from *England*; but, in the mean time, he recommended them to diſpatch the other buſineſs that was before them, which the

exigencies of the government neceſſarily required. The aſſembly, in their rejoinder to this anſwer, carried their reſentment ſo high, that they refuſed to proceed upon any other buſineſs, till they received ſatisfaction as to the great point in diſpute. They likewiſe unanimouſly came to nine reſolutions, in which the proprietary himſelf was charged as having broken the original charter, and, by his artifices, defeated them of their privileges. He was likewiſe charged with having extorted from the province great ſums of money, on pretence of negotiating their affairs in *England*, and of relieving them as to oaths; but, inſtead of that, the queen's letter required oaths to be adminiſtered to all the members, by which the quakers were diſabled from ſitting in courts. They made likewiſe grievous complaints concerning the abuſes of ſurveyors, the clerks of the courts, and juſtices of the peace, who, they ſaid, were all put in by the proprietary, and thereby he became his own judge in his own cauſe. Thoſe and other matters were the heads of a repreſentation, or rather remonſtrance, drawn up and ſent to the proprietary, then in *England*; in which he is repreſented as an oppreſſor, and as falſifying his word in almoſt every reſpect with the provincials. Many, if not the whole, of thoſe allegations were overſtrained, or entirely falſe; but it ſeems pretty certain, that Mr. *Penn*'s extreme caution and anxiety to finiſh a complete model of government, did ſubject the province to inconveniencies, which, by deſigning men, were repreſented as intolerable grievances. Amongſt other requeſtions, which the provincials inſiſted upon, one was, that a royal commiſſioner ſhould be eſtabliſhed in *Penſylvania*, for determining all matters wherein the provincials had juſt cauſe to complain againſt the proprietary, his deputies, or commiſſioners; or that the inhabitants ſhould be reſtored to their original right, which they had by their firſt charter, of electing judges, juſtices, and other officers, as the people of *New England* had by king *William*'s charter.

FROM the whole of this repreſentation it appeared, that the parties were determined to bring the conſtitution of the province as near as poſſible to its firſt principles. The repreſentation was ſent; but the parties themſelves acted with ſuch firmneſs, that, though ſeveral of the council, and the governor himſelf, earneſtly demanded a copy of it, they were refuſed it, under pretence that they were not willing to expoſe the proprietary to cenſure. The true reaſon, however, was they let the affair ſleep, notwithſtanding their loud outcries againſt their proprietary, was their apprehenſion of falling under the immediate power of the crown, in which caſe

Mr. Penn obtains a majority in the aſſembly.

they might have oaths multiplied upon them, and be charged with the militia duties, both which were highly repugnant to the principles of the majority of the council. It is more than probable that Mr. *Penn*, and his adminiſtration in *Penſylvania*, were fully ſenſible of the difficulties the provincials lay under in this reſpect, and they managed ſo well, that, at laſt, they obtained a majority in the aſſembly, who ſubmitted to all the grievances they had formerly complained of. Thoſe diſputes were greatly augmented by the intemperance of the quakers themſelves, who, notwithſtanding all their zeal for liberty of conſcience, perſecuted *Keith*, one of their moſt famous preachers, upon his conforming to the church of *England*, and went ſo far as to throw him into priſon. This was looked upon as being highly inconſiſtent with quaker-principles; and his perſecutors, by way of apology, (though it is a very trifling one) pretended that they did not puniſh him for his religious principles, but for having inſulted the civil government.

1706-7. *Differences between them and the proprietary.*

In 1706-7, the aſſembly of *Penſylvania* was far from being ſo complaiſant as of late to the governor and the council; and two parties were formed, the one headed by Mr. *Logan*, ſecretary to the governor and the council, and the other by *David Lloyd*, ſpeaker of the aſſembly. Many exaſperating motions and meſſages, not material to be mentioned here, paſſed between the two parties, and, it is now agreed on all hands, that both of them were ſo blinded by paſſion and animoſity, it is hard to ſay, which was moſt to blame. *Logan* inſulted the members of the aſſembly, when they came with meſſages to the governor, who ſeems to have been entirely under the direction and influence of *Logan*; and, therefore, they proceeded againſt him as a delinquent. The governor, on the other hand, treated *Lloyd* as an incendiary, and threatened to make him feel the weight of his power. All this while, three charters were depending for confirmation. One was that of the privileges; another that of the city of *Philadelphia*; and the laſt that of ſecuring property; and the aſſembly were given to underſtand, that the two former muſt remain in the ſame precarious ſtate they were then, until the proprietary and his governor were put upon proper eſtabliſhments, and freed from the invaſions of the aſſembly. As to the laſt charter, the governor told the aſſembly, that it was no better than an unjuſt project of the ſpeaker to incroach upon, and even to ingroſs, the proprietary's rights. The aſſembly, in anſwer to this, maintained that nothing had been inſerted in the charter, but, by the proprietary's own direction; but we are to obſerve, that this happened at a juncture,

when the proprietary apprehended that his own powers might be abridged by a bill depending in the *Engliſh* parliament; and he found it his intereſt to ſtrengthen, all he could, the property of the provincials.

They inſiſt on a redreſs of grievances

BY this time, the deputy-governor had received from Mr. *Penn* heavy complaints of the indignity done him by the repreſentation we have already mentioned, and a copy of the ſame with which he upbraided the aſſembly; but they excuſed themſelves from taking any cognizance of the paper, as it was the act of a former aſſembly, for which they were not to anſwer. They therefore inſiſted ſtill upon a redreſs of grievances. The governor in this conteſt had manifeſtly the ſuperiority. The aſſembly had ſent him up a bill, which they had paſſed for eſtabliſhing courts of juſtice, and which the governor thought he could not properly agree to, becauſe, at his arrival in *Penſylvania*, he had found the frame of their government ſettled by their laſt charter of privileges, which had been thankfully received and ſigned by themſelves, and therefore he did not apprehend it to be within his commiſſion or inſtructions to agree to ſo important a variation from that charter. The aſſembly, in reply to this anſwer, alledged, that even the laſt charter had been violated, and, very inconſiſtently with themſelves, complained of its inſufficiency, becauſe it fell far ſhort of the rights they claimed by their original conſtitution. At laſt, they drew up two different remonſtrances to Mr. *Penn*, complaining of the governor and the ſecretary, and of the proprietary himſelf, for having left them to be deſtroyed without any protection by their injuſtice and tyranny. They then renewed all their complaints contained in their former repreſentation, and added freſh ones. This new remonſtrance, to ſay the leaſt of it, was worded in terms, and with a ſpirit which plainly enough evinced that they were not to be ſatisfied, even if all their demands had been granted them.

THE diſpute between *Logan* and the aſſembly ſtill continued, and they drew up an impeachment, conſiſting of thirteen articles againſt him, charging him with malverſation in his office, and offering to prove all their allegations; but they were evaded by the governor. This produced a remonſtrance againſt the governor himſelf, containing twelve articles, and charging him with being looſe in his principles, arbitrary in his diſpoſition, and ſcandalous in his private life and deportment. At laſt the proprietary thought proper to recal *Evans*, who had the mortification to ſee an addreſs of thanks paſſed by the aſſembly on that account, and was ſucceeded by *Charles Gookin*, Eſq. This new governor was as

Gookin *governor.*

much under the influence of *Logan* as his predeceſſor had been. It ſeems to be pretty plain that all the grievances of the province, and the diſſentions between the aſſembly, and the proprietary, were owing to the unhappy ſtate of Mr. *Penn*'s private affairs in *England*, which did not permit him to reſide upon his province. He was an illuſtrious inſtance of that public ſpirit which can form the greateſt plans, without the leaſt immediate attention to domeſtic intereſt. *Gookin*, as well as *Evans* had been, was in neceſſitous circumſtances, and both of them ſought their own emolument with an equal diſregard to that of the proprietary as of the provincials. We do not perceive that the change of *Evans* for *Gookin* (B) was of any ſervice towards extinguiſhing the heats between the governor and the aſſembly. The latter by this time talked in a more poſitive haughty ſtrain than ever. This was occaſioned by the knowledge they had of the proprietary's diſtreſt circumſtances (for we are informed that about this time he was confined for debt in the priſon of the fleet) which threw his governors upon the province for their ſubſiſtence. This obliged them to act a moſt ſcandalous part; for if they did not obey the orders of the proprietary, they were diſplaced; if they broke with the aſſembly, they were in danger of ſtarving. The aſſembly, therefore, now declared that they expected ſome more conſideration than formerly from the governor, whom they ſupported at their own expence. *Gookin* at firſt pretended to act with a high hand, and by *Logan*'s advice he diſowned the power of the aſſembly, and refuſed to hold any correſpondence with them. He lived, however, long enough in *Penſylvania* to repent of this haughty proceeding, and before his return to *England*, he convened the aſſembly, and made them the following mean propoſition, "That, for the little time he had to ſtay, he was ready to do the country all the ſervice he could; and that they might be their own carvers, in caſe they would in ſome meaſure provide for his going back to ſeek another employment." All the anſwer the aſſembly thought fit to make to this proſtituted offer, was to preſent the governor with 200*l.*

Sir William Keith *governor.*

THE next deputy-governor was Sir *William Keith*. This gentleman, when young, had been engaged in ſome treaſonable practices with *Fraſer* afterwards lord *Lovat*, the ſame who loſt his head on *Tower-hill*, not from any principle either civil or religious, but in hopes of becoming uſeful to the government, by the diſcoveries he could make, and thereby re-

(B) The author of the *Britiſh empire in America*, is ſo ignorant of the affairs of this province, that he entirely omits the mention of this governor.

pair

pair his ruined fortune; which he never could do, for he died a beggar, in the loweſt ſenſe of the word. Tho' a man of no deep parts, yet he was plauſible, inſinuating, and cunning, and by affecting to be a profeſſed politician, he gained from many, even ſenſible, people, an opinion of his wiſdom. He was ſenſible of *Penn*'s diſtreſſes, and he had addreſs enough to get himſelf recommended by the board of trade as a proper governor for *Penſylvania*. Having obſerved the miſcarriages of the two laſt governors, and how little their private fortunes were indebted to their adminiſtration, he reſolved to obſerve a conduct very different from theirs. Having called the aſſembly together, he dropt all the high airs of a governor, and made them a moſt ſoothing ſpeech, without mentioning even the name of a proprietary. In ſhort, he inſinuated in his ſpeech enough to let the members know, that provided they conſidered him, he was reſolved to refuſe them nothing they could decently aſk for. They ſtruck in with his meaning; and though *Keith* was a very expenſive man, yet he conducted himſelf with ſo much addreſs, that they appeared to be entirely ſatisfied with his adminiſtration, as he was with their retributions; and the indulgence he ſhewed to all their requeſts, though upon the mercenary motives we have mentioned, greatly contributed to the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of the colony.

ONE effect which this good underſtanding between the governor and the aſſembly produced, was the diminiſhing the influence of *Logan* in the aſſembly. Mr. *Penn*, in 1718, 1718.
died at his ſeat near *Reading* in *Berkſhire*, and left his intereſt in the province in the hands of truſtees, who were his widow, *Henry Gouldney*, *Joſhua Gee*, and his ſecretary *Logan*. This ſhare in the truſt ſoon revived the intereſt of the latter, who by repreſenting *Keith* as a needy man, and as attempting to ruin the proprietary's intereſt in the province, divided a majority of the council againſt him. *Keith*, on the other hand, accuſed *Logan* [b] with having vitiated the records of the council, and the latter ſtanding on his own defence, and throwing out great perſonal abuſe againſt the governor, *Keith*, ventured not only to diſmiſs him from his poſt of ſecretary, but to fill it up with another. *Logan* upon this, went over, full of reſentment, to *England*, and received from the other truſtees letters to *Keith*, whom they reproved for his behaviour to *Logan*, and private inſtructions for his future conduct. Thoſe inſtructions turned upon very intereſting points. In them, the widow *Penn*, who ſeems to have taken the lead in the affair, complains bitterly that the power of the legiſlature having been

[b] See governor *Keith*'s letter to the widow *Penn*, *Sept.* 24, 1724.

lodged in the governor and aſſembly, the abſent proprietary had been deprived even of his negative, contrary to his intention and his undoubted rights. *Keith* is likewiſe charged with having tranſmitted the laws enacted in conjunction with the aſſembly, directly to the miniſtry at *London*, without any intermediate check. "Therefore (continues the widow's private inſtructions) for remedy of this grievance, it is required, that thou adviſe with the council, upon every meeting or adjournment of the aſſembly, which require any deliberation on the governor's part: that thou make no ſpeech, nor ſend any written meſſage to the aſſembly, but what ſhall be firſt approved in council; that thou receive all meſſages from them in council, if practicable at the time; and ſhalt return no bills to the houſe, without the advice of council; nor paſs any whatſoever into a law without the conſent of a majority of that board."

His artful management.

KEITH, unwilling to enter on any diſpute that might diſappoint him of his government, had, at his firſt entering on it, ſubmitted to give a bond of 1000*l.* to the proprietary, that he would follow certain conditions of government. This undoubtedly was an unconſtitutional meaſure, and nothing but Mr. *Penn* and his family's diſtreſſes, by which they ſaw themſelves become inſignificant in the province, could have induced them to exact it. *Keith*, however, ſtood ſo well with the aſſembly, that he not only ventured to diſregard this bond; but againſt all the rules of ſound policy, if not in direct violation of his truſt, he openly communicated to the aſſembly all the ſeveral inſtructions he had received, with all the anſwers he had returned to the ſame. *Logan*, in the courſe of the diſpute, diſcovered, that the proprietary, during his abſence, had not received one ſhilling of profit from the government. The aſſembly pretended, that by their original article of quit-rents, they were exempted from the obligation of paying any thing towards the expences of the government, though, in fact, they had paid a great deal. They therefore cloſed with *Keith*, without taking notice of the government-ſubſidies, and agreed with him in obſtructing all demands of that kind, or any other contained in the ſaid private inſtructions that were repugnant to their charter, or inconſiſtent with their privileges, which they grounded, not very conſiſtently with themſelves, upon their original conſtitutions.

KEITH remained after this in ſo high credit with the provincials, that he could have defeated all *Logan*'s ſchemes; but he ſeems to have been too much intoxicated with his popularity. He had, during his diſpute, been ſtrenuouſly ſupported with the intereſt, the advice, and the pen (ſuch as it

was)

was) of *Lloyd*, the aſſembly's ſpeaker, whom we have already mentioned; but, thinking himſelf now above any aſſiſtance, he quarrelled with *Lloyd*, though he had received four thouſand pounds from the aſſembly for his extraordinary ſervices in joining with them againſt the proprietary's intereſt. *Lloyd* and his party then joining with *Logan*, managed ſo well with the truſtees in *England*, that the latter ventured to promiſe to ſend a ſucceſſor to *Keith*. The provincials, having now ſome hopes of emancipating themſelves from the leaſt dependance upon *Keith*, in the next aſſembly ſhewed a ſudden and ſurprizing coldneſs towards all he propoſed. Two motions were made, the one for furniſhing him with ſix hundred pounds, and the other with five hundred; but both were over-ruled, and all he could obtain was four hundred. In all the ſubſequent part of the ſeſſion they treated him with remarkable neglect. They delayed the buſineſs of the province, which they reſerved for the adminiſtration of his ſucceſſor; and when *Keith* warmly inſiſted upon their giving him a public teſtimonial of his good government, they were, with great difficulty, brought to give him one that was very ſcanty, and not adequate to his merits. This raiſed *Keith*'s indignation ſo much, that, though he knew he was to loſe his government, he did not apply as his predeceſſor *Gookin* had done for any preſent. After nine years adminiſtration of remarkable tranquillity, *Keith* was reduced to the condition of a private man; but even then he could not ſubmit to a private condition. Being in hopes that he could ſtill embroil the affairs of the government, ſo as to render it neceſſary for the proprietaries to reinſtate him, he very imprudently procured himſelf to be choſen an aſſembly-man; but all the views he had of embarraſſing the government, and diſtreſſing the proprietaries miſcarried; and he was obliged to return to *England*, where he lived without a friend to ſupport him, and ſpent the very ſmall remains of his fortune in fruitleſs expectations.

And miſerable fate.

It was about this time that the foundation of the diſpute was laid concerning taxing the eſtates of the proprietary. The provincials pretended that the preſents which they made to the *Indians*, in a manner, paid for the lands purchaſed from them by Mr. *Penn*. When thoſe lands were reſold, the quit-rents upon them were ſtill retained by the proprietary, who, by the original charter of the province, was the only merchant who could buy them, and by the amazing increaſe of population in *Penſylvania*, the value of lands ſo purchaſed improved ſo greatly, that it was eaſily to be foreſeen the quit-rents muſt, in a ſhort time, amount to an immenſe ſum. As thoſe quit-rents had been reſerved by the proprietary, who was likewiſe

Continuance of the differences between the proprietary and the aſſembly.

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governor, under the pretence of their defraying the expences of government, which ever ſince his reſidence in *England* had been paid by the province, it was inſiſted upon by the aſſembly that the proprietary's eſtate ſhould be taxable in common with the reſt of the property of the province. This claim was vigorouſly oppoſed by the proprietaries, there being nothing in the charters to authorize it, and both ſides becoming obſtinate, the diſpute at laſt brought the province to the brink of ruin.

THE reader in the hiſtory of a province chiefly peopled by men whoſe principles diſclaimed the uſe of arms, and who were far from being adventurers in matters of commerce, can expect little entertainment, beſides its civil tranſactions; and indeed they are perhaps more inſtructive than any other, when we conſider the ſtupendous proſperity of this country, ſo lately planted, and ſo flouriſhing by pacific meaſures. After the Revolution had taken place, *Penſylvania* was no longer conſidered as a refuge for the perſecuted, but as one of the chief emporiums of *America*; and it was filled with coloniſts from all parts of the world. Beſides the *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*, vaſt numbers of *Palatines* went every year to it from the port of *Rotterdam*; and their example was followed by other *Germans* and *Swedes*, who, notwithſtanding their different ſects of religion, lived in wonderful harmony together, and the whole formed perhaps the moſt peaceable and induſtrious, and therefore the moſt happy, people in the world; nor is it perhaps an over-ſtretched calculation to ſay, that at this time *Penſylvania* contains 280,000 ſouls.

Vaſt encreaſe of the colony.

THIS prodigious increaſe of population, together with the growing power of the *French* in *North America*, introduced into *Penſylvania* maxims very different from thoſe of its original planters, who, when they ſought an aſylum there, could not foreſee that one time or other they ſhould be in danger, without the uſe of arms, of falling a prey to their ambitious neighbours. As to Mr. *Penn*, the father of the colony, it is pretty plain by his reſerving to himſelf, in the ſixteenth ſection of his original charter, the office of captain-general, and the power of making war, when neceſſary, that he was void of thoſe paſſive ſentiments; and his governors had made repeated efforts for eſtabliſhing a military force in the province; but, for ſome time, they had not been able to ſucceed thro' the vaſt majority which the quakers had in every aſſembly. We ſhall, in the courſe of our hiſtory, ſee the terrible effects which this ridiculous principle of non-reſiſtance introduced.

Caſe of its currency.

THE next great intereſting point that occurs in the hiſtory of this province is the caſe of their currency. *Penſylvania*, like

ke the other *Engliſh* colonies in *North America*, found that ts current ſpecie was inſufficient to anſwer the defect that roſe upon the ballance of trade between them and *England*; ut long reſiſted the general practice entered into by the other plonies of iſſuing a paper currency for ſupplying the topical urpoſes of gold and ſilver, which they were obliged to ſend o *England*. It was not before the year 1722, that they ſued 15,000*l.* in provincial bills; but even in iſſuing this conſiderable ſum, they proceeded with vaſt caution and cir-mſpection. They made no loans but upon land ſecurity, r plate depoſited in their loan office. They obliged the bor-wers to pay five per cent. for the ſums they took up; and ey made their bills a tender in all payments, under the pain f forfeiting the commodity or vacating the debt. That ey might keep their paper currency as near as poſſible on par with their ſpecie, they even impoſed penalties for thoſe ho made extraordinary allowances for being paid in the lat-r inſtead of the former; and that they might be more gra-ially reduced, they provided that one eighth of the principal, well as the whole intereſt money, ſhould be annually paid. he provincials, however, finding by experience, and, in urſe of time, the inſufficiency of ſo ſmall a paper currency, anſwer the exigencies of ſo populous a province, increaſed eir currency by degrees to 80,000*l.* to be current for ſix-en years. This meaſure was attended by one, perhaps, t equally warrantable; becauſe it gave a power to the truſ-es of the loan office to re-emit the currency as it ſhould be id off either to the ſame perſons or others, without any due thority for that purpoſe.

AT firſt the proprietaries made no objection to thoſe iſſues; Gordon t finding their intereſts likely to be affected by them, Ma- *governor.* r *Gordon*, who ſucceeded Sir *William Keith* in the government, ough he approved of the increaſe of paper currency in ge-ral, gave the provincials to underſtand that they would be o longer gratified in the emiſſion of paper money, unleſs rticular care was taken to pay the quit-rents of the pro-ietaries in gold and ſilver; and at leaſt, that as paper, not-withſtanding all the precautions which had been taken, was w at a diſcount, that not only the difference between that d ſpecie or bullion, ſhould be made up to them, but like-ſe the loſs ariſing upon the exchange; and to this demand e province was partly obliged to ſubmit. In the year 1740, e *Penſylvanians* were included in the complaint which the erchants of *Great Britain* brought into the houſe of com-ons, on account of the exceſſive abuſe of paper-money in e eaſtern colonies of *America*, and which, for want of pro-

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per funds to ſupport its credit, was greatly depreciated, to the infinite prejudice of the national commerce. The houſe, upon this, addreſſed the throne to put a ſtop to the evil, by inſtructing the ſeveral governors not to give their aſſent to any farther laws of that nature, without an expreſs proviſo, that they ſhould not take effect till his majeſty's approbation had been firſt obtained. A bill was afterwards brought in to reſtrain the northern colonies in general from iſſuing paper bills of credit, but was oppoſed, and miſcarried, chiefly through the influence of the proprietaries of *Penſylvania*. Notwithſtanding the above addreſs, and the general outcry raiſed by the merchants againſt a paper currency, the lords of trade and plantations were ſo well ſatisfied of the neceſſity of the circulation of 80,000*l.* paper currency in *Penſylvania*, that an act for that purpoſe, then lying before the lords of trade, was, by their recommendation, paſſed into a law, but not till after the proprietaries demands had been ſatisfied.

Hiſtory of the commerce of Penſylvania.

HAVING thus given our reader, we hope, a full view of the civil intereſts and concerns of *Penſylvania*, we ſhall now proceed upon thoſe that are commercial. According to a letter publiſhed from Mr. *Penn* [c] in the infancy of the colony, the province of *Penſylvania* conſumed above 180,000*l.* yearly of *Engliſh* growth, and the whole of this its commerce added 30,000*l.* a year to the revenue. During Sir *William Keith*'s government, he ſettled in *Penſylvania* a number of *Palatines*, who had been diſappointed of their ſettlements in *New York*; and thoſe emigrants poured in ſuch numbers into *Penſylvania*, that the government of that province refuſed to receive any more, unleſs they paid a pecuniary tax for their reception, which obliged many ſhips full of them to go to other *Britiſh* ſettlements. This undoubtedly was bad policy, as the country was then but thinly peopled; and the *Penſylvanians* themſelves were ſo ſenſible of their miſtake, that the tax was aboliſhed. To give ſome ſpecimen of the ſwift encreaſe of population in this country, we need but to mention that from *December* 25, 1728, to *December* 25, 1729, no fewer than 6200 *Germans*, and others, were imported into the colony; and this importation continued till it was thought by many that the proportion of numbers within the province between *Britiſh* ſubjects and foreigners, was too unequal, and would in time require ſome public regulation. Even the loſſes of the province were ſo many proofs of its wealth, for, by a fire which broke out in the year 1730, the loſs of houſes, goods, and furniture in *Philadelphia*, was greater than ſeve-

[c] *Britiſh* empire in *America*, Vol. I. page 316.

ral

ral other cities in the *Britiſh America* could have ſuffered without being ruined. In the year following, an aſſociation amongſt the merchants of *Penſylvania* was entered into for ſupporting the paper currency, which had been emitted by the lower counties upon *Delaware* river, and is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Penſylvanian* territory, which currency was limited to 12,000*l.* This meaſure proved to be as wiſe as it was generous, and placed the territory currency upon a par with that of the province. As the population of *Penſylvania* encreaſed, ſo did the meaſures taken for its proſperity. Supplementary laws were made to ſecure both the liberty and property of the provincials. The act againſt buying lands of the natives was explained. Hawkers and pedlars were regulated. A tax was impoſed upon perſons guilty of certain heinous crimes, and an exciſe laid on all wine, rum, brandy, and other ſpirts retailed in the province. Precautions were likewiſe taken againſt the importation of poor and impotent perſons; and for raiſing good hemp, and impoſing penalties upon all who ſhould manufacture into cordage unmerchantable hemp. According to the beſt accounts we have been able to receive, the *Penſylvanians* finding that their raiſing tobacco would be but an unthankful manufacture, becauſe *Maryland* and *Virginia* were ſufficient of themſelves to ſupply all *Britain* with it, wiſely applied themſelves to other home cultivations, in which they have proſpered, conſidering the ſhortneſs of the time to a degree exceeding almoſt belief. This, in a great meaſure, is owing to the induſtry and penurious living of the *German* and other foreigners. The country produces all kinds of *Britiſh* grain, *Indian* corn, buck-wheat, and its ſoil is particularly adapted for the cultivation of flax and hemp; ſo that it is thought that nine tenths of the common people and labourers are cloathed in the linnen manufacture of *Penſylvania*, beſides what the inhabitants manufacture for ſale to other provinces. At preſent, the *Penſylvanian* flax ſeed is thought preferable to that exported from *Holland*.

Foreign and domeſtic.

BESIDES the commodities we have already mentioned, the *Penſylvanians* export ſalt beef, and pork, hams, bacon, cheeſe, butter, ſoap, wax-candles, ſtarch, powder, apples, cyder, tanned leather, tallow and tallow candles, common wax, myrtle wax, ſtrong beer, linſeed-oil, ſkins, furs, caſtor, and a very ſmall quantity of tobacco. In order to encourage the culture of hemp, they at firſt granted a bounty of one penny a pound on its exportation, and then three half-pence; but finding all this encouragement to be ineffectual, they at laſt manufactured their hemp into cordage. They likewiſe made conſiderable exports of iron, in pigs, bars, and pots, walnut-

logs,

logs, planks, ſtaves, heading and hoops. Ship-building is another very profitable branch of *Penſylvanian* commerce; but the number of tons of ſhipping, though amounting to ſome thouſands, which they yearly build, excluſive of thoſe employed in the colony trade, is not, in the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of the colony, eaſily to be aſcertained. The ſame may be ſaid with regard to the preſent ſtate of their trade with their neighbours. It is certain, that the *Penſylvanians* import dry goods of all kinds from *Great Britain*, and their wines from *Madeira* and other places. Their ſalt, by an act of the *Britiſh* parliament in 1727, is allowed to be imported duty-free. From the weſtern ſugar iſlands, and other *Britiſh* colonies, they import ſugar, rum, molaſſes, cotton, indigo, coffee, dying woods, mahogany plank, and other commodities. They likewiſe trade with *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*; and, by the way of *Jamaica*, with the *Spaniſh* iſlands in *America*. Their trade with the *French* and the *Dutch Antilles* iſlands, though illicit, is very lucrative; and it is ſaid that they return near 6000 piſtoles a year from *Curaſſao* alone, beſides what they gain by proviſions, which they ſell at *Surinam*, and to the *French*. But it is neceſſary, for the information of the reader, [d] to be a little more explicit. In 1736, the entries in the port of *Philadelphia* were two hundred and twelve, and the clearances two hundred and fifteen veſſels. Before the *French* war was broken out, in 1742, the entries roſe to be two hundred and thirty, and the clearances two hundred and eighty-one. The number of veſſels cleared from that port for twelve months preceding *March* 12, 1750-1, is three hundred and fifty-eight; thoſe that were bound to the northward of *Delaware* capes, viz. to *New York*, *Rhode Iſland*, *Boſton*, with its out-ports, *Halifax* and *Newfoundland*, make about ninety of that number; to *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *North* and *South Carolina*, and *Georgia*, about twenty-nine; and the remainder ſailed for *Europe*, and the *Weſt India* ſugar iſlands and colonies. Their craft that go to the ſouthward, viz. to *Virginia* and *Maryland*, are not ſo valuable as thoſe that go to the northward, ſome of which carry five or ſix hundred barrels of bread and flour.

BESIDES their trade with the *Europeans* and their colonies, the *Penſylvanians* carry on no ſmall traffic with their neighbouring *Indians*; of whom it is neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat in this place. The *Indian* traders from *Penſylvania* find the rivers *Delaware*, *Suſquehanna*, and *Potomack*, fordable in the ſummer ſeaſon, which is an infinite conveniency to them.

[d] DOUGLASS's Summary, Vol. II. p. 333.

They

hey ſet out in the beginning of *May*, and continue out three four months. They buy the ſkins they trade for, not from *Indians* themſelves, but from a kind of brokers who are tled on their confines, and to whom they pay gold and er for all they receive. It is obſervable, that till of late, the inſtigation of the *French*, the *Penſylvanians* never loſt a gle man by the *Indians*, which ought to be an inſtructive ſon, that good uſage, a peaceable behaviour, and, at leaſt, nſible dealing, will do almoſt every thing with thoſe ſa- ges that can or ought reaſonably be deſired of them. Tho' *Iroquois* ſavages, of whom we have treated ſo much in hiſtory of *Canada*, and who now conſiſt of ſix nations, by the general name of *Mohawks*, yet the laſt is reckon- to be the ſmalleſt of all the ſix nations. In the wars among other *Indians*, of which we have very little knowledge, tribe called *Tuſcarora* being worſted, was adopted and re- ed by the antient five nations, and formed the ſixth. oſe ſavages are far from being ſo heedleſs as is commonly gined with regard to their own intereſt, and they often the *Engliſh* in mind that the *Delaware* and *Suſquehanna- ans* had been conquered by them, and that they therefore no right to diſpoſe of their lands. The *Engliſh* not only ply thoſe ſavages with guns, hatchets, and kettles, but d them gratis, which perhaps is no bad policy, as it ents them from applying themſelves to handicraft ations. We ſhall have occaſion to mention thoſe *Indi-* farther when we treat of the congreſs between them and *Engliſh* at *Lancaſter*. To conclude this account of the *ſylvanian* trade, its amazing improvement may be known he imports from *England* to that province, which in the 1757, amounted to 268,426*l.* 6*s.* 6*d* ſterling. For they paid annually to *Great Britain*, beſides their own ral productions, 60,000*l.* in ſpecie or bullion; of which receive 10,000 from *Virginia* and *Maryland*, 25,000 from and *Portugal*, 4000 from the *Canaries*, 4000 from *ſoundland*, and the reſt from the *French* and *Dutch* ds.

Its intereſt with the Indians.

HE flouriſhing ſtate of this colony is a ſufficient proof of ſound judgment of its founder *Penn* in his legiſlative and mercial capacity, however unaccountable he may have (and ſuch he certainly was) in other points of conduct. n his death his family reaped the benefit of all his plans; notwithſtanding the tenaciouſneſs of the aſſembly in mat- of property and independency, they made good their origi- claims; ſo far as they were founded on the new conſti- on of 1704. In *Auguſt* 1732, *William Penn*, Eſq; the

then

Arrival of the proprietary. then proprietary, arrived at *Cheſter* in *Penſylvania*, and was ſo cordially received by the inhabitants, in gratitude to their beneficent founder, that he entered his capital (as we may call it) of *Philadelphia* at the head of almoſt eight hundred horſe, who came out to meet him, and was received by a formal ſpeech from the recorder. Soon after he met the heads of the ſix *Indian* nations, and renewing the friendſhip between them and his province, made each of them a preſent of a curious gun.

WHEN, in conſequence of the war declared between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, the expedition againſt *Carthagena*, under admiral *Vernon*, was undertaken, *Penſylvania*, among the other northern colonies, was called upon to furniſh ſoldiers for that ſervice. Mr. *Thomas* was then governor of *Penſylvania*, and he had ſucceeded to *Logan*, who had acted as preſident from 1736 to 1738. The reader may eaſily conceive that ſuch a meſſage was highly diſagreeable to an aſſembly of quakers. The neceſſity of the juncture, however, induced them to vote 4000*l.* for the king's ſervice, and they left to the governor the care of raiſing the ſoldiers. Here the provincials it muſt be admitted, behaved in a mean and diſingenuous manner; for though they themſelves were ſenſible, that the governor had no way of raiſing men, but among the labourers of the colony, who were, moſt of them, indented ſervants, the aſſembly oppoſed them. Their pretext was, that thoſe ſervants were part of their property, and as transferable as the reſt of their goods. In this ridiculous plea they were joined by the freemen, their repreſentatives, and the diſpute was carried on ſo obſtinately, that they brought lawyers from *New York* to plead their cauſe in the courts of *Penſylvania*. There they muſt have been defeated, had not the aſſembly ſtept in and refuſed to part with the ſupply they had voted, unleſs the ſervants were reſtored to their maſters. This condition was what the governor could not comply with, and the money was accordingly applied to the indemnification of the freemen.

Refractorineſs.

So flagrant an inſult upon juſtice and government could not fail of rendering the aſſembly apprehenſive of its conſequences, and therefore next year they ſtrove to wipe off all ſuſpicion, by paſſing the following vote, "The houſe taking into conſideration the many taxes their fellow-ſubjects in *Great Britain* are obliged to pay towards ſupporting the dignity of the crown, and defraying the neceſſary and contingent charges of government, and willing to demonſtrate the fidelity, loyalty and affection of the inhabitants of this province to our gracious ſovereign, by bearing a ſhare of the burden of our fellow-

llow-ſubjects, proportionable to our circumſtances, do there- *And com-*
re, chearfully and unanimouſly reſolve, that 3000*l.* be paid *pliance of*
r the uſe of the king, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to be ap- *the aſſem-*
ied to ſuch uſes as he, in his royal wiſdom, ſhall think fit *bly.*
direct and appoint." In conſequence of this vote, three
ouſand pounds were actually paid into his majeſty's exche-
ier by the colony's agent. In the year 1745, when the expe-
ion againſt *Louiſbourg* was reſolved on, it was communi-
ted to the aſſembly of *Penſylvania* by governor *Shirley*, and
y were required to aſſiſt in the ſame. They accordingly
took the meſſage into their conſideration, and voted a ſup-
of 4000*l.* to be laid out in proviſions for the troops; but
y refuſed to be any other ways aſſiſting in the expedition,
expreſſed great doubts as to its practicability. This ſup-
, however, was extremely ſeaſonable.

NEXT year, the ſucceſs of the *Louiſbourg* expedition encou- *Their ex-*
ed the *Britiſh* miniſtry to form a ſcheme for driving the *pences to-*
nch entirely out of *North America*, and many impractica- *wards the*
calculations were made of the proportions of men or money, *war.*
oth, which each *American* province was to furniſh towards
momentous enterprize. The *Penſylvanians* among others
e called upon by letters from the ſecretary's office at
itehall, dated the 6th of *April*, 1746, and they voted
)0*l.* as their contingent. This, however, they did with
ery bad grace; for pretending that the revenue could not
iſh the money, they propoſed to raiſe it by adding the
ſum to their paper currency. The governor inform-
them that he was expreſsly reſtrained by his inſtructions,
atter which the aſſembly themſelves well knew, from
eing to any extenſion of the provincial paper currency,
therefore deſired that they would raiſe the money by
e leſs exceptionable method. The aſſembly, upon this,
ed to iſſue the ſupply out of the money dormant in the
office, for exchanging torn and illegible bills, and to
ace it by a new emiſſion of bills to the ſame amount, to
ink out of the product of the exciſe in ten years. Though
method was not without exception, yet the governor agreed
, and paſſed the bill, and five hundred men were raiſed,
employed for near eighteen months, in defending the fron-
of *New York*. When this expedition, for reaſons beſt
wn to the miniſtry at home, was laid aſide, a new
was brought into parliament for reſtraining the northern
nies in general from iſſuing paper bills of credit; but it
to the ground. Mr. *Thomas*, by this time, had been
eeded in the government of *Penſylvania* by *Anthony Pal-*
Eſq, as preſident, and in the year 1748 he was relieved
James Hamilton, Eſq; who was appointed governor, a

native of the place, and ſon of the famous barriſter, whom we have mentioned on another occaſion. Though this appointment was unexceptionable, and though by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, *Penſylvania*, as well as the reſt of *North America*, was reſtored to tranquillity, and though the intereſt of the proprietaries had been greatly inſtrumental in defeating the abovementioned bill, yet nothing could reconcile thoſe ſtubborn provincials to the proprietary government.

THEY ſaw with a jealous eye the great and aſtoniſhing increaſe of the proprietary's eſtate and intereſt in the province; and they complained that the whole was obtained at their charge by being obliged to defray the expence of the *Indian* affairs, which was every day growing upon them. The governor ſaw their drift, and would willingly have diverted it, but was unable, and, at laſt, they formally called upon the proprietaries to take a ſhare of the charge upon themſelves. The latter replied, "That they did not conceive themſelves to be under any ſuch obligation, even though the people had been taxed for the charges of government: that as not one ſhilling had been levied on the people for that ſervice, it was ſo much leſs reaſonable in the people to aſk any thing of them; that they had, notwithſtanding, charged themſelves with paying their interpreter even much more than could be due to him on their account, and were alſo then at the expence of maintaining his ſon with a tutor in the *Indian* country, to learn their language and cuſtoms for the ſervice of the country; as well as of ſundry other charges on *Indian* affairs: that they had been at conſiderable expence for the ſervice of the province both in *England* and there: that they pay the *Indians* for the land they purchaſe: and that they are no more obliged to contribute to the public charges, than any other chief governor of any other colony." In anſwer to this reply the aſſembly, in *May* 1751, remonſtrated upon the juſtice of their requeſt; upon the vaſt advantages the proprietaries gained by the *Indian* treaties, and upon the large ſums raiſed by the intereſt of the paper money and the exciſe, the laſt producing 3000*l.* a year, with the tax ariſing from licences of various kinds; all which was appropriated to the governor's ſupport, and therefore they repeated their requeſt to know what ſhare of the *Indian* expence the proprietaries were willing to bear. It was no wonder, after what had paſſed, if the proprietaries returned a very ſharp anſwer, in which they threw out ſome bitter inſinuations againſt the aſſembly's conduct, as tending to inflame the minds of the people. They denied all the matters of fact advanced by the aſſembly; they pleaded the authority of the board of trade in *England* on their ſide, and they aſſerted, that the province

Altercations between them and their governor Hamilton

upon

on an average had not expended above four hundred pounds year upon the *Indian* affairs, an inconſiderable ſum, when mpared to the immenſe advantages it reaped by having thoſe ages for its friends and allies. The reſt of the remonſtrance in the ſame ſtrain. The whole of it is firmly, but de- tly penned, and ſigned by the two proprietaries, *Thomas* *Richard Penn.*

WHEN this anſwer was laid before the aſſembly, being un- to reply to it, they ordered it with all the papers intro- tory to it to lie upon their table. They had at this time er conſideration the immenſe increaſe of their colony, they had unanimouſly reſolved to ſtrike an additional ſum 0,000*l.* in order to replace defective bills, and increaſe rovincial capital, in proportion to the increaſe of inhabi- ; as alſo to re-emit and continue the ſums already in cir- lion. It is almoſt incredible, that men of ſound and ſo- enſe ſhould ſo obſtinately inſiſt upon a matter which themſelves knew to be impracticable. When they car- up the bill to the governor, he returned it with his nega- which was ſoftened with ſeveral obliging expreſſions as e meaſure itſelf, but excuſed himſelf by the time being nſeaſonable, on account of the outcries raiſed in *Great ain* about plantation paper currency, for an application to ade to the crown concerning any extenſion or re-admiſ- of theirs. The aſſembly treated this anſwer as an eva- and ſeemed to be under no apprehenſions of what was ſed by the governor; but they adjourned themſelves, they might take his anſwer into farther conſideration. n their meeting towards the end of *May*, the governor a meſſage to inform them, "that the country of *Alleg-* ſituate on the waters of the *Ohio*, partly within the of *Penſylvania*, partly within thoſe of *Virginia*, already or ſoon would be, invaded by an army of *French* and s from *Canada:* in which caſe the *Indians* inhabiting , who were a mixture of the ſix nations, *Shawaneſe*, *De- res*, and *Twigtwees*, lately recommended as allies to the nce by the ſaid ſix nations, would be obliged to leave country, and his majeſty's ſubjects trading with them d be cut off, unleſs timely warned by the meſſengers to them by himſelf for that purpoſe: that *Montour*, nterpreter, had heard the *French* declaration delivered, the reply of the *Indians*, which was firm and reſolute, ot to be relied upon as they were in want of all things." governor then proceeded in the moſt pathetic manner to mend to their conſideration the danger of the colony.

State of the colony's commerce.

THE aſſembly's conduct on this alarming occaſion ſeemed to give grounds for thinking, that they rather rejoiced, than grieved, at the diſtreſſes of the colony. They urged that the *Britiſh* government had never meant to comprehend *Penſylvania*, a province that had been always remarkable for ſupporting its public credit, in the prohibitions for extending the paper currency. They remarked, in their anſwer, that the three years preceding 1739, when their paper currency for 80,000*l.* was under conſideration, the exports from *Britain* to *Penſylvania* amounted to no more than 179,654*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* ſterling; but that for the years 1749, 1750, and 1751, they amounted to 647,317*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* ſterling, which vaſt encreaſe they very properly urged as an invincible argument for their demand. The governor, though ſatisfied in his own mind that the meaſure was right, put off giving them any anſwer to this repreſentation until their next meeting, which was to be in *Auguſt*. This was a well judged delay, for the members of the aſſembly employed the interval in procuring from *Indian* traders intelligence of the ſtate of affairs on the *Obio*, the deſigns of the *Canadians*, with the condition of the *Twigtwees*, and other *Engliſh Indians*; and finding all that the governor had ſaid to be true, they voted eight hundred pound to be raiſed as a preſent to the ſavages, of which ſix hundred was to be diſtributed by the governor at his diſcretion. The other two hundred was allotted to cover, as the *Indians* call it, fourteen *Twigtwees*, who had been killed by the *French* and their *Indians*, while they were generouſly protecting in their village ſome *Engliſh* traders, though there was then no war between *France* and *Great Britain*.

UPON the next meeting of the aſſembly, the governor paſſed the currency bill; but with an amendment, to which he was indiſpenſably bound by his inſtructions, which was, that the act ſhould have no effect till it received the royal approbation. The reading of this proviſo ſet the houſe in a flame, and they unanimouſly reſolved, "not to agree to this amendment, becauſe they apprehended it to be deſtructive of the liberties derived to them by the royal and provincial charters, as well as injurious to the proprietaries rights, and without any precedent in the laws of the province." The governor, on the other hand, laid before them the inability he was under from his inſtructions to paſs the bill without the clauſe. They juſtified themſelves under their charter claims, and inſiſted upon it, that the inſtruction was only a thing of courſe, and that they were exempted from the apparent intention of it, which never was meant to affect them. Notwithſtanding this, and a great deal of reaſoning to the ſame purpoſe, the gover-

nor

rnor refuſed to paſs the bill without the amendment; as he d not think that the occaſion was ſo extraordinary as to ſtify his breaking through his inſtructions. The complex- n of this diſpute reflects no great honour upon the quakers; cauſe it very plainly appeared that *Penſylvania* was ſo well ablifhed in its credit at the court of *Britain*, that had the l gone over with the governor's conſent, it would readily ve received the royal approbation. The governor during e whole diſpute appears to have behaved with all the decency d tenderneſs poſſible towards the provincials, and put them mind how very jealous the miniſtry of *England* then were charter-governments. Nothing could convince the qua- s, who ſtill unwarrantably inſiſted upon their governor's aking into a royal inſtruction, and one too that was found- on an addreſs of a *Britiſh* houſe of commons, and, rather n accept of an amendment, they unanimouſly dropt the l. Not contented with that, they inſulted the governor with ther papers and declarations, the reaſonings of which, if y contained any meaning, was, that the governor ought to what the aſſembly directed, without being bound down to inſtructions, either from the crown or the proprietaries. this ſullen diſpoſition they remained till the year 1754, which time, though the *French* were making the moſt rming encroachments upon all the *Britiſh* colonies in *Ame- a*, they ſeem to have taken no concern either in reſiſting m, or ſecuring themſelves.

[N *February* 1754 the province met, and ordered in a bill 1754.
ſtriking 40,000*l.* to be made current, and emitted on *Intelligence*
n, and for re-emitting and continuing the currency of the *concerning*
already in circulation. While they were proceeding on *the danger*
bill, the governor ſent them down a written meſſage, to- *of the pro-*
ber with three letters, one from the earl of *Holderneſs* to *vince.*
ſelf, a ſecond from the commiſſioners of trade and plan- ions, and a third from the *French* commandant on the *o*, to Mr. *Dinwiddie*, deputy-governor of *Virginia*. That m the earl of *Holderneſs* informed him of an intention the *nch* had to invade the *Britiſh* ſettlements with an armed e, and enjoining him to be upon his guard, and to reſiſt force any hoſtile attempts made upon the province by a ign power, and that it was proper all the other provinces uld correſpond together, and be aſſiſting to each other in elling ſuch invaſion, and that he ſhould call together the mbly, and engage them to grant ſuch ſupplies as the ex- ncies of affairs might require. The letter from the com- ſioners of trade mentioned a ſum of money that had been ered by his majeſty for preſents to the ſix *Indian* friendly

nations; and his having directed the governor of *New York* to hold an interview with them; "and it having, continues the letter, been uſual upon the like occaſions formerly, for all his majeſty's colonies, whoſe intereſt or ſecurity were connected with, or depended upon them, to join in ſuch interview; and that, as the preſent diſpoſition of thoſe *Indians*, and the attempts made upon them to withdraw them from the *Britiſh* intereſt, appear to them to make ſuch a general interview more particularly neceſſary at that time, their deſire was, that he, the governor, would lay this matter before the council and general aſſembly, or the province under his government, and recommend to them forthwith, to make a proper proviſion for appointing commiſſioners, to be joined with thoſe of the other governments for renewing the covenant chain; and that the ſaid commiſſioners might be men of character, ability, integrity, and well acquainted with *Indian* affairs." The letter to Mr. *Dinwiddie* denied the charge of the *French* encroachments upon the *Britiſh* dominions, but aſſerted that monarch's right to the lands upon the *Ohio*.

Meſſage of the governor on the ſame.

THE governor in the meſſage he ſent to the aſſembly with all this intereſting intelligence, endeavoured to rouſe the members into a ſenſe of their danger, and to perſuade them to raiſe the force neceſſary for repelling it, informing them at the ſame time how willing the other *Britiſh* governments were to co-operate with them. He likewiſe recommended that they ſhould ſend an agent to the banks of the *Ohio* to reſide with the *Indians* there, and prepare a bill for regulating the *Indian* trade. Though nothing could be more wiſe and juſt than thoſe admonitions, yet the anſwer the aſſembly ſent was vague and accompanied by their currency bill, the paſſing of which they, in fact, made the price of any attention they were to pay either to the letters that had been laid before them, or to the preſervation of the province. The governor, in his anſwer, upbraided them with this, and again rejected their bill; but offered, if they would eſtabliſh proper funds, to agree to their ſtriking a farther ſum in bills of credit, in which he thought he was warranted by the emergency. The aſ-

Obſtinacy of the aſſembly.

ſembly, in return, entered upon the moſt ſhameful cavils and diſtinctions, in which it is plain they were ſtill reſolved to do nothing for their own ſecurity; though at laſt they promiſed to ſend commiſſioners to *Albany*. The governor ſhewed wonderful patience at thoſe inſults upon his underſtanding, and that of every man of common ſenſe in the *Britiſh America*; and contented himſelf with remonſtrating upon their ſtubborn diſobedience to his majeſty's orders at a time when he aſſured them that his dominions were invaded by the *French*,

rench, adding, that their own province was the moſt immediately in danger.

To explain this laſt hint, it is to be obſerved, that the *French* that very time were fortified upon a ſpot of ground which ways had been foreſeen, would endanger the province if it me into their poſſeſſion; and therefore Mr. *Penn*, the proietary, had actually propoſed to have a fort, or ſtrong trading houſe, erected near that place, and had offered four hunred pounds, and one hundred pounds per annum for twenty rs for building and maintaining it. But this propoſal was, very ſlender reaſons, rejected by the provincials. The gomor then proceeded to inform them, that the place fortifiby the *French* actually was within the limits of the proce, but very properly obſerved, that they were equally nd to the obedience of his majeſty's directions, whether lay in *Penſylvania* or *Virginia*. The aſſembly moſt ridiouſly demurred to this laſt propoſition, under pretence that governor was only inſtructed to act upon the defenſive, t they had nothing to do with the defence of *Virginia*, and t they were not fully apprized of the boundaries of the two vinces. It was in vain for the governor to combat ir obſtinacy, by producing gentlemen who had been witſes of the *French* encroachments, and who gave evidence their being within the province of *Penſylvania*. In ſhort, withſtanding all the tenderneſs he ſhewed, and the comnces he made, they adjourned themſelves to the ſixth of y.

Further danger and a ſupply granted.

)n the 2d of *April* they met again by a ſpecial ſummons n the governor, who laid before them freſh advices he received from the governor of *Virginia*, and the neceſſity their granting a ſpeedy ſupply to obviate the danger of the ſure. This meſſage being laid before the aſſembly the s of 20,000, 15,000, 10,000, and 5,000*l.* were prod to be given, but all of them rejected by a double may of voices, and then they adjourned themſelves, on pree of their conſulting their conſtituents. When they met n, the governor communicated to them the news he had ived of the *French* aſſembling upon the *Ohio*, to the numof 1000 regulars, and having taken the *Virginian* fort e. He likewiſe laid before them the preſſing inſtances overnor *Dinwiddie*, and governor *Delancy* of *New York*, heir coming to ſpeedy and vigorous reſolutions. Propoin conſequence of a plan ſent from the miniſtry at *Lon*were likewiſe mentioned for a confederacy of all the iſh provinces in *North America*, ſo as to act in concert nſt the common enemy, which the governor likewiſe

recommended, and deſired, that they would inſtruct their commiſſioners, who were to repair to *Albany* upon that head. Thoſe ſenſible, and indeed pathetic repreſentations, had no other effect with this ſtubborn undutiful aſſembly, than to raiſe their demands upon the governor in proportion as his calls aroſe upon them for their own defence. It is true they offered a joint bill for granting an aid of 10,000*l.* to the king, and 20,000*l.* for replacing torn and ragged bills. This bill was likewiſe returned, (as they could not but foreſee,) by the governor with an amendment, which, though rational and equitable, threw the houſe into ſuch a flame, that they unanimouſly rejected the bill with the amendment (C). It is obſervable, during the whole of this debate, aud the reaſoning upon it, this aſſembly of humble quakers put themſelves upon the very ſame footing with a *Britiſh* houſe of commons, and maintained that the governor could no more alter their money-bills, than the houſe of lords could thoſe of the commons. This abſurd and ridiculous prepoſſeſſion influenced all their proceedings. It is foreign to this work to take notice of the various altercations thoſe quakers ran into from this principle. It may be proper, however, to obſerve, that they were at this very time poſſeſſed of more public money than could have anſwered the ſupply, without burdening the people with a ten years farther extenſion of the exciſe.

Which is gran'ed, but upon impracticable conditions.

Another ſupply voted, but upon the like terms.

THOUGH the danger became every day more and more threatening to *Penſylvania*, yet the aſſembly, inſtead of providing againſt it, entered upon a ſet of reſolutions, in which they endeavoured to throw all the blame of their inactivity upon the governor and the proprietary intereſt, and to erect themſelves into an abſolute independent money-court. Having come to thoſe reſolutions, they, in a civil meſſage to the governor, declined to be concerned in the propoſed confederacy, but ſaid they had given a preſent to be made to the *Indians* at *Albany* by their commiſſioners. Upon the next meeting of the aſſembly, which was by ſpecial ſummons, *Auguſt* the 7th, the governor acquainted them with *Waſhington*'s defeat upon the *Obio*, with the duty they lay under of providing for their diſtreſt *Indian* allies, who had been driven to take refuge in *Penſylvania*, and the neceſſity of their dropping all farther diſputes, and raiſing an immediate ſupply, eſpecially, as their brother provincials upon the fron-

(C) The aſſembly propoſed to ſink the money raiſed by an extenſion of the exciſe-act for ten years, but the governor was of opinion that four years were ſufficient.

tiers had applied to him for protection. He likewiſe acquainted them with the proceedings of the commiſſioners at *Albany*, with their being unanimous as to the confederacy propoſed, and laid before them their plan for putting it in execution. The reſult of all this intelligence was, that the aſſembly, after various debates, prepared and preſented to the governor a bill for ſtriking 35,000*l.* in bills of credit, of which 15,000 was to be for the king's uſe, and the remainder for replacing defective bills. The governor, who poſſibly expected this, in a very polite manner excuſed himſelf from paſſing the bill without amendment, but referred them to his ſucceſſor, who was expected in a few days.

Mr. Morris *ſucceeds Mr.* Hamilton *in the government.*

THIS was the laſt act of Mr. *Hamilton*'s government. He had deſired to be diſmiſſed from ſo undeſirable a ſervice, in which he had behaved with the utmoſt moderation and equanimity, and with ſo much tenderneſs to the abſurdities of the provincials he governed, that he acquired the eſteem even of the quakers themſelves. He was ſucceeded in the beginning of *October* 1754, the time when a new aſſembly had been juſt choſen, by *Robert Hunter Morris*, Eſq. The firſt ſpeech of this new governor contained little beſides general profeſſions of his attachment to the intereſts of the colony, of his readineſs to concur with them in paſſing any additional laws they might think to be for their benefit, and repreſentations of the danger of the colony from the now avowed intentions of the *French* againſt the *Britiſh* provinces. However harmleſs in the courſe of things this ſpeech was, it excited wonderful doubts and jealouſies among the members of the aſſembly. They called for a copy of the governor's commiſſion, and the royal approbation of it, and then returned a very dry common place anſwer; but they gave his excellency, at the ſame time, to underſtand that they were reſolved to tread in the footſteps of former aſſemblies, concluding, in a deſire to be adjourned, in which the governor concurred. Their next meeting was in the beginning of *September*, when the governor laid before the aſſembly the annexed letter from Sir *Thomas Robinſon*, the ſecretary of ſtate (D), to which we refer

(D) *Whitehall, July*, 5, 1754.

" Sir,

" Your letter of the 25th of *November* laſt, in anſwer to the earl of *Holderneſſ*'s of the 28th of *Auguſt*, having been received and laid before the king, I am to acquaint you, that it is his majeſty's expreſs command, that you ſhould, in obedience thereto, not only act vigorouſly in the defence of the government under your care, but that you ſhould likewiſe be aiding and aſſiſting his majeſty's other *American* colonies, to repel any hoſtile

refer the reader. The reproaches in this letter, though juſt, were harmleſs and ineffectual; and prove the great ignorance of the *Britiſh* miniſtry as to the character of the *Penſylvanian* quakers. The letter was enforced by a more particular information of the ſtrength and progreſs of the *French*, and of the wavering condition of the ſix friendly nations of *Indians*, who certainly would, all of them, go over to the *French*, which many of them had already done, if the *Engliſh* did not bring into the field a power ſufficient to protect them. All thoſe repreſentations, as they were unbacked by any compulſive power, were treated by the aſſembly with the uſual contempt. They knew the power of money was in their hands, that in that, none could controul them, and they were the beſt judges of their own danger. The old expedient of a currency was again propoſed, and the new governor was preſented with a freſh bill for ſtriking the ſum of 40,000*l.* in bills of credit; one moiety for the king's uſe, and the other for replacing damaged bills. This bill was attended by a meſſage, in which they attempted, in a moſt ſcandalous manner, to throw the blame of their province's danger upon their former governors, inſiſting upon the amendment of their bills; and inſinuating, that from Sir *Thomas Robinſon*'s letter they thought they had been miſrepreſented to the miniſtry in *England*.

Sir DudleyRider's *opinion.*

DURING the diſpute between Mr. *Hamilton* and the aſſembly, Sir *Dudley Rider*, the attorney general, gave his opinion upon that governor's caſe in the following manner, "I am of opinion, it is by no means ſafe or adviſeable, or conſiſtent with his duty, to paſs ſuch bills without a ſuſpending clauſe." In conſequence of this opinion, to which the quakers paid no regard, the governor refuſed to give his aſſent to the bill without the amendment; but, in conſideration of the

hoſtile attempts made againſt them; and it was with great ſurprize, that the king obſerved your total ſilence upon that part of his majeſty's orders, which relate to a concert with the other colonies, which, you muſt be ſenſible is now become more eſſentially neceſſary for their common defence, ſince the account received by you from major *Waſhington*, with regard to the hoſtilities committed by the *French* upon the river *Obio*, which verify, in fact, what was apprehended, when the earl of *Holderneſs* wrote to you in *Auguſt* laſt, and which might have been, in great meaſure, if not totally prevented, had every one of his majeſty's governments exerted themſelves according to thoſe directions, the obſervance whereof I am now, by the king's command, to inforce to you in the ſtrongeſt manner." I am, &c.

emer-

emergency, he offered to join with the aſſembly in any bill the members ſhould think the preſſing occaſions of the province demanded, provided a fund was eſtabliſhed for ſinking the ſame in five years. After ſome other expreſſions of courſe, "there is, concluded he, great danger of its being diſapproved by his majeſty; and what loſs and confuſion ſuch an event would cauſe in the province, by the paper-bills becoming of no value, I need not particularly mention." This anſwer, the latter part of which the members thought ſtruck at their independency and deſpotiſm in money matters, threw the aſſembly into a greater flame than ever, and they charged him with ſubſerviency to the proprietary intereſt, as he had offered to diſpenſe with the much litigated inſtruction, if that could be ſerved.

Meſſages and anſwers upon a new letter from the ſecretary of ſtate.

WHILE matters remained in this untowardly ſtate between the governor and aſſembly of *Penſylvania*, another letter, more explicit than the former, came from the ſecretary of ſtate to be communicated by the governor to the aſſembly. It informed them that the miniſtry having come to ſome reſolutions for the defence of *America*, his majeſty had commanded two regiments of foot, conſiſting of five hundred men each, to repair to *Virginia*, there to be completed to ſeven hundred each, and that governor *Shirley* and Sir *William Pepperell* had been ordered to raiſe two regiments more of 1000 each, which were to be officered from *Great Britain*; all of them to be commanded by a general officer of rank and reputation, who happened afterwards to be major-general *Braddock*. The ſame letter ſtrongly recommends the furniſhing the officers and troops with proper neceſſaries and conveniences. It inſiſts upon the province raiſing in proportion to its ability, contributing towards eſtabliſhing a common fund for the *American* ſervice, and for levying and paying the men to be raiſed there. This letter was enforced by a ſpeech from the governor, ſhewing the expediency and neceſſity of their compliance. Though nothing could be more plain and reaſonable than all that the miniſtry had required, yet the aſſembly, inſtead of complying, fell upon the attorney-general's opinion, as proceeding on wrong principles, and, in a meſſage they ſent to the governor, they not only endeavoured to ſhew that *Penſylvania* was not comprehended in the inſtruction inſiſted upon, but that they had ſufficiently provided for the emergency, if the governor would paſs the bill. They then demanded of the governor to know whether the royal inſtruction was the only impediment to his paſſing the bill, and required him to lay before them the inſtructions he had from the proprietaries. To this meſſage, which was both voluminous and impertinent,

tinent, the governor, in anſwer, evaded laying before them the proprietary inſtructions, till a proper time, and declined paſſing the bill, becauſe the ſupply could be otherwiſe raiſed. "Were there, ſaid he, no other method of raiſing money for the preſent ſervice, but that by them propoſed and inſiſted upon, their conduct might have appeared in a more favourable light: but that as they had, or ought to have had in bank by the laws in being, 14, or 15,000*l.* together with a revenue of 7000*l.* a year; as the city and province were in rich and flouriſhing circumſtances, the people numerous, and burdened with none, or very trifling taxes, he could not conſent to paſs the bill propoſed." To this, and many other arguments urged by the governor, the aſſembly returned a rejoinder, juſtifying the requiſition they made of his inſtructions; and intimating, that an appeal to the crown was the only method left them of being continued in the uſe and benefit of their birth-right and charter liberties; which they inſinuated to be in danger by their being refuſed a ſight of them.

Meaſures for a militia.

THE governor had already ſo far agreed with the aſſembly's requeſt as to the proprietary inſtructions, as to acquaint them, that he had it in charge from the proprietaries, to recommend to them in the moſt preſſing manner to provide with all imaginable diſpatch for the defence and ſafety of the province, not only by affording ſuch aids as his majeſty from time to time ſhould require, but by eſtabliſhing a regular militia, providing arms and ſtores of war, and building proper magazines; all to be done in ſuch a manner as to be leaſt burthenſome to the inhabitants, and particularly ſo, as not to oblige any to bear arms, who were, or might be conſcientiouſly ſcrupulous againſt it. But the governor finding the aſſembly inſiſt upon a ſight of the other inſtructions, as their right, he treated this pretence with ſome indignation, and put them at defiance, as to any addreſs they intended to preſent to the crown. He then endeavoured to divert their attention from thoſe ridiculous ſubjects, by informing them that he had lately received intelligence, that 6000 (E) of the beſt troops of *France* were actually arrived at the lower fort on the *Ohio*, and were there employed in fortifying the country. He therefore once more entreated them to grant the ſupplies required, and to enable him to raiſe a conſiderable body of men to be employed in conjunction with his majeſty's troops; to eſtabliſh a regular militia, and provide the neceſſary ſtores of war.

(E) When we conſider the acuteneſs of thoſe quakers, we are of opinion the governor would have acted more politicly if he had not aggravated the danger beyond the truth.

THE

THE aſſembly treated this alarm with the utmoſt contempt *Security of*
d neglect, and in all their ſubſequent proceedings they roſe *the aſſem-*
their inſults upon the governor. They ordered the papers, *bly.*
ich had paſſed between the proprietaries and them, to be
inted, which they pretended they had delayed till then,
t of tenderneſs to the proprietaries. Thoſe papers, however,
ien rightly conſidered, do no diſcredit to the proprietaries,
acting under a royal charter. The aſſembly then came to
animous reſolutions concerning the proprietary inſtructi-
s, in which they declare it as their opinion, that the ſaid
tructions were the principal, if not the ſole, obſtruction to
ir bill: and refer to points contained in their reply
the governor's charge againſt them. They then deſcend
other particulars, in which they upbraid the governor with
ignorance of their conſtitution, and after various ſtrictures
on the revenue of their province, they attacked him upon
alarm he had given them upon the *French* invaſion, which
y endeavoured to ridicule, by fixing it to the limits of *Vir-*
ia. They then ſhewed the improbability of 6000 *French*
ops getting, as it were, by ſtealth, to the lower fort of the
io. In the courſe of their reply they make uſe of the follow-
ſtrong expreſſions, which we cannot in juſtice to the ori-
al ſettlers omit, however little they are applicable to the
n aſſembly. "Under the ſanction, ſay they, of a charter, a
er, induſtrious people, without any charge to the crown or
proprietary, firſt ſettled this wilderneſs, and by their fru-
ity, and the equity of their laws, laid the foundation of a
riſhing colony, which already, within the ordinary life of
n, has made a conſiderable addition to the dominions of the
wn, by an increaſe of dutiful and loyal ſubjects, and bears
mean rank in contributing to the wealth and trade of our
ther country."

AFTER this remonſtrance, in conſequence of the plan *Five thou-*
ich they had formed of being independent as much as they *ſand pound*
ibly could, both upon the proprietary and the governor, they *raiſed.*
nimouſly reſolved to raiſe 5000*l.* on the credit of the pro-
ce, for the accommodation of the king's troops; and im-
vered certain members of their own to negotiate the loan,
allow ſuch intereſt as ſhould be found neceſſary. This re-
ution produced a tedious conteſt of very little importance
our readers. At laſt the aſſembly came to a reſolution to
ke their appeal to the crown, and that a fair and modeſt ſtate
their caſe would recommend them to the royal protection,
ſkreen them from the malignity of their adverſaries. Of
reſolution they apprized the governor, whom they ſtill ac-
ed of being totally ignorant of their conſtitution and
finances;

finances; and thus, in the main, ſtood the ſtate of affairs in this province when general *Braddock* arrived in *America*. Upon that gentleman's arrival, the aſſembly met again on a ſpecial ſummons from the governor, who repeated the old topics of their danger, the neceſſity of a ſupply; the opening roads from the inhabited parts of *Penſylvania* towards the *Ohio*; the junction of the *Penſylvanian* forces with thoſe of the eaſtern provinces, and the cutting off all the ſupplies, which the *French* had uſed to receive from the *Britiſh* colonies, and which had enabled them to ſubſiſt their troops. He added, that it was general *Braddock*'s deſire, a poſt ſhould be eſtabliſhed between *Philadelphia*, and a place called *Winchеſter*; and that the money, for their quota of the expedition, ſhould be depoſited in the hands of a common treaſurer, who was to act as ſuch for the contingents of the other provinces. Some ridiculous altercations happened after this, between the governor and the aſſembly, in which he ſeems to have been to blame; becauſe the charges he brought againſt them were frivolous, and ſerved only to exaſperate them at a time, when their hearty concurrence with public meaſures was ſo neceſſary for public ſafety.

THE next affair of importance that fell out, was an application from governor *Shirley* to governor *Morris*, to know how far the province of *Penſilvania* would contribute towards the charge of his building a fort near *Crown Point* upon the *Britiſh* territories. The arrival of the troops from *Great-Britain* happened about this time, and the governor ſent them another meſſage, in which he informed them, among other things, that to render his majeſty's meaſures effectual, it was expected, that the colonies ſhould raiſe an additional number of forces, and ſhould furniſh proviſions, and all neceſſaries, to thoſe employed for their protection: that this being ſo reaſonable in itſelf, he could not doubt its being complied with by all the provinces, in proportion to their abilities; and he hoped, that as *Penſilvania* was the moſt intereſted in the event, they would exert themſelves as became the repreſentatives of a province actually invaded, and having their all depending on the ſucceſs of the preſent enterprize. The reſt of the meſſage ran in the uſual exhortatory terms. The return was ſuitable. Twenty-five thouſand pounds were granted to the king's uſe: five thouſand pounds of it were appropriated for the ſum borrowed for the ſervice at the laſt ſitting: ten thouſand pounds for the purchaſe of proviſions, at the requeſt of the government of *Maſſachuſet's-Bay*, for victualling their forces: five thouſand pounds to anſwer the occaſional draughts of general *Braddock*: and the remaining five thou-

Farther expences of the province.

, for the maintenance of ſuch *Indians* as had taken re- in the province; and other contingent expences. This ſible vote was, however, only an empty ſound; becauſe money was to be raiſed by an emiſſion of paper-currency, ch was to be ſunk, according to the former ineffectual oſal, by a ten year's extenſion of the exciſe. The bill, equently, was rejected by the governor, who, at the time, recommended to their encouragement one *Scar-* y, an *Indian* chief, of great conſequence among the *Indians*, and ſo well affected to the *Engliſh* intereſt, that ad raiſed a company of men for its ſervice. That ſame Mr. *Quincy*, who was commiſſioner to *Penſylvania* from overnment of *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, preſented a memorial e aſſembly, begging them to find ſome other means for ring their vote of ſupply effectual; repreſenting, that it mpoſſible for his province to do more than it had done; ng quite exhauſted by its immenſe expence againſt the , and putting them in mind that they had not a mo- to loſe.

NOTHING can better illuſtrate the character of thoſe ſtub- *Penſylvanians* than their conduct on this occaſion. De- enthuſiaſtically, not as they ſaid, to the ſoil, but the itution of their province, they had ſuffered the ſword, in nner, to be put to their throats, rather than agree to a ire they had once declared againſt, and with a governor moderately obſtinate as themſelves. The latter, perhaps, he moſt indefenſible, as it cannot be ſuppoſed, that in en urgency of public affairs, he could ever have incurred lame had he agreed to the quaker's propoſal. But no did Mr. *Quincy* apply to them in a mild and pathe- nner, than they voted to raiſe 15000 *l.* of which 5000 *l.* to repay the ſum ſo before borrowed for victualling the troops; and 10,000 *l.* to anſwer the requeſt of the *chuſet's* government. This favour was duly acknow- d by Mr. *Quincy*, who won the hearts of the aſſembly, ming not greatly to approve of their governor's conduct. s mean while, the governor had not thought proper to , as uſual, the laſt money-bill that had been ſent up to y the aſſembly; giving for this reaſon, "That it was of ſo extraordinary a nature, that he thought it his o lay it before his majeſty, and ſhould keep it for that ſe."

At the ſame time, the governor informed the aſſembly, *An alarm about a* the *French* had fitted out fifteen ſail of the line, on *French in-* of which they had put 6000 land troops; that they *waſion.* bound to *America*; and that they knew *Penſylvania* to be

be a plentiful, but a defenceleſs, country. After this, the governor accompanied the governors *Shirley* and *Delany* to *Annapolis*, where they had a conference with general *Braddock*, and the governors *Sharp* of *Maryland*, and *Dinwiddie* of *Virginia*. When the aſſembly met again, ſquabbles aroſe between them and the governor upon the moſt unintereſting points; and he ſent them a very ſharp meſſage concerning the diſpoſal of the money raiſed againſt the *French*, no more than 5000 *l.* of which were left to the diſpoſal of general *Braddock*; the remainder being 20,000 *l.* and all the ſurplus of the exciſe, for eleven years to come, being ſubjected to ſome members of their own houſes, and to the aſſembly for the time being. In the anſwer, which the aſſembly returned to this charge, it is abſolutely denied. In the bill, ſaid they, 5000 *l.* of the ſum was appropriated to pay for proviſions bought, and given for the uſe of the forces in *Virginia*, under general *Braddock*; 10,000 *l.* more was given to buy proviſions for the *New England* forces under his command; 5000 *l.* more was ſubjected to his order, and to be diſpoſed of for the king's ſervice as he ſhould think fit; and the remaining 5000 *l.* was appropriated for the ſubſiſtence of *Indians* taking refuge in this province, payment of poſts or expreſſes, hire of carriages, clearing of roads, and other neceſſary contingent expences for the king's ſervice, as might be incumbent on this government to diſcharge. The reſt of this anſwer, which is very long and ſpirited, bears very hard upon the governor. Upon the breaking up of the houſe, they were aſſembled by ſpecial ſummons on the 13th of *June*, and ſeveral letters were read from Sir *Peter Halket* and colonel *Dunbar*, officers who ſerved under *Braddock*, acknowledging the receipt of certain preſents from the houſe to the officers of their reſpective regiments, of the moſt acceptable kind, and returning thanks for the ſame.

General *Braddock*, by this time, had ſet out upon his expedition againſt fort *Du Queſne*, not without venting ſevere reproaches againſt the *Americans* in general, and particularly the *Penſilvanians*, for their backwardneſs in enabling him to take the field before the trees of the woods through which he was to march had put forth their leaves, ſo as to conceal the *Indian* ambuſhes, to which, in fact, he afterwards owed his defeat, and the loſs of his life. Before he ſet out on his march, he ſent meſſages to the governors of *Penſilvania*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, acquainting them with part of his plan of operations, and that he expected they would ſupply him and his army with whatever they might want. At the ſame time he ſent them intelligence, that he

was

ls informed the *French* intended to fall upon their back tlements. Thoſe advices were the grounds of the extra- linary ſummons of the aſſembly; and the governor de- inded their counſel how to proceed, laying before them, at ſame time, the neceſſities of the juncture, and their own ger. The aſſembly demanded a copy of *Braddock*'s let- , which was refuſed them; though the governor offered communicate it to a committee. In a few days after, he them another meſſage, that all the money that had been anced by the province to the commiſſaries of the army expended; that the *French* were determined to oppoſe *ddock* with the whole force of *Canada*; that *Penſylvania* every day threatened with new dangers and invaſions, that men muſt be raiſed for public ſervices; a variety of ch this meſſage pointed out.

THE quakers of *Penſylvania*, by this time, began to be ble how impracticable their pacific ſyſtem was againſt a ning and determined enemy like the *French*, and ſuch ileſs inhuman ſavages as their *Indians*. They were, how- too proud to own their error, and though convinced of hey continued to treat the governor's meſſages with their contempt and diſtruſt. They inſinuated, that all thoſe as only ſerved to authoriſe a freſh demand for a militia- which the governor knew to be incompatible with their iples as quakers. Notwithſtanding this, they prepared money-bills, one for ſtriking 10,000 *l.* for the exchange faced bills; and one of 15,000 *l.* more for the king's Thoſe bills were drawn upon the model of that which been paſſed by governor *Thomas*, and approved of by wn, even after it had ſent the ſo much litigated in- ion. In this, the aſſembly triumphed greatly, and, in- they ſeem to have then been in earneſt. *Penſylvania* hat year been afflicted with a ſevere froſt and drought, had ſubjected the inhabitants to numberleſs inconve- ies; and the aſſembly earneſtly preſſed the governor to ch the bills, that the members might return to their ive homes, where they were threatened with the ca- us circumſtances, not only of war, but of famine. governor returned the bill, with amendments, which ſſembly ſteadily refuſed to agree to, (which, to ſay uth, he could not but foreſee) and he adhered to with equal obſtinacy. The 10,000 *l.* bill, however, was paſſed. The aſſembly upon this adjourned to *Sep-* ; but they had a ſpecial ſummons to meet on the 23*d* y.

Meaſures for a milli-tia.

Compliance of the aſſembly with Mr. Quincy.

THE occaſion of this extraordinary meeting was the famous defeat of general *Braddock*; which the governor, in a ſpeech to the aſſembly, ſet off with all the horrid circumſtances attending it; and repreſented to them the danger of a province, which, like *Penſylvania*, was unprovided with a militia. "There are, ſaid he, men enough in this province to protect it againſt any force the *French* can bring, and numbers of them are willing and deſirous to defend their country upon the preſent occaſion; but they have neither arms, ammunition, nor diſcipline; without which it will be impoſſible to repel an active enemy, whoſe trade is war.---I therefore hope, that you will, without delay, grant ſuch ſupplies, as may enable me not only to ſecure the people of this province, but, by reinforcing and aſſiſting the king's troops, enable them to remove the *French* from their preſent encroachments." The aſſembly was ſenſible of their danger, and immediately voted an aid of 50,000 *l.* by a tax upon all real and perſonal eſtates in the province. The governor, while this affair was under their conſideration, informed them, that colonel *Dunbar* was upon his march from fort *Cumberland* to *Philadelphia*; and that they muſt fall upon meaſures for the protection of their weſtern frontier. To this meſſage the aſſembly replied with great quickneſs, that they hoped Mr. *Dunbar*'s troops would be employed on that ſervice.

Propoſal concerning the Allegheny *mountains.*

NEXT day, while the aſſembly was deliberating upon the propoſal for taxing the proprietary eſtate in common with others, the governor ſent them a meſſage, containing an offer, on the part of the proprietaries, of a thouſand acres of land, weſt of the *Allegheny* mountains, without purchaſe-money, and for fifteen years clear of quit-rents, to every colonel who ſhould ſerve on an expedition from that or the neighbouring provinces againſt the *French* on the *Ohio*; ſeven hundred and fifty to each lieutenant-colonel and major; five hundred to each captain; four hundred to each lieutenant and enſign; and two hundred to every common ſoldier: and requiring the houſe to afford ſome aſſiſtance to ſuch as ſhould accept the ſame. At the time this meſſage was delivered, the town of *Philadelphia*, and indeed the whole province, was in a prodigious ferment. Not only the defeat of *Braddock*, but the daily accounts which the *Penſylvanians* received of the *French* and *Indian* cruelties, excited a general indignation againſt the ill-timed obſtinacy of the aſſembly; and a great number of the inhabitants joined in a remonſtrance, which was preſented to the members, repreſenting, that 100,000 *l.* was as ſmall a ſum as would anſwer the preſent exigency; and ſignifying the willingneſs of the preſenters to contribute their proportion of the ſame, or

of

a larger ſum if neceſſary. Beſides this remonſtrance, ſome
uſands of inhabitants in other townſhips, joined in pe-
ons to the ſame purpoſe, and praying to be furniſhed with
s and ammunition for the defence of their houſes and fa-
ies. Thoſe repreſentations ſunk deep into the minds of
aſſembly, and produced from the members an addreſs to
governor, of which the following quotation is a part:
We think it our duty, on this occaſion, to be neither par-
onious, nor tenacious of ſuch matters as have been in
ute, and now under the conſideration of our ſuperiors;
, reſerving to ourſelves all our juſt rights, we have re-
ed to grant 50,000 *l.* for the king's uſe, by a tax on all
real and perſonal eſtates within this province, in which
ſhall proceed with all poſſible diſpatch; hoping to meet
e governor the ſame good diſpoſitions he ſo earneſtly re-
mends to us."

A grant of 50,000 l.

HOSE profeſſions, however, came to nothing, and were
ulated only to blind the public; becauſe the proprietary
e was to be taxed for part of the money that was to be
d; a proviſion which the aſſembly knew would defeat
rant, if the governor ſhould obſtinately adhere to the
r of his inſtructions; the 50,000 *l.* money-bill, therefore,
returned with an amendment, by which the whole pro-
ary eſtate was to be exempted from the tax. The go-
r, when called upon for his reaſons for this exception,
four. The chief one, next to his inſtructions and commiſ-
was, "For that the proprietaries, by their governor,
g conſented to a law for veſting in the people the ſole
e of the perſons to aſſeſs, and lay taxes, in the ſeveral
ies, without reſerving to themſelves, or their governor,
negative upon ſuch choice; and this conceſſion being
with an expreſs proviſo, that the proprietary eſtates
d not be taxed, it will be very unreaſonable to empower
perſons by a law, without their previous conſent, to tax
eſtates at diſcretion." He afterwards repeated his offer
ds to the weſt of the *Alleghany* mountains to officers.
aſſembly ſtuck by their tax, in which they ſaid they
warranted by common ſenſe, and all the general max-
f policy, which led them to lay a tax upon part, in or-
ſave the whole. They ſaid, that if his argument had
rce, it had the ſame force in behalf of the people;
conſequently, he ought, in duty, to reject both parts
bill for the ſame reaſon: that, for their parts, hap-
g to think otherwiſe, they had laid the tax as chear-
n their own eſtates, as on thoſe of their conſtituents.
the grant of the *Alleghany* lands, they treated it as a

ineffectual, and why.

matter of amuſement, and as propoſed only to make the taxing of the proprietary eſtate appear leſs reaſonable, adding, that they did not propoſe to tax the proprietary as governor, but as a fellow-ſubject, a land-holder, and poſſeſſor of an eſtate in *Penſylvania*; whoſe eſtate would be more benefited by a proper application of the tax than any other eſtate in the province: that the proprietary did not govern them: that the province, at a large expence, ſupported a lieutenant to do that duty for him: that if the proprietary did govern them in perſon, and had a ſupport allowed him on that account, they ſhould not have thought it leſs reaſonable to tax him, as a land-holder, for the ſecurity of his land.

Differences continued between the governor and the aſſembly.

THEY inſiſted farther, that the poſitive law of the province, mentioned by the governor, was no other than the law for raiſing county rates and levies, which were by the ſame act appropriated to purpoſes for which the proprietaries could not reaſonably be charged; ſuch as wages for the aſſembly-men, rewards for killing wolves, and the like; and not a general conſtitutional law of the province. Their remonſtrance was cloſed in a moſt maſterly ſpirited manner; and the obſtinacy of the governor, in adhering as he did to the exemption, was generally condemned. He was unmoved by all the pathetic, and indeed affectionate, exhortations to compliance, which they could lay before him, ſtill truſting that the growing danger of the province would oblige them to paſs the bill with the amendment. It was eaſy to foreſee the ruin that muſt attend this obſtinacy on both ſides; and that another point, as diſagreeable to the quakers as the exemption of the proprietary eſtate, muſt ſoon come upon the carpet, which was a militia-bill. It is to the honour of the more moderate quakers, that perceiving the violence which their agreeing to ſuch a bill muſt do their profeſſion, ſome of them reſigned their ſeats in the aſſembly; and others of them employed all the intereſt they had in the province, in procuring members to be elected in their room, who were not quakers; and ſome private gentlemen generouſly ſtruck out a plan for removing the objection of taxing the proprietary eſtate.

ALL thoſe wiſe and publick-ſpirited purpoſes were in danger of being defeated by the madneſs of the lower rank of people, actuated by ignorant enthuſiaſts and preachers. They no ſooner underſtood that the *French* had not followed the blow they had given *Braddock*, than they deſpiſed the danger under which a few hours before they had trembled; they termed *Braddock*'s defeat a juſt judgment of God, for diſturbing the *French* in the quiet poſſeſſion of their own country; and concluding, that *Penſylvania* was under the immediate pro-

otection of Providence, they ſet at nought all military men
d meaſures. On the 9th of *Auguſt* 1755, the governor
1755.
The conſideration of the militia reſumed.
t the aſſembly a very alarming meſſage, requiring them to
t the province into a poſture of defence by eſtabliſhing a
litia; ſo as that a due regard may be had to ſcrupulous
nſciences. Two days after, he informed them that he had
en required by colonel *Dunbar* to provide quarters for his
ops; but had been anſwered by the mayor and corporation
Philadelphia, that they knew of no law for that purpoſe,
I recommended it to them to prepare one, thoſe troops
ng then upon their march into the province, whether they
re to remain there or not. Next day, he informed the
mbly, that the *Owendaets* and other *Indians*, who had
ne to *Philadelphia* on invitation from the government, ex-
ted to be treated with large preſents. The aſſembly, in
wer, ſaid, they knew nothing of the matter; that they
er had invited thoſe *Indians*; and that his refuſing to paſs
money-bill, had diſabled them from making preſents of
kind. The governor, at the ſame time, offered to paſs
ill for ſtriking any ſum in paper-money, provided funds
e eſtabliſhed for ſinking it in five years. The aſſembly
ſed to alter the bill they had already ſent up.

MATTERS ſtood in this ſituation, when the aſſembly was given
The Engliſh regulars drawn from the frontiers.
underſtand, that notwithſtanding their application to the
ernor, that the reſidue of *Braddick*'s troops ſhould remain
n their frontier, they were, by governor *Shirley*'s order,
uit it, as *Penſylvania* was populous enough to protect it-

The governor, therefore, called upon the aſſembly to
re the back-ſettlements. The members treated this alarm
matter that had been concerted between the two gover-
, and were quickened by freſh meſſages from their own go-
or; that his ſecretary would lay before them the copies of
ry petitions, which had been preſented to him from ſe-
l parts of the province, repreſenting their naked and de-
eleſs condition; and praying to be enabled to defend
nſelves, which they were ſenſible was not in his power
omply with: that he would alſo lay before them a letter
one *John Harris*, giving an account of a large party of
ans, actually ſet out from the *French* fort, with deſign to
upon, and deſtroy, the inhabitants of this and the neigh-
ring provinces: he therefore adviſed them to be upon
r guard. The *French*, at *Louiſbourg*, at this time were ſo
h diſtreſt for proviſions, that it was thought if they were
ſupplied from *Penſylvania*, which was the only *Engliſh*
rince capable of doing it, they muſt ſurrender the place;

for which reaſon, the governor required the aſſembly to fall upon ſome meaſure for preventing ſuch ſupply. This was, undoubtedly, a very neceſſary caution. *Penſylvania* at that time abounded with the neceſſaries of life, and many of the inhabitants, though induſtrious, were mercenary, and had for ready money ſupplied the *French* agents. In the mean-while, governor *Shirley*, as *Dunbar*'s ſuperior, ſent him an order to reſume the expedition againſt fort *du Queſne*, with the aſſiſtance he might have from *Penſylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, in reinforcements, proviſions, ammunition, artillery, ordnance ſtores, carriages, horſes, and all other things to fit him out for his march. Governor *Morris*, therefore, recommended the conſideration of the ſaid order to the aſſembly. It was about this time that a very ſingular meaſure took place.

Five hundredpounds generouſly offered by private perſons.

THIS was an aſſociation of private gentlemen of the province, not members of the aſſembly, to the following purpoſe; which ought to ſtand on record as a perpetual evidence of their diſintereſted public ſpirit: "We the ſubſcribers obſerve, with great concern, that the governor and aſſembly differ in opinion, in reſpect to the taxing the proprietaries eſtate; and, leſt by ſuch difference in opinion, the bill for raiſing 50,000 *l.* for his majeſty's ſervice ſhould not take effect; and as the aſſembly, in their meſſage to the governor, ſeem to be of opinion, that were the proprietaries lands to be taxed, the ſum would not exceed five hundred pound: we, rather than the leaſt check ſhould be given to his majeſty's ſervice at the time of imminent danger, by a matter ſo very trifling, do hereby promiſe and engage to pay five hundred pound, money of *Penſylvania*, into the publick ſtock, for the king's uſe, in lieu of what the proprietaries would pay as their part of the 50,000 *l.* were their lands to be taxed. And we declare the abſence of the honourable the proprietaries to be our motive for making this propoſal, being well aſſured, that, were they preſent, it would have been altogether unneceſſary; and we doubt not but they will honourably acquit every ſubſcriber of this expence."

Freſh matters of conteſt.

THE aſſembly refuſed to take any cognizance of this offer, farther than to order that the propoſal be ſent up to the governor, as a farther ſecurity to him, in caſe he ſhould give his aſſent to the bill for raiſing 50,000 *l.* for the king's uſe. They again, at the ſame time, preſſed him to paſs the money-bill, as the moſt effectual way of aſſiſting the expedition againſt fort *du Queſne*; and they put him in mind, that there was a law in force againſt ſupplying *Louiſbourg*, or any of

the

French ſettlements with proviſions (F). All this did not ncile the breach between them and the governor, who called out for a militia; but at laſt they came to a reſo- on to order 1000 *l.* if ſo much remained in their trea- to arm the back inhabitants. Matters continuing in deſperate ſtate, they told him that they purpoſed to ad- to the 16th of *September*; and that they would refer diſcuſſion of the militia to a new aſſembly; intimating, e ſame time, that both his and their conduct was under deliberation of the miniſtry at *London*. At their next ting, the governor demanded an additional ſupply of pre- to be ſent to *Albany*, for the uſe of the additional forces by the province of *Maſſachuſet's-Bay*, who were to be oyed againſt *Crown-Point*, and this at the requeſt of nor *Phipps*. He likewiſe demanded a like ſupply for the ional provincial troops of *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Iſland*, were to be employed in the ſame ſervice. Upon this, ſſembly demanded a ſight of governor *Phipps*'s letter, but refuſed them; though he offered to communicate ſome f his information to a few of them. The public bu- was then agitated with more acrimony on both ſides ever; and freſh diſputes aroſe concerning the expence of *l.* which had been employed upon the public roads to the *Ohio*; and which the aſſembly repreſented as be- travagant, and triple the eſtimate which had been laid them. At laſt, the aſſembly, to clear themſelves from ſſible imputation either of inſincerity or backwardneſs raiſing money, voted a loan, or voluntary ſubſcrip- of 10,000 *l.* (G) the ſame to be paid to the lenders by nſuing aſſembly, the time for whoſe meeting was at

But this was not done before they drew up, with the ſt accuracy and preciſion, a full vindication of them- from all the bitter charges brought againſt them by the nor, of their having, by their delay and parſimony, ob- d and hurt the public ſervice; and, particularly, of having been the occaſion of *Braddock*'s defeat, and of inhumanities that had been perpetrated by the *French dians* in the back ſettlements. This they did by pro- a variety of teſtimonials from the gentlemen of *Maſ- 's bay*, and officers employed in the ſervice, all of them

(F) This law ſeems not to been ſufficient, as the might have been ſup- by the *Indians*, and other , trading in proviſions *enſilvania*.

The names of the truſtees for the receipt of the loan, were *Iſaac Morris*, *Evan Morgan*, *Joſeph Fox*, *John Mifflin*, *Reeſe Meredith*, and *Samuel Smith*, of the city of *Philadelphia*, gentlemen.

acknowledging the vaſt benefit they had received from the alacrity of the province of *Penſylvania*, and the ſeaſonable ſupplies it had ſent them.

Ten thouſand pounds voted for proviſions.

THE vote of 10,000*l.* by a voluntary ſubſcription was towards furniſhing of proviſions and blankets, or other warm cloathing, to the troops now at, or near, *Crown Point*, on the frontiers of *New York*. A new election being then at hand, it ſeemed to be the general ſenſe of the province, that ſomething effectual ſhould be done towards eſtabliſhing a militia, and, as we have already obſerved, moſt of the well intentioned quakers procured an aſſembly of different profeſſions to be choſen in their room. The party, however, continued firm in their reſolution to tax the proprietary eſtates, and the governor had left no means untried to procure a majority of the proprietaries friends to be returned for the enſuing aſſembly; but his endeavours ſeem to have been fruſtrated. Upon the meeting of the aſſembly, on the 14th of *October* they were informed by their ſpeaker, that he had ſeen in the ſecretary's hands ſome letters of importance to the aſſembly concerning *Indian* affairs. Upon this information, they acquainted the governor, after ſitting four days, that unleſs he had ſomething concerning *Indian* affairs to communicate to them, they would adjourn, which they accordingly did to the firſt of *December*. Fifteen days of this receſs were elapſed, when the governor convened them again, and informed them that a party of *French* and *Indians*, to the number of 1500, as he was informed, had paſſed the *Allegheny* hills, within about eighty miles of *Philadelphia*, and were encamped on the *Suſquehanna*. He then reproached them for their inactivity, in terms the beſt calculated to make them unpopular. He upbraided them for having ſuffered the *Delaware* and *Shawaneſe Indians* to be gained over by the *French*, and informed them, that their parſimony had deprived him of all the means of furniſhing the back ſettlers with money, or forming them into regular bodies to be of ſervice, though they were a very brave and a willing people. He then repeated his demands for a ſupply, repreſented the ravages then committing in their province by the *French* and their *Indians* in the moſt frightful colours, required them to prepare a bill for eſtabliſhing a regular militia, and declared himſelf ready and willing to conſent to a law for emitting any ſum in paper-money the preſent ſervice may require, if funds were eſtabliſhed for ſinking the ſame in five years. But he deſired them not to waſte their time in offering him ſuch a bill as had been preſented to him in the late aſſembly.

Different petitions to the aſſembly.

THE conjuncture was now ſo terrible, that the aſſembly was ſtaggered by numbers of petitions, which poured in upon

i them from all quarters of the province. Some of the pe-
ioners applauded the ſpirit which the aſſembly had ſhewn,
me condemned it, and recommended a coalition with the
vernor upon any terms, while ſome recommended pacific
eaſures, and truſting to providence. The aſſembly, after
covering from their alarm, examined the letters and papers
at had been laid before them, and declared, that they could
t find from them that any ſuch number of *French* and *In-*
ns, as the governor had mentioned, were encamped upon
e river *Suſquehanna*; and all that they could diſcover was,
at the back ſettlers were greatly alarmed and terrified; that
uelties had been committed on the inhabitants by the *De-*
ware and *Shawaneſe Indians*, principally within the lands
rchaſed by the proprietaries at *Albany*, but the year before.
hey inſinuated, at the ſame time, as if the hoſtilities of the
laware and the *Shawaneſe* had been owing to ſome under-
nd management, which they did not care to touch upon.
he next meſſage the governor ſent to the aſſembly, import-
, "That the enemy had fallen upon the ſettlements at a
ce called the Great Cove, and ſlaughtered or made pri-
ners ſuch of the inhabitants as could not make their eſcape:
t thoſe adjoining were quitting their habitations, and re-
ating inwards: and that he muſt therefore moſt earneſt-
preſs them to ſtrengthen his hands, and enable him
edily to draw forth the forces of the province, as any
lay might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences."
As the members of the aſſembly had as good intelligence
he had of what paſſed in the province, they knew that
is was no falſe alarm; they therefore took the governor's
ſſage into immediate conſideration, and granted 60,000*l.*
the king's uſe, to be ſtruck in bills of credit, and ſunk
a tax of 6*d.* per pound, and 10*s.* per head, yearly for four
rs, laid on all the eſtates, real and perſonal, and taxable
thin the province. This bill, when ſent up, was imme-
tely rejected by the governor, who thereby incurred the
reſt cenſure of preferring his own ſafety to that of the
ovince, and the ſervice of the proprietaries to that of the
ng and the public. He ſtill continued to upbraid the aſ-
mbly with its inactivity, and informed them that his council
d unanimouſly adviſed him to repair to the back ſettle-
nts, where affairs were in a moſt miſerable ſituation, which
propoſed to do, and to take with him a quorum of the
uncil, that he might paſs ſuch bills, if agreeable to him,
they ſhould pleaſe to ſend him. All the anſwer the aſ-
mbly made, was a deſire to know whether he would or
uld not paſs the bill, which he evaded anſwering, but re-
fuſed

They grant 60,000*l.*

fuſed to return it. Soon after, the governor ſent the aſſembly a meſſage, that three hundred of the *Suſquehanna Indians* had ſent to him, proffering their ſervice to act in conjunction with the provincial troops. The governor intimated, at the ſame time, that if they were not taken at their words, they would certainly join the *French*, which might be attended with the ruin of the province; and that he had delayed his journey to the back ſettlements, till he ſhould know what ſupport they were willing to give thoſe ſavages. The aſſembly ſent him nothing in anſwer, but recriminations, and ſome ſuggeſtions, as if the falling off of the *Delaware* and *Shawanaſe Indians* had been effected by the ill treatment they had received from the proprietaries and their agents. They preſſed him to paſs the money-bill, in which it was provided, "that if at any time, during the continuance of the act, the crown ſhould declare the ſaid eſtate exempt as aforeſaid, in ſuch caſe the tax, though aſſeſſed, ſhould not be levied, or, if levied, ſhould be refunded, and replaced by an additional tax on the province." The truth is, the aſſembly was far more juſtifiable at this period, than the governor or the proprietary intereſt; as they ſubſtantially agreed to every thing he could deſire, and he differed from them only as to the form of raiſing the money. Finding all they did ineffectual, to leave him inexcuſable, they ſent him the following meſſage. "May it pleaſe the governor, We have conſidered the governor's meſſage of yeſterday, relating to the application and preſſing inſtances of the *Indians*, and are glad to find, that he is at length prevailed on to declare himſelf ready and deſirous to do any thing conſiſtent with his duty to the crown, for the protection and aſſiſtance, as well of our allies, as of the inhabitants of this province in general. We never have, and we hope never ſhall, deſire him to do any thing inconſiſtent with that duty. He has it now in his power to do what he may think the exigence requires, for the ſervice of the crown, the protection of our allies, and of the inhabitants of the province. As captain-general, he has, by the royal charter, full authority to raiſe men; and the bill now in his hands, granting 60,000*l.* will enable him to pay the expences. We grant the money chearfully, though the tax to ſink it will be a heavy one; and we hope the bill will receive his aſſent immediately."

Meſſage concerning the Indian *trade.*

TOGETHER with this meſſage a bill was ſent up for ſupplying the weſtern and northern *Indians*, friends and allies of *Great Britain*, with goods at more eaſy rates, ſupporting an agent, or agents among them, and preventing abuſes in the *Indian* trade. During all this diſpute, the indeciſion of the gover-

rnor ſtill continued; but the danger of the province en-
ſing, the provincials themſelves took the alarm. The mayor
hiladelphia, and ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of the
to the number of one hundred and thirty-three, preſented
e aſſembly, a repreſentation inforcing the neceſſity of a
ia law. "We hope, ſaid they, we ſhall always be en-
l to preſerve that reſpect to you, which we would wil-
y pay to thoſe who are the faithful repreſentatives of the
ien of this province. But, on the preſent occaſion, you
forgive us, gentlemen, if we aſſume characters ſome-
; higher than that of humble ſuitors, praying for the de-
: of our lives and properties, as a matter of grace and fa-
on your ſide: you will permit us to make a poſitive and
diate demand of it, as a matter of perfect and unalie-
right on our own parts, both by the laws of God and
." They then proceeded as follows: "Upon the whole,
emen, we muſt be permitted to repeat our demand, that
vill immediately frame, and offer, a law for the defence
e province, in ſuch a manner as the preſent exigency re-
. The time does not permit many hands to be put to
epreſentation. But if numbers are neceſſary, we truſt
all neither want a ſufficient number of hands nor hearts
pport and ſecond us, till we finally obtain ſuch a reaſon-
lemand."

: the time this very extraordinary repreſentation was
ited, an addreſs came from ſome of the quakers, which
d to blame the aſſembly for raiſing unneceſſary diſputes
the governor, and both the addreſs and the repreſenta-
were referred to a committee. The danger of the pro-
became now ſo apparent, that at laſt both parties ſeem-
be ſincerely diſpoſed towards an agreement; but they
ſplit upon the mode of granting the neceſſary ſupply.
governor was for paſſing the bill with a ſuſpending clauſe.
aſſembly adhered to what they had done, and came to
llowing vigorous reſolution: "That, in caſe the go-
r ſhould perſiſt in refuſing his aſſent to their bill, which
juſt and equitable in its nature, and ſo abſolutely ne-
y at that time for the welfare of the *Britiſh* intereſt in
ca, after he ſhould receive the anſwer of the houſe to
eſſage then under conſideration, they would make their
l to the throne by remonſtrance, humbly beſeeching his
y to cauſe their preſent governor to be removed, or take
ther meaſures as might prevent the fatal conſequences
to enſue from his conduct." The above reſolution
unanimouſly, and the aſſembly hinted at ſome breach
h that had been committed by the proprietary intereſt

An accommodation propoſed.

in

in an *Indian* treaty held with the *Shawaneſe* in the year 1753. The governor made no other anſwer than by plying the aſſembly with meſſages, and magnifying the maſſacres committed by the *Indians*, and demanding an immediate ſupply; but the aſſembly juſtified the bill they had ſent him, both in matter and manner.

THE militia-bill claimed, if poſſible, even a more ſpeedy diſpatch than the money bill. Petitions from the quakers themſelves came up, that they were willing to defend themſelves and country, and deſirous of being formed into regular bodies for that purpoſe, under proper officers, with legal authority. Upon this, the aſſembly paſſed a bill for the better ordering and regulating ſuch as are willing and deſirous of being united for military purpoſes. This bill was worded ſo as not to compel any who could not conſcientiouſly bear arms. The governor, when he received this bill, loſt himſelf in invectives; he upbraided the aſſembly with their paſt conduct, and even reproached them for their delays, which he repreſented as being the occaſion of *Braddock*'s defeat. Notwithſtanding this, he paſſed the militia bill under a preciſe declaration of its abſurdity and impropriety. After this he laid before the aſſembly a diſcuſſion of *Indian* affairs, which had been prepared by his council. He then called the aſſembly to provide for a number of *French* inhabitants, who had been baniſhed out of *Nova Scotia* by governor *Lawrence*. He next informed them on the part of the proprietaries, that ſuch was their care and regard for the people, that they had no ſooner received the account he had ſent them of general *Braddock*'s defeat, than they ſent him an order upon their receiver-general for 5000*l.* as a free gift to the public, to be applied to ſuch uſes as that event might make neceſſary for the common ſecurity of the province: that he had directed the ſaid receiver-general to have the money ready as ſoon as poſſible; and that it ſhould be paid by ſuch perſons as ſhould be appointed by act of aſſembly for the diſpoſition of any ſum they might think neceſſary to raiſe for the defence of the province in that time of danger.

As is a militia bill.

THIS ſeaſonable act of munificence in the proprietaries rendered their intereſt ſo popular, that the mayor of *Philadelphia* and his corporation preſented to the aſſembly another remonſtrance, "Reproaching them with loſing their time in deliberations, while their fellow-ſubjects were expoſed to ſlaughter, and in debates about privileges, while they were deprived of the great firſt privilege of ſelf-preſervation, and requiring them to poſtpone all diſputes, grant neceſſary ſupplies, and paſs a reaſonable law for eſtabliſhing a militia; and,

Preſent of 5000l. by the proprietaries.

, in the cloſe of it, recommending diſpatch, as the peo-
ſeemed already in a deplorable and deſperate ſtate, and
y feared it would not be poſſible to preſerve the peace and
ce of the city, or of the province itſelf, much longer."
e houſe drew up a very ſharp anſwer to the governor,
ch, however, they did not think proper to ſend him, and
tented themſelves with one more ſhort and mild. While
were deliberating upon this point, a number of the in-
itants of the county of *Cheſter* joined thoſe of *Philadel-*
, in repreſenting to the aſſembly the neceſſity of a good
erſtanding between them and the governor. Upon this
houſe came to the reſolution, "That in conſideration of
governor's meſſage of yeſterday, by which it appears, that
proprietaries have ſent him an order on the receiver-gene-
or 5000*l.* to be paid into the hands of ſuch perſons as ſhall
ppointed by act of aſſembly, and applied with ſuch ſums
e aſſembly ſhould grant, to ſuch uſes as may be neceſſary
he common ſecurity of the province; and as it would not
aſonable or juſt, at this time, to tax the proprietary
e, in order to raiſe money therefrom, over and above the
grant from the proprietaries, the houſe will immediately
eed to form a new bill for granting a ſum of money to
uſe of the crown, and therein omit the taxation of the
eſtate."

Petition of the Philadelphians *and other inhabitants.*

t conſequence of this reſolution, ſuch a bill was ordered in
ame day, and received the governor's aſſent. After that
aſſembly ſent another meſſage to explain the nature of the
w trade bill, and preſſing its being paſſed. The governor
ed a compliance with this meſſage, but ſoon after inform-
em that general *Shirley* had, in purſuance of his ma-
's orders, appointed to meet him at *New York* upon mat-
of great importance, but eſpecially to concert a general
y with the *Indians*, both to the ſouthward and the north-
. He therefore requeſted their advice, whether he ſhould
r not. The aſſembly offered to pay commiſſioners to go
s ſtead, and urged his paſſing the *Indian*-trade-bill. About
ame time, in reſentment of the remonſtrances that had
made to the aſſembly, they reſolved, "That though it
the undoubted right of the freemen of the province, not
to petition, but even to adviſe their repreſentatives on
ble occaſions, yet all applications whatever to the houſe
t to be reſpectful, decent, pertinent, and founded in truth."
t this preface they proceeded to cenſure the remonſtrators,
in mild terms, for their applications to the houſe, and re-
d the laſt repreſentation that had been made to them.

Meeting of the American *governors at* New York

On

Proceedings there. On the 3d of *December* this ſeſſion ended, and the governor thought proper to attend the aſſembly at *New York*, from whence returning, he laid before the aſſembly, under the ſeal of ſecrecy, the reſult of that meeting. He was very ſanguine as to the ſucceſs of it, provided the aſſembly furniſhed him with ſupplies, and told them that every thing poſſible had been done for the ſecurity of the province: that a chain of forts and block-houſes, extending from the river *Delaware* along the *Kittatanny*-hills (where he had formerly ſaid the 1500 *French* and *Indians* had taken poſt in their way to *Philadelphia*) to the *Maryland*-line, was then almoſt complete. He added many other particulars in praiſe of the meaſures that had been entered into by the congreſs for the benefit of the province; but according to the aſſembly's repreſentation of matters, the whole of his meſſage terminated in a call on them for a ſupply towards an offenſive war. The plan that had been agreed on at the congreſs was that 10,250 men ſhould be raiſed among all the *Britiſh* provinces, of which 1500 were to be the contingency of *Penſylvania*. Though this, notwithſtanding all the ſuggeſtions of the government's enemies, was far from being an unequal taxation of men, in a province ſo populous as *Penſylvania*, yet an accident happened that brought the ſervice into great difficulties, occaſioned indeed by the attachment of the *Penſylvanians* to their own intereſt. General *Shirley* had planted recruiting parties through all *Penſylvania*, and they had enliſted many purchaſed ſervants, whoſe maſters complained to the aſſembly, as if ſuch enliſting was robbing them of their property (H). The *Penſylvanians*, on this occaſion, preſented to the aſſembly a very ſtrong remonſtrance, ſetting forth, that their province had furniſhed as many recruits to the army as any in *America*; and that they were apprehenſive, if the practice of enliſting purchaſed ſervants went on, it would injure the population of white men in the colony, and that they muſt have recourſe to purchaſing negroes, which muſt lay them under infinite diſadvantages. The aſſembly entered keenly into the intereſts of the remonſtrants, and gave them a favourable hearing. The governor himſelf acknowledged the equity of their complaints, which were the more juſt, as the freemen of the province had but a little before made the troops a voluntary preſent of warm waiſt-

Complaints of the Pennſylvanians

(H) The *Penſylvanians* undoubtedly had a right to complain of this practice; but when we conſider the circumſtances of the province at this time the complaint was very ridiculous. Even in *Great Britain*, neceſſity in that very war juſtified the practice of impreſſing, the greateſt violation that poſſibly can be offered to perſonal liberty.

coats,

, ſtockings, and mittens. Neceſſity, however, ſuper- all other conſiderations; and *Shirley*, in flat contradic- a former opinion he had given, cited in favour of the ce, that of his own government, "Where it was com- he ſaid, to impreſs both indented ſervants and others for ining the frontier towns, where they often remained ſeve- rs."

OUT this time the king had ordered a preſent to be to the *Six Nations*, and it was to be diſtributed by Sir *Hardy*, governor of *New-York*; which province hav- ade a conſiderable addition to the royal munificence, or *Morris* put the aſſembly of *Penſylvania* in mind that ght to do the like. The *Penſylvanians*, at this very ad agents with Sir *William Johnſon* to give them in- ce of the diſpoſitions of the *Six Nations* towards them; ugh they ſeemed not at all averſe to the governor's , yet they did not think proper to give a determined to it till their agents returned; eſpecially, as the diſ- n could not take place ſooner than ſix weeks. In an while, they put their governor in mind of the bill before them for regulating the *Indian* trade; and he, other hand, preſt them to take ſome meaſures for ing the exportation of proviſions out of the province. time, they ſent up two bills, one for regulating the trade, and another for continuing the exciſe; and f them were returned by the governor with amend- which were unanimouſly rejected by the houſe. The r took no notice of this rejection, but ſet out for *le*, where he ſaid his majeſty's ſervice demanded his e; while the aſſembly paſſed a bill for regulating the and ſoldiers in the ſervice and pay of the province, ade a ſhort adjournment until the 5th of *April*.

A preſent to the Indians.

N their re-aſſembling, the governor preſt them to de- war againſt the *Delaware* and *Shawaneſe Indians*, which clined doing, not more from principles of conſcience f prudence: when the affair came to be debated, a ariety of opinions appeared in the aſſembly; but the y being for healing meaſures, no queſtion was put he ſubject. This produced great perplexities both t and within doors: a large body of *Philadelphian* petitioned the aſſembly in favour of pacific meaſures; deed, it was generally thought that an accommoda- s not even then impracticable. On the other hand, ernor informed the aſſembly, that great numbers of k ſettlers were reſolved to proceed in a body, to make demands upon the legiſlature of the province; but, he

The governor preſſes for a war.

he added, "That by the advice of the council, he ſhould give immediate orders to the provincial, and other magiſtrates, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the miſchiefs which might attend ſo extraordinary a procedure." The aſſembly, alarming as this intelligence appeared, inſtead of taking much notice of it, addreſſed the governor to lay before them the informations he had received, concerning the views and deſigns of the inſurgents, or wherein they apprehended themſelves to be neglected or aggrieved. The governor, without paying any regard to this addreſs, declared war, as by his office he was impowered to do, againſt the *Delaware* and *Shawaneſe Indians*. At the ſame time, he publiſhed rewards for ſcalps and priſoners, and demanded freſh ſupplies, as great part of the 60,000 *l.* that had been raiſed was then expended.

His reaſons for the ſame.

IT is evident that the aſſembly, at this time, paid, perhaps, too little attention to the governor's repreſentations of their danger. He informed them, that the *Indians* upon the frontiers of the province were ready, upon ſome diſcontent, as he ſuppoſed, to remove to the country of the *Six Nations*; and he adviſed them to give their two leaders, *Scarroyady* and *Montour*, a preſent; and to let the others depart in as good humour as poſſible. The houſe declined entering upon any freſh money matters, and preſt the paſſing of the *Indian* trade-bill, as the beſt means of conciliating the affections of the ſavages to the province. At the ſame time, they refuſed to comply with the governor's requeſt for ſtopping the exportation of proviſions. The governor expreſſed no objection to thoſe reſolutions, but put the aſſembly in mind that they had contributed nothing towards the operations that had been agreed upon for the next campaign; and complained heavily of the ſmall appointments he himſelf had received from them, though he had done more duty than any of their former governors. The aſſembly were in no humour for gratifying the governor, and came to a reſolution, that, having received no aſſiſtance from their mother-country, having expended vaſt ſums in their own defence, and lying under immenſe grievances in having their indented ſervants preſſed, and their freemen employed in the war, they could contribute no farther to it. As to his repreſentation of his own ſituation, they took no notice of it. He reconvened them on the 10th of *May*, and ſent them a meſſage, repreſenting the growing calamities of the province, and the inutility of the militia-bill, which he had paſſed for its defence; recommending, at the ſame time, to paſs another. He added, that, as by the lateſt accounts from *Europe*, a conſiderable armament

from *France* was to be expected in *America*, now to be the ſeat of war; and, as the enemy would, in ſuch caſe, upon being ſupplied with proviſions from the king's by the intervention of the *Dutch*, he conceived a general embargo would be neceſſary. He likewiſe recommended building a fort at a place called *Shamokin*. A petition preſented to the houſe from the officers of the provincial complaining of the inſufficiency of the militia-law, then ſtood, and praying that a new one might be paſſed. Aſſembly conſidered this petition, and all the governor's repreſentations of their danger, as ſo many inveigling arts to baſe his own power and importance in the province. met then at a place called *Harris's Ferry*, at a conſiderable diſtance from *Philadelphia*; a circumſtance, which the governor took amiſs, and they treated all his alarms of danger with the greateſt contempt, nor would they even enter into conſideration of the militia-act. They, however, ſent up a bill for prohibiting the exportation of proviſions or warlike ſtores from the province, which he paſſed; but at the ſame time informed them, that it would be ineffectual, unleſs the territory was put under the ſame reſtriction as the province. An end was then put to the ſeſſion, which laſted little more than four days.

Diſregarded by the aſſembly.

In the aſſembly met again, the governor renewed his repreſentations of the danger of the province, grounded on the accounts he had received from the governors *Dinwiddie* and *Sharpe*. He, likewiſe, laid before them the great things done by the other *Britiſh* governments had done for his majeſty's ſervice; and preſſed them to follow their example in the vigorous meaſures. At the ſame time, commodore Keppel complained of want of ſeamen, and deſired, "That he might be enabled by bounty, or otherwiſe, to raiſe and employ as many men as the province could ſpare, which would be a very ſeaſonable and acceptable ſervice." A motion was ordered in; but, in the mean while, Sir *Charles Hardy* and Sir *William Johnſon*, ſent intelligence that the *Delaware* and the *Shawaneſe Indians* were diſpoſed to reconciliation with the province. The governor, therefore, ordered a ſuſpenſion of arms to be proclaimed; and the aſſembly recommended to the managers of the public ſupply, that they ſhould furniſh him ſuch ſupplies of money as might be neceſſary for eſtabliſhing peace. The aſſembly then, after diſpatching ſome other buſineſs, adjourned for ſix days, without taking any notice of the governor's requeſt, of having his allowance taken into thier conſideration.

Before this adjournment took place, ſix members of

the aſſembly deſired leave to reſign their places; not, as they ſay in the paper that they gave in on that occaſion, "From any deſign of involving the houſe in unneceſſary trouble; but as many of our conſtituents ſeem of opinion, that the preſent ſituation of public affairs call upon us for ſervices in a military way, which, from a conviction of judgment, after mature deliberation, we cannot comply with; we conclude it moſt conducive to the peace of our own minds, and the reputation of our religious profeſſion, to perſiſt in our reſolutions of reſigning our ſeats, which we accordingly now do; and requeſt theſe our reaſons may be entered on the minutes of the houſe."

Caſe of its reſignees. IT muſt be acknowledged that the aſſembly, on this occaſion, acted very inconſiſtently with themſelves. They had always been fond of comparing their own conſtitution with that of a *Britiſh* houſe of commons; and yet they ſupported the validity of thoſe reſignations, which never could take place in the *Engliſh* parliament (I). The governor's ſecretary, very properly, refuſed to iſſue any writs for filling up the vacancies; upon which, the ſpeaker iſſued his own writs, which being obeyed by the ſheriffs, the returns were made in the uſual form; and the houſe unanimouſly reſolved, that the members, ſo returned, had been duly elected: we are not appriſed as to any farther oppoſition made by the governor on this point. When the houſe met again, the governor intimated to them the appointment of the earl of *Loudoun* to be commander in chief of all the king's forces in *America*; and acquainted them, that he was commanded to give his lordſhip, and his troops, all the aſſiſtance in his power; and he particularly recommended to them, to appropriate ſuch part of the funds already raiſed, or to be raiſed, for the public ſervice, ſo as to be iſſued as his lordſhip ſhould direct. The governor was likewiſe charged to inform the aſſembly of the raiſing the *American* regiment, which, by act of parliament, was to conſiſt of 4000 men, without any exception to foreigners, either ſoldiers or officers. He likewiſe recommended to them, to indemnify, out of the funds raiſed for the publick ſervice, the maſters of ſuch indented ſervants as ſhould inliſt themſelves in the army. He then preſſed their paſſing a bill for the more effectual prohibiting all trade and commerce with the *French*, and deſired them to grant farther ſupplies.

(I) A ſeat may be vacated in the *Engliſh* parliament by a member's accepting a place under the crown, but it cannot be reſigned.

HE aſſembly treated this meſſage with great coldneſs, *Difference between it and the governor continue.*
ecriminated upon the governor his having enacted a
n the territory, invalidating the acts of the other colo-
by limiting the continuance of their act againſt the ex-
tion of proviſions to one month only. They, likewiſe,
red, that the ports of *Maryland*, where greater quan-
of proviſions were raiſed, continued ſtill open. As to
overnor's demand of a ſupply, they demanded of him
ow whether he had come to any reſolution on the ex-
nd *Indian* trade bills. His anſwer was, that he could
cede from his amendments to the latter; and, to excuſe
f from paſſing the former, he produced the following
tary inſtruction: "You ſhall not give your aſſent to *Proprietary inſtructions.*
w for prolonging the preſent exciſe, or laying any other
, or raiſing any money on the inhabitants of the ſaid
ce of *Penſylvania*; unleſs there be an enacting clauſe,
l money ariſing from the ſaid exciſe, or other duties,
e diſpoſed of only as we, or either of us, exerciſing
ice of governor, or the lieutenant-governor, or, in caſe
death or abſence, the preſident of the council, and the
of repreſentatives, for the time being, ſhall direct;
t otherwiſe." The aſſembly triumphed greatly on the
ry of this inſtruction, and the proprietaries were ac-
n no obſcure terms of ſelfiſhneſs and tyranny, and of
ing the ſafety of the province to their own intereſts.
accordingly, came to ſome very ſevere reſolutions on
ad, and adhered to the exciſe-bill they had ſent up, re-
the governor's amendments. Even ſome difficulties,
were removed by a new act, occurred in getting in
00 *l.* preſented to the province by the proprietaries,
ich was to be raiſed out of the arrears of their quit-

the ſame day that the bill was ſent up, the houſe ſent *Money-bill rejected.*
oney-bill for granting the ſum of 40,000 *l.* for the
iſe; and for ſtriking the ſaid ſum in bills of credit,
provide a fund for ſinking the ſame. The governor,
: rejecting this bill, informed the meſſengers that he
: that time obliged to repair to *Newcaſtle*, to meet the
y of the three lower counties; but that he would give
he diſpatch in his power. A few hours after, he
l the aſſembly with freſh intelligence, that the weſ-
lians were aſſembling to fall upon the province about
time; and they recriminated upon him, that if he
to paſs their act he would have, in his hands, money
to provide for the ſecurity of the province. About
e time, great difficulties were made under the pre-

text of the bill againſt exporting proviſions out of the province; about clearing out two ſhips, one freighted with proviſions for *Newfoundland*, and the other for *Jamaica*. Upon this, the aſſembly paſſed a bill to permit the exportation of proviſions for the king's ſervice, notwithſtanding the prohibition-act. The governor, on this occaſion, trifled moſt egregiouſly with the aſſembly, for he evaded paſſing either of the bills he had ſent up; and they entered upon their journals a kind of a proteſt that they ſhould bear no part of the blame, whatever might happen, in conſequence of the delay. They then adjourned to the 23d of *Auguſt*; but the governor called them together on the 19th of *July*, being the heat of their harveſt-time, deſiring them to continue the prohibition act. Next day the merchants, owners, and maſters of veſſels, then lying in the port, preſented a petition to the houſe; "Setting forth, the damages and loſſes they had already ſuſtained for want of being allowed proper clearances; as alſo the diſadvantages, diſcouragements, and loſſes, which the whole province would ſpecially and unavoidably be liable to, in caſe the embargo was to be continued for a longer time than by the late law was provided: recommending bonds, with ſufficient penalties, to be diſcharged only by the certificates of the *Britiſh* conſuls reſiding at ſuch foreign ports; as the ſeveral veſſels and cargoes were entered for, and conſigned to, as the only proper expedient to anſwer the ends propoſed by ſuch laws, without deſtroying their trade, on which the well being of their province depended; and requeſting ſuch relief and aſſiſtance, in the premiſes, as they in their wiſdom, ſhall judge moſt expedient; as no wiſe doubting their ready and hearty diſpoſition towards the general good and ſervice of their country."

Caſe of the embargo upon proviſions.

Hardſhips upon Penſylvania.

THE reader is to obſerve, that the peculiarity of the caſe of *Penſylvania* conſiſted in that province being the only *Britiſh* government that could ſuffer by the continuance of the embargo. Fiſh, which was the only commodity that *Boſton* could furniſh, was excepted out of the act. The troops conſumed all the proviſions that *New York* could ſpare, and the ports of *Virginia* and *Maryland* had never been ſhut up. The aſſembly were provoked beyond meaſure at the governor's behaviour, and ſent him up a warm remonſtrance, which turned entirely upon facts, concerning the embargo, and ſetting forth the vaſt detriment accruing to the province by its continuance. Some other differences paſſed between him and the aſſembly, concerning the preamble of the bill for ſupplying 4000 *l.* of the proprietaries preſent, in which the houſe had artfully inſerted, that it was granted in conſideration

of the proprietary intereſt not being taxed. They like-
demanded to know, whether he had come to any reſo-
n concerning the exciſe-bill, and the 40,000 *l.* bill for
ting's uſe. As to the former, the governor informed
, he neither could, nor would paſs it; and he ſent down
tter with amendments, exempting the proprietary eſtate
taxation, which the houſe rejected.

muſt be acknowledged, that the behaviour of both par- Indian affairs.
as ſomewhat captious, and that the aſſembly was too
ous in catching at every ſlip of the governor, and in
ng him on all occaſions. He had given them an alarm,
uch, perhaps, he was not to blame, concerning the hoſ-
tentions of the weſtern ſavages againſt the province,
harveſt; but it now appeared, that the ſame ſavages,
ference they had with Sir *William Johnſon*, had agreed,
ly to lay down the hatchet againſt the *Engliſh*, but to
up againſt the *French*. At the ſame time, *Teedyuſcung*,
f the *Delawares*, and a number of the *Suſquehanna In-*
agreed, upon proper proviſions being made for them,
the governor a meeting, and to renew all their con-
s with the province. The governor demanded 4 or
the commiſſioners for the 60,000 *l.* act complained of
nability, and of the governor's refuſing to paſs the
bills, and endeavoured to throw the expence upon
prietaries, who, they ſaid, would be chiefly benefited
propoſed meeting; but the houſe offered him 300 *l.*
his expences, and that they inclined to adjourn till
h of *Auguſt*. The governor, by his anſwer, accepted
300 *l.* but informed them, that before his return, he
meet with lord *Loudon* at *New York*. About this time,
mbly received from general *Shirley*, who had been re-
from his government, a farewel compliment, and a
nourable acknowledgment of the "repeated inſtances
contributing towards the defence of his majeſty's juſt
d dominions, and to aſſure them of his hearty wiſhes
r welfare."

aſſembly met according to their adjournment, and the *New a-*
r informed them of the taking and burning fort *Gran-* *larms.*
n the *Juniata*. He likewiſe mentioned barracks for
en, which were wanted by major *Rutherford*, the
ding officer in that province, for the new *American*
t then raiſing; "and that his recruits being chiefly
ed ſervants, it would be neceſſary for the houſe to
oviſion for the payment of their maſters, for the re-
the time each had to ſerve, in conformity to his
inſtructions." He likewiſe informed them, that

their treaſury was exhauſted, their troops wanted pay, and that a ſupply was neceſſary. This drew freſh recriminations upon the governor from the aſſembly, which was the laſt ſcene of altercation between him and them; he being ſuperceded by captain *William Denny*, who ſucceeded him in his government.

Governor Denny *ſucceeds* Morris.

THE new governor was received as the guardian angel of the province, and even the aſſembly aſſiſted at an entertainment given him by the mayor of *Philadelphia*. They not only complimented him very highly on his arrival and acceſſion (for that was the term) to his government, but made him a preſent of 600 *l.* notwithſtanding their diſtreſs for money. His firſt ſpeech undeceived them in all their preposſeſſions in his favour. He mentioned the *French* encroachments upon the *Ohio*, as lying within their province, (an acknowledgment that had been always carefully avoided by the aſſembly) and that, therefore, they were peculiarly intereſted in expelling them (K). The governor, at the ſame time, after painting, in the moſt hideous colours, the ravages of the *French* and their *Indians*, recommended unanimity and diſpatch in their proceedings, and promiſed to deny them nothing that he could grant, conſiſtent with his duty to his majeſty, and the rights of the proprietaries. This ſpeech gave them to underſtand, that in fact, the name, but not the government, was changed. Inſtead of the 40,000 *l.* bill, which they had voted under governor *Morris*, they ordered in another, with a blank for the ſum. In the mean while, the governor, to quicken them, ſent them down diſpatches, which he had received from lord *Loudon* and colonel *Armſtrong*. They ſeemed in no great hurry to take notice of all thoſe alarming meſſages. In their addreſs they obſerved, that their frontier was ſo much extended, and the ſettlers upon it ſo much diſperſed, that the horrors he had mentioned in his ſpeech could not be prevented; that they had conceived their province to be in as good a ſtate of defence as any of the neighbouring colonies; and that they would do all in their power, conſiſtent with their juſt rights, to enable the government to protect the people. In anſwer to his requeſt for a ſupply, they inſiſted, in order to prevent delays, on a ſight of his proprietary inſtructions, relating to money-bills of any kind.

His proprietary inſtructions.

THE governor immediately complied with this demand, and laid before them the 11th, 12th, and 21ſt articles of his pro-

(K) The aſſembly thought it a matter of indifference to them upon what province thoſe encroachments were made, as the ground belonged to the proprietaries, who were therefore moſt concerned in recovering it.

tary instructions. By those articles, it appeared, that the
prietaries conceived they had a joint right with the assem-
in disposing of the interest-money arising from the pro-
ial bills of credit and from the excise; and the governor
prohibited from giving his assent to any bill or act of
ably, for emitting, or re-emitting, or continuing, any pa-
currency, unless the whole of the interest-money arising
from should be disposed of only to the very purposes to
pecified in such act; or where that could not be conveni-
done, by the joint concurrence of governor and assem-
or the time being: and the same prohibition is also ex-
d to all excise-laws, unless the disposition of the money,
raised by them, is also appropriated in the same manner.
governor, by the 12th article, was entrusted with a pru-
l power of adding 40,000 *l.* to the then currency; but
with strict regard to the proprietary interest. The last
ction regarded the proprietary estate, which its owners
d upon ought to be exempted from all taxes; and here
introduced a long recapitulation of facts and circum-
s in defence of the proprietaries conduct, which would
ious to insert here, but concluding as follows; "and
as the said assembly appear to us to have been inclined,
nly to load and burden our estates with taxes by their
ity, directly contrary to former usage, but even to
the same disproportionably, and in an unequal man-
n order to ease the estates of others, which is a measure
e by no means willing to consent to: and as the pre-
vasion of his majesty's *American* dominions may make it
ry to raise farther supplies for his service in our said pro-
the assembly may hereafter propose and offer bills or
f assembly, to lay additional taxes on real estates there.
re, therefore, hereby required and directed, not to give
ssent to any bill or act of assembly of that sort, unless
be made to continue for one single year only, and no
." After this paragraph, the governor receives a power
e to bills, taxing the proprietary manors or lands, which
ctually let out on leases, either for lives or years; but
e to be paid by the tenants or occupiers, who were to
them upon the proprietaries.

The house demanded to know of the governor, whether, notwithstanding the above proprietary instructions, he appre- himself to be at liberty to pass bills that were consis- with his own judgment, and agreeable to the laws en- by his predecessors, and which had received the royal The governor, in answer, told them, that he could cede from his instructions; and the house prepared a

Difference with the assembly.

bill for ſtriking the ſum of 60,000 *l.* to be ſunk by an exciſe. Ten thouſand pounds of this money was to be rendered ſubject to the orders of the earl of *Loudoun*, and was to go to the general fund that had been raiſed for the defence of the colonies. Ten thouſand pounds were allotted for diſcharging the debt contracted by the province, for the proviſions that had been furniſhed towards the expedition againſt *Crown-Point*; (*Penſylvania* having received no part of the 115,000 *l.* that had been granted by parliament for the colonies) and the reſidue was for the current ſervice of the year. The governor, before he would paſs this bill, demanded a conference with a committee of the houſe, which was accordingly agreed to. There he objected to the term of twenty years, which was fixed for ſinking the ſum, and to the inconſiſtency of the bill with his proprietary inſtructions, by leaving the ſurplus-money to the diſpoſal of the aſſembly alone. He excepted to the ſubjecting the 10,000 *l.* for the general fund to the order of lord *Loudoun*, inſtead of the commander in chief for the time being; and to the applying any part of the money for diſcharging their debt incurred by the *Crown-Point* expedition; becauſe the ſum was iſſued on a fund already eſtabliſhed: for theſe, and ſome other reaſons, he rejected the bill. The houſe juſtified their proceedings, and complained of the dearneſs of their land, which had thinned the province of inhabitants; and conſequently reduced the exciſe-duty. They inveighed againſt the proprietary inſtructions, juſtified the truſt they had put in lord *Loudoun*, which they refuſed to repoſe in any other commander, and pleaded that their funds for the *Crown-Point* debt had failed. All this, with a variety of other reaſoning juſtifying the bill, made no impreſſion upon the governor, who again peremptorily rejected it, and told the aſſembly that he was ready to give his reaſons for ſo doing to his majeſty: upon which the houſe broke up without coming to any concluſion. Three days after, the houſe came to very ſevere, and indeed unprecedented, reſolutions againſt the proprietary inſtructions, as being arbitrary and unjuſt, an infraction of their charter, a total ſubverſion of their conſtitution, and a manifeſt violation of their rights, as free-born ſubjects of *England*. They then vindicated all their proceedings, and threw the blame of all the diſagreeable conſequences upon the governor and the proprietaries. They next entered a kind of a ſalvo of their own rights, reſerving them, "in their full extent on all future occaſions, and, proteſting againſt the proprietary inſtructions and prohibitions, do, nevertheleſs, in duty to the king, and compaſſion for the ſuffering inhabitants of their diſtreſſed country, and in humble, but full,

conſ-

ence of the juſtice of his majeſty and a *Britiſh* parlia-
wave their rights on this preſent occaſion only; and
ther reſolve, that a new bill be brought in for granting
of money to the king's uſe, and that the ſame be made
mable to the ſaid inſtructions."

They are obliged to yield under a proteſt.

IS new bill was only for 30,000 *l.* which was to be
y the exciſe in ten years; and, after rec[illegible]; ſome
ions from the governor, he paſſed it. This was con-
as a complete victory on the part of the proprietaries,
the aſſembly repreſented their proceedings as having
xtorted from them by the imminent danger of the
e. The proprietaries, however, had no great occa-
triumph: the aſſembly entered in their books a full
tion of themſelves, and loaded the proprietaries with
odium of dictatorial power. Along with this vindica-
ey publiſhed a moſt curious eſtimate of the proprie-
ate in *Penſylvania*, which they calculate (and indeed
ckoning does not ſeem to be overſtrained) to be worth
million ſterling; and that the whole property of the
here does not exceed ſix millions. Together with
mate, is an account of ſeven millions of acres of *In-*
d bought by the proprietaries, who alone can make
rchaſes from the natives, for no more than ſeven hun-
l fifty pounds ſterling; which the proprietaries after-
ld at the rate of fifteen pound for every hundred acres.
dian council at *Onondago*, however, diſapproved of
puties parting with ſo much land, and in the year 1755,
the proprietaries to re-convey great part of the ſame
ndians.

Conduct of the Penſylvanians during the war.

ING thus finiſhed what we may call the civil hiſtory
lvania, though we cannot help thinking that two
eat prevailed among the aſſembly-men, in the diſ-
h the proprietary; yet no palliative can be brought
invincible obſtinacy of the governors, who not only
e very exiſtence of the province, but, had it not been
nity of the adminiſtration at home, would have en-
the proprietary charter. It is true, ſome quakers
ainſt reſiſtance; but they liberally voted money for
oops towards their defence, and they were ſo con-
laſt of the inconveniency of their principles, that of
members who compoſe the aſſembly, no more than
ere quakers; and, indeed, the governor's conduct was
y blamed by thoſe who had the beſt acceſs to know
of the province. That the people of *Penſylvania*
dilatory in defending themſelves, appears from their
rected, to cover their frontier, *Hunſtaw*'s fort, on the

Dela-

Delaware, fort *Hamilton*, fort *Norris*, fort *Allen*, fort *Franklin*, fort *Lebanon*, fort *William Henry*, fort *Auguſta*, fort *Halifax*, fort *Granville*, fort *Shirley*, fort *Littleton*, and *Shippenſburgh* fort, beſides many ſmaller ſtockades, and places of defence, and all of them garriſoned at the expence of the province. This protection was ſo powerful, that it encouraged almoſt all their frontier ſettlers, who had abandoned their habitations, to return to them, and to continue to cultivate their lands. Their troops, under colonel *Armſtrong*, performed great ſervices upon the *Ohio* againſt the *French* and their *Indians*, by deſtroying the *Indian* town of *Kittanning*, and killing their great captain *Jacobs*, recovering alſo a great number of *Engliſh* captives. Beſides their frontier garriſons, they armed, cloathed, and paid, 1100 provincial rangers. The batteries of *Philadelphia* were mounted with no fewer than ſeventy-five heavy cannon, and the province had beſides a train of artillery, all new braſs field-pieces, a magazine ſtored with ammunition, a quantity of large bomb-ſhells, and a magazine, containing a reſerve of above 2000 ſmall arms, the whole being in excellent order. They likewiſe fitted out a twenty gun ſhip of war to ſcour the coaſt and protect the trade, not only of that, but the neighbouring provinces; a ſervice which no colony to the ſouth of *New England* had ever performed. By land, *Penſylvania* covers the greateſt part of *New Jerſey*, the whole of the *Delaware* counties, and great part of *Maryland*; but without receiving any contribution from thoſe colonies. Upon the whole, it appeared by a fair account, that from the year 1754 to 1758, the province of *Penſylvania* furniſhed towards the expences of the war 218,567 *l.* 14*s.* and in the year 1758, in purſuance of a letter to their governor, by Mr. ſecretary *Pitt*, they raiſed 2700 men.

Diſputes about the diſpoſal of public money.

THE great diſpute between the governor and the commiſſioners, for applying the public money, regarded the manner of employing this force. The commiſſioners inſiſted upon raiſing companies of rangers, and falling immediately into the enemy's country, which they thought would be the beſt method for preventing their incurſions. The governor had his reaſons for preferring a militia-bill, which the commiſſioners vigorouſly oppoſed, becauſe it encreaſed his power by the nomination of its officers. The march and ſucceſs of colonel *Armſtrong* at *Kittanning* ſeemed to juſtify the former; and it is certain, that a militia, trained up to regular field or garriſon duty, form too unwieldy a body, and are too ſlow in their motions, to be of much ſervice againſt the ſudden inroads of thoſe ſavages. During the reduction of *Guadalupe* and the other military operations in *America*, the *French* had ſo artful-

practiſed upon the ſix *Engliſh Indian* nations, that they
ght them even to enter into hoſtilities, on pretence that
ngliſh had killed, or otherwiſe ill-treated, ſome of their
ren. The *Delawares* and *Miniſinks*, at the ſame time,
lained that the *Engliſh* had invaded their lands and poſ-
ns, and for that reaſon they too had entered into hoſti-
; but of all the *Indian* nations the *Twightwees*, who
ſettled on the banks of the *Ohio*, ſeemed to be the moſt
: to the *Engliſh* intereſt, and that, perhaps, with the beſt
. Their ground of diſſatisfaction aroſe from an at-
made to eſtabliſh an *Engliſh Ohio* company, and ſome
b ſubjects had been inconſiderate enough to alarm and
ke them by making ſurveys of their country, in which
trod down their corn. *Teedyuſcung*, the *Delaware*
was a friend to the *Engliſh*, and propoſed healing
ures, ſo that by his means, principally, a conference be-
the *Engliſh* governors of *Penſylvania* and *New Jerſey*,
d by Sir *William Johnſon*, was agreed upon by all the
s, inhabiting the country between the lakes and the
bian mountains. This conference was likewiſe at-
d by four members of the council of *Penſilvania*, and
the aſſembly, together with a vaſt number of other
vanians, chiefly quakers, and two agents for the pro-
of *New Jerſey*. The *Indians*, who by their chiefs,
uties, met there, were the *Mohawks*, *Oneidoes*, *Onon-*
, *Cayugas*, *Senecas*, *Tuſcaroras*, *Nanticoques*, and *Conoys*,
uteloes, *Chagnuts*, *Delawares*, and *Unamies*, the *Mini-*
Mohicons, and *Wappingers*.

e buſineſs of this conference was to ſettle the limits of
ſputed lands, and to make up all differences between
elawares and the *Six Nations*, over whom they claimed
riority, and affected always to treat them as their ne-
, but they thought they now uſurped too much inde-
ncy; to detach all thoſe ſavages from the *French* in-
and to reſtore a good correſpondence with the *Twigh-*
The meeting was extremely formal, and accommodated
the punctilios of *American* deliberation and ſuperſtition.
held at *Eaſton*, about ninety miles diſtant from *Phila-*
. The *Engliſh* were welcomed by *Teedyuſcung*, who
conded by the chief of the *Cayugas*, and then the *Mo-*
warriors, by the mouth of one of their chiefs, entered
omplaints. Conſidering the rudeneſs of thoſe barba-
the accuracy and minuteneſs they diſcloſed in this ne-
on was wonderful; nor was there a perſonal affront or
done to any of their nations, ſince the time of their
:aties, that they omitted to mention; but, above all,
they

A conference with the Indians.

they complained of the *Engliſh* encroachments upon their lands. At laſt, the *Mohawk* chief addreſſed himſelf to the governor of *Penſylvania* in the following terms: "Brother, we muſt put you in mind, that four years ago, you bought at *Albany* a large tract of land, for a part of which that was ſettled, the proprietaries agents then paid 1000 pieces of eight: we acknowledge the receipt of that money, and the validity of ſo much of the purchaſe; but for the other part, that was not paid for, that we reclaim. Our warriors, our hunters, when they heard of this vaſt ſale, diſapproved our conduct in council; in the deed, our hunting-grounds are included, and without them we muſt periſh."

THE *Delawares* then entered their complaints; but it was obſerved, that while *Teedyuſcung* was ſpeaking, that the chiefs of the *Six Nations* took what he ſaid ſo much amiſs, that they left the aſſembly; upon which, he was ſilent. They reaſſembled, however, next day, when Mr. *Barnard*, governor of *New Jerſey*, offered to ſatisfy the *Miniſinks* for all their complaints; but the buſineſs between the *Delawares*, the *Six Nations*, and the *Engliſh*, was not yet adjuſted; and *Teedyuſcung* explained what he had to ſay to Mr. *Denny* at his own houſe. Next day, by the ſame governor's deſire, *Teedyuſcung* complained, that he heard his uncles the *Six Nations* had ſold their lands at the *Yomink* and *Shamokin*, to the *Engliſh*. Mr. *Denny*, to compromiſe this affair, gave them an additional thouſand dollars for the lands in diſpute; but this liberality ſeems to have induced the ſavages to riſe in their demands. The chiefs of the *Six Nations* and *Teedyuſcung* came to a good underſtanding together, and ſtarted new objections about lands and limits; and it is hard to ſay, what the effect might have been, had not an authentic account arrived of general *Forbes*, who was then upon his march againſt fort *du Queſne*, having repulſed the *French* and *Indians*, who had attacked him at *Loyal-Hanning*. This news ſeems to have brought the ſavages to reaſon, and the conferences ended to the mutual ſatisfaction of all parties. The whole was managed as uſual by ſtrings of wampum, which were produced at the finiſhing every propoſition, and in metaphorical hyperboles, which generally were not without their beauty, and were adopted by the *Engliſh* as well as the *Indians*. The whole negociation laſted from the 8th to the 26th of *October*. When it was over, the *Indians*, whoſe number aſſiſting at it, including their wives and children, amounted to 500, were gratified with a conſiderable preſent, conſiſting of looking-glaſſes, knives, tobacco-boxes, ſleeve-buttons, thimbles, ſheers, gun-locks, ivory combs, ſhirts, ſhoes, ſtockings, hats, caps, hand-

erchiefs, thread, cloaths, blankets, gartering, ſerges, -coats, and a few ſuits of laced cloaths for their chief-

After this, large quantities of rum was diſtributed ſt them, by which they all got drunk, and next day turned home, all of them well ſatisfied.

ıs treaty, which was conducted with great addreſs on t of the *Engliſh*, was of infinite ſervice to their affairs *rica* during the remaining part of the war, by leaving in a ſtate of ſecurity within their own colonies; and re more at liberty to attend the other great objects of mpaign. Governor *Denny* was ſucceeded as lieute- overnor and commander in chief of *Penſylvania* by the governor Mr. *Hamilton*, who had always been popu- the province. The reſtoration of peace, which was d by a vaſt encreaſe of commerce and riches to *Penſyl-* introduced likewiſe into that province luxuries un- to it before, and inconſiſtent with their original con- ns. Thoſe abuſes produced an addreſs to governor m, from the paſtors and miniſters of all perſuaſions in vince, ſetting forth the ill-conſequences of encouraging , and all ſorts of luxurious and vicious public diver- articularly, a new ſubſcription, by way of lottery, for public gardens, baths, bagnios, and other ſchemes of on, which they obſerve, have already increaſed too ithin theſe few years; all which they petition the go- to uſe his influence to ſuppreſs, as they are willing to the character that province has hitherto borne of a edate, induſtrious, frugal and religious people. The ır returned a moſt obliging anſwer to this addreſs, and d, upon his honour, that he would diſcountenance, to oſt of his power, every ſcheme tending to the diſſipa- the minds of the people: this being the laſt tranſ- of any conſequence relating to the affairs of *Penſyl-* we are now to attend to the preſent ſtate of that

province and territory of *Penſylvania*, as we have in eady obſerved, had a complicated kind of a convey- om the crown: beſides the patent, granted by *Charles March* 4, 1680-1, the duke of *York*, in 1683, ſold *am Penn* the elder, the town of *Newcaſtle*, alias *Dela-* nd a diſtrict of twelve miles round the ſame; and by deed of the ſame date, he made over to the ſaid *Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, that tract of land from niles ſouth of *Newcaſtle*, to the *Whore-Kills*, otherwiſe ape *Henlopen*, divided into the two counties of *Kent* ſex; which with *Newcaſtle* diſtrict, are commonly known

Deſcription of Penſylvania *and* Philadelphia.

known by the name of the three *Lower Counties* upon *Delaware* river. We have already mentioned the great diſputes which the difference of the two conſtitutions, that of the province, and that of the territory, made between the proprietaries and the province of *Penſylvania*. This was complicated with another proprietary diſpute between Mr. *Penn* and the lord *Baltimore*, proprietary of *Maryland*. The grant of the latter was fifty years prior to that of Mr. *Penn*'s of *Penſylvania:* but there was in it an exception of lands then belonging to the *Dutch*, and which now form the three *Lower Counties* upon *Delaware* river; and when Mr. *Penn* took poſſeſſion of thoſe counties, he there found one *Dutch* and three *Swediſh* congregations. The diſpute was concerning the conſtruction [e] of the expreſſion forty degree of latitude. *Maryland* grant, 1632, ſays, to the forty degree of latitude, which the *Maryland* ſide of the queſtion conſtrue to be to forty degrees compleat; *Penſylvania* grant, 1682, ſays, to begin at the beginning of the fortieth degree, which the *Penſylvanian* ſide conſtrue to be juſt after thirty-nine degree is compleated; thus there was a diſpute of the extent of one degree in latitude, or ſixty-nine *Engliſh* miles. In 1732, in conſideration of the improvements made by the *Marylanders* within the fortieth degree complete, an agreement was made between the parties, importing, that a due eaſt and weſt line be run from cape *Henlopen* to the middle of the peninſula, and the ſaid ſtrait line to run from the weſtward point thereof, northward, up to the ſaid peninſula (and above the ſaid peninſula, if it required) till it touched, or made a tangent to the weſtern part of the periphery of the ſaid twelve miles circle, and the ſaid due ſouth and north line to run from ſuch tangent, till it meets with the upper or more northern eaſt and weſt line; and the ſaid upper eaſt and weſt line to begin from the northern point or end of the ſaid ſouth and north line, and to run due weſtward, at preſent, croſs *Suſquehanna* river, and twenty-five *Engliſh* ſtatute miles at leaſt on the weſtern ſide of the ſaid river, and to be fifteen *Engliſh* ſtatute miles ſouth of the latitude of the moſt ſouthern part of the ſaid city of *Philadelphia*, were, and ſhall, and ſhould at all times, for ever hereafter, be allowed and eſteemed to be the true and exact limits and bounds, between the ſaid province of *Maryland* and the ſaid three lower counties of *Newcaſtle*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*, and between the ſaid provinces of *Maryland* and *Penſylvania*.

[e] Douglass's Summary, Vol. 2. p. 309 and 310.

conſequence of this agreement, mutual releaſes, ac- *Diſpute*
g to the terms of it, paſſed on both ſides; that on the *with lord*,
f the *Penns* was ſigned by *John*, *Thomas* and *Richard* Baltimore.
the then proprietaries of *Penſylvania*, not only for them-
, but for all their claims under *William Penn*, their
ather, the founder of the colony, *Springet Penn*, and
m *Penn* the ſon. It was farther agreed, that commiſ-
ſ ſhould be appointed on both ſides, to mark out the
id boundaries, and the penalty on the failing party was
at 6000 *l.* The reſpective commiſſioners appeared, but
l in their opinions; thoſe of lord *Baltimore* alledging,
e had been deceived in fixing cape *Henlopen*, twenty
ſouth weſterly of the weſtern cape of *Delaware* bay;
is, cape *Henlopen* is the weſtern cape itſelf: but thoſe
Penns affirmed, that according to the *Dutch* maps and
tions, the weſtern cape is cape *Cornelius*, and cape
en is about four hours ſoutherly of it. In 1735, the
preferred a bill in chancery againſt the then lord *Balti-*
for non-performance of the above agreement; and
, that it ſhould be carried into execution. This ſuit
ed till the 15th of *May*, 1750, when coſts of ſuit were
l againſt lord *Baltimore*, and that the agreement of
ſhould be carried into execution; but that commiſ-
ſhould be appointed for the actual marking of the
ries. The baſis of this commiſſion was to be founded
lord chancellor's decree: firſt, that the center of the
be fixed in the middle of the town of *Newcaſtle*: ſe-
, that the ſaid circle ought to be of a radius of twelve
miles: thirdly, that cape *Henlopen* ought to be deem-
he place laid in the maps, annexed to the articles
2.
n the commiſſioners met, which they did in *November*
e year, freſh diſputes aroſe. Lord *Baltimore*'s commiſ-
inſiſted upon their meaſuring the miles ſuperficially,
oſe of the *Penns* upon geometrical and aſtronomical
ations. Upon this, the commiſſioners on both ſides
nd wrote to their reſpective principals for further in-
ns; but the affair was afterwards amicably adjuſted,
greatly in favour of the *Penns*. Such of our readers
w tne value of land in that country will not be ſur-
at ſo long and ſo expenſive a diſpute concerning it;
cannot give thoſe who do not, a more clear idea of
riſhing circumſtances of this province, than by a de-
n of its capital, *Philadelphia*.

s beautiful city, one of the moſt regular in the world, *Deſcripti-*
ed in 40 degrees 30 minutes of north latitude, and is *on of* Phi-
an ladelphia.

an oblong of two miles, extending from the river *Delaware* to the *Schuylkill*, the eaſt end fronting the river *Delaware*, and the weſt the river *Schuylkill*, each front being a mile in length. The river *Delaware* is navigable from the ſea for large veſſels above two hundred miles, and that of *Schuylkill*, as far as *Philadelphia*. Every man in poſſeſſion of one thouſand acres, has his houſe either in one of the fronts facing the rivers, or in the *High ſtreet*, running from the middle of one front, to the middle of the other. Every owner of five thouſand acres, beſides the abovementioned privilege, is entitled to have an acre of ground in the front of his houſe, and all others may have half an acre for gardens and court-yards. Every quarter of the city forms a ſquare of eight acres, and almoſt in the center of it is a ſquare of ten acres, ſurrounded by the town-houſe, and other public buildings. The *High-ſtreet* is one hundred feet wide, and runs the whole length of the town: parallel to it, run eight other ſtreets, which are croſſed by twenty more at right-angles, all of them thirty feet wide, and communicating with canals from the two rivers, which add not only to the beauty, but the wholeſomeneſs of the city. Ships of four or five hundred tons may come up to the quay, which is two hundred feet ſquare, and furniſhed with all the conveniencies for ſhip-building, as well as for loading and unloading goods. The reader, however, is not to imagine that the whole of this magnificent plan is already carried into execution; but as it is every day compleating, *Philadelphia* may, in time, diſpute (if it does not already) with *Boſton* and *New York*, for the precedency of all the *North American* cities. Its town-houſe is ſo magnificent, ſpacious and regular, that it would make a figure in any capital of *Europe:* it was erected in the year 1732, and ſtands in a ſquare of 396 feet by 255. The other public buildings of *Philadelphia*, are, the court-houſe, two quakers meeting-houſes, two preſbyterian meeting-houſes, one church of *England*, one baptiſt-meeting, one *Dutch Lutheran* church, one *Dutch Calviniſt* church, one *Moravian* church, one maſs-houſe, the academy, the quakers ſchool-houſe, the city alms-houſe, the quakers alms-houſe, the hoſpital, priſon, and workhouſe.

Academy at Philadelphia.

THE nobleſt inſtitution, however, in the province of *Penſylvania*, is its academy. This public ſpirited propoſal was ſet on foot by a ſet of private gentlemen, who, joining together, without the leaſt regard to religious differences, formed a body of conſtitutions, with liberty to alter and amend them as they thought proper, for carrying their plan into execution; and it was ſo well liked, that the ſubſcriptions to it roſe,

in a ſhort time, to 800 *l.* a year for five years. The
s were not without their difficulties in their proceedings:
ould hope for little or no encouragement from the aſ-
, where the leading men were quakers, who had formed
itution for education, at their own expences; and though
prietary Mr. *Penn*, was no enemy to the propoſed aca-
yet he inclined to have it built out of the city. On
er hand, the ſucceſs of the undertaking depended in a
eaſure upon the ſuperintendancy of the truſtees, whoſe
could not admit them leaving the town ſo often as
be neceſſary; and therefore they purchaſed a conveni-
ding, (L) which ſerved all their immediate purpoſes,
much ground and other edifices near it as might be
d with five quadrangles, for the accommodation of the
. The corporation of *Philadelphia*, ſenſible of the
f this ſcheme, voted two hundred pounds to be im-
y paid to the truſtees, and one hundred a year for
s. Fifty pounds of this money is to be allotted for
ſtion and maintenance of a charity-ſchool; out of
one of the moſt promiſing boys is to be choſen yearly,
ſplanted into the academy, where he is to complete
ation at the expence of the truſt. The plan of edu-
this academy is rational and practicable; eſpecially,
ſtruction of the pupils in Greek, Latin, and Engliſh,
the ſtricteſt view to their morals; and by the pub-
ragement, which it has already, or may hereafter
it bids fair, in time, to rival the brighteſt ſeminaries
ing in the mother-country, eſpecially under a reign
cent, as the preſent is, to literature.

r the reader may form ſome idea of the numbers of *Various*
us ſectaries in *Philadelphia*, we ſhall preſent him with *ſectaries*
ls of the years 1750, 1751, and 1752, which the *there.*
ill find in the note (M). From the ſame note,

had been a meeting-houſe, erected by ſome of the fol-
Whitefield, or other ſectaries.

(M) Chriſtenings in	1750.	1751.	1752.
Swedes ——	10	42	34
Lutherans ——	68	180	130
Burials in 1750.		1751.	1752.
Swedes ——	13	27	20
Preſbyterians —	26	48	28
Dutch Lutherans —	28	56	26
—— Calviniſts		40	31
Baptiſts ——	11	23	9
Quakers ——	104	107	53

the reader may form ſome judgment of the variety of ſects with which *Penſylvania* is ſtored; and it is to the great honour of the governing party in this province, that no perſecutions prevail there on account of religion. The perſecution of the *Moravians*, and the mildneſs with which they had been treated in *England*, with the encouragement given to their induſtry, has been of vaſt ſervice to *Philadelphia*, where above 1500 of them are now ſettled. The wildneſs and extravagance of this ſect is well-known to all *Europe*: they have there a chapel with a ſmall organ; but their grand ſettlement is about fifty or ſixty miles from *Philadelphia*. The ſimilarity of practice between them and the quakers, in ſome points, makes them fond of reſiding in *Penſylvania*; but, though they decline carrying arms in their own perſons, yet they contribute chearfully to the military eſtabliſhment for the defence of their ſettlements and country. Their zeal towards the converſion of the *Indians* is incredible. If poſſible, it exceeds that of the jeſuits, and they have already perſuaded ſome of thoſe ſavages to come to live with and conform to them. They even ſent about the year 1748, to *Greenland*, or *Davis's-Straits*, at their own expence, a ſhip with a wooden church, ready framed, for the uſe of the inhabitants of that country, which produces no timber; and when the ſhip returned to *Philadelphia*, it brought two young men, and a young woman, natives of *Greenland*, who had been converted there by the *Moravian* miſſionaries. The ſame *Moravians* have likewiſe a miſſion at *Berbice* and *Surinam*, from whence two converts likewiſe came to *Penſylvania*, and thoſe proſelytes from different parts of the globe, together with ſome *Delaware Indian* converts, met all together at a place called *Bethlem* in that province. The *Penſylvanian Moravians* have almoſt the ſame indulgence ſhewn them by the legiſlature of *Great Britain*, excepting in criminal caſes, as the quakers have; and their abſtemious manner of living enables them to carry on the handicrafts they profeſs at a cheap rate; nor are they without ſome men of learning and academical education among them.

Curious hiſtory of the Dunkards.

BUT the *Moravians* and other ſects are in common to other parts of the world, while *Penſylvania* engroſſes a ſect of its

Newbuilding ——	19	30	30
Roman Catholics —	15	21	16
Total	294	579	283

Burials in the ſtrangers burying-ground.

Dutch and other white people. —	250	319	286

own

roduct, one perhaps, of the moſt harmleſs and extra-
ry of any that has appeared ſince the inſtitution of
unity. They are called by ſome *Dumplars*, but their
me ſeems to be *Dunkards*. The town they inhabit is
Ephrata, lying on the frontier part of *Lancaſter* county,
n miles from *Lancaſter*, and about fifty from *Philadel-*
tween two ſmall hills, in the moſt delighful ſituation
n well be imagined, as if nature had created it for the
nce of contemplation. All the land poſſeſſed by
kards does not exceed two hundred and fifty acres,
s, in a manner, inſulated by a river on one ſide, with a
and a bank planted with trees on the other. The
between *Ephrata* and *Lancaſter*, though very thinly
d, preſents the eye with the like beautiful ſcenes of
nt. A *German* hermit, who ſettled on the ſpot where
is now built, and who ſupplied all his neceſſities by
labour, was the founder of this extraordinary ſect.
me of his ſolitude inſpired ſome of his countrymen
ioſity; as the ſimplicity of his life, with the piety of
erſation, excited them to join and to imitate him.
who leave their native country to enjoy liberty of
e, can bear all ſubſequent mortifications. The *Ger-*
both ſexes, who joined this hermit, ſoon aſſimilated
es to his way of thinking; and conſequently, to his
of living. Induſtry became part of their duty, and
heir time with devotion. Their gains are thrown
common ſtock, which ſupplies all their exigencies,
well as publick. Their females are cloiſtered up
elves in a ſeparate part of the town, the ſituation of
delightful, and ſcreens them from the north-wind.
ngular, and fenced round with thick rows of apple,
nd cherry-trees, beſides, having an orchard in the
The houſes, which are of wood, are moſt of them
ies high, and every perſon has a ſeparate apartment,
ay not be diſturbed in his devotions.
women never ſee the men but at public worſhip, or
s neceſſary to conſult upon matters of public œcono-
the number of both may be about 300. Their
e moſt ſimple that can be well imagined, being a
e woollen gown in winter, and linnen in the ſummer,
pe, which ſerves them for a hat, like that of a capu-
ind, and faſtened round the waiſt with a belt. Under
they wear a waiſtcoat of the ſame materials, a
rt, trowſer, and ſhoes. The dreſs of the women

[f] DOUGLAS's Summary, Vol. II. p. 150.

is the ſame, only inſtead of trowſers they wear petticoats, and when they leave their nunnery, (for ſuch it is) they muffle up their faces in their capuchins. The diet of the *Dunkards* conſiſts of vegetables; but it is no principle with them to abſtain from animal food; only they think that ſuch abſtinence is moſt agreeable to a chriſtian life. This temperance emaciates their bodies, and as the men indulge their beards to its full length, gives them a hollow ghaſtly appearance. Their beds are no other than benches; a little wooden block ſerves them for a pillow, and they celebrate public worſhip twice every day, and as often every night. But though ſuch modes of life appear abſurd and impracticable, the *Dunkards* are far from being extravagant. Their chapel is very decent, and they have, upon a fine ſtream, a griſt-mill, a paper-mill, an oil-mill, and a mill for pearl barley, all of them moſt ingeniouſly conſtructed by themſelves: they have even a printing-preſs, and they are, eſpecially the nuns, extremely ingenious in writing, and in embelliſhments, which they perform with a variety of beautiful colours, with gilding, in imitation of the initials in ancient manuſcripts, and they ſtick them up by way of ornament in their churches and cells. By thoſe different manufactures, the publick ſtock of this aſcetic people is well ſupplied, as no denomination of chriſtians can be their enemies, their religious tenets being mingled with the abſurdities of all.

NOTWITHSTANDING the two ſexes living ſeparately from one another in their town, yet the *Dunkards* are far from being enemies to marriage. In that caſe, the parties muſt indeed leave the town, but they are ſupplied out of the public fund with whatever is neceſſary for their ſettling elſewhere. This they generally do as near as they can to *Ephrata*, to which they ſend their children for education. They have in their ſociety a preſident, one *Philip Miller*, who was regularly educated at the univerſity of *Hall* in *Germany*. He is ſaid to be a man not only of learning, but of good ſenſe. He went over on ſome ſcruples of conſcience from the *Calviniſts*, among whom he had taken orders, to the *Dunkards*. Though rigidly adhering to their doctrine and manners, yet he is open, affable, and communicative, and makes no ſecret of the religious principles of the *Dunkards* to ſtrangers. Baptiſm they adminiſter by dipping, or plunging, but to adult perſons only. They hold free-will, and think that the doctrine of original ſin, as to its effect upon *Adam*'s poſterity, is abſurd and impious. They diſclaim violence, even in caſes of ſelf-defence, and ſuffer themſelves to be defrauded, or wronged,

l, rather than go to law. They are ſuperſtitious to degree in obſerving the ſabbath; and, all their pray- preachings, during their worſhip, are extempore. y, chaſtity, temperance, and other chriſtian virtues, monly the ſubjects of their diſcourſes; and they ima- at the ſouls of dead chriſtians are employed in con- hoſe of the dead, who had no opportunity of know- goſpel. They deny the eternity of hell-torments, ve in certain temporary ones that will be inflicted on and obſtinate perſons, who deny Chriſt to be their iour; but they think, that at a certain period, all mitted to the endleſs fruition of the deity. A peo- ſe principles are ſo harmleſs, and whoſe practice is and virtuous, cannot be otherwiſe than happy upon Among themſelves, they know nothing but harmony al affection; every one chearfully performs the taſk y aſſigned to him, and their hoſpitality and courteſy ers is unbounded; but their principles lead them to ing in recompence.

HUDSON'S-BAY.

trade of the country is become ſo conſiderable to *eat Britain*, that, though it affords but few ſettle- d no cities, the hiſtory of it is as intereſting as that her *American* colony. It is of very little import- e *Engliſh* right to this trade, that about the year s *Danes* diſcovered countries to the northward of *Bay*; from whence they brought ſome of the na- were of a diminutive ſize, and ſailed in little canoes, boats, made of ſkins, containing but one perſon, re, as to be proof, even upon the open ocean, againſt iolent ſtorms and tempeſts. Late diſcoveries have e truth of the laſt mentioned fact, and that thoſe le countries are inhabited by people of a ſmall ſize, the *Laplanders*, and the *Samoids*, or the wandering). The firſt diſcovery of thoſe northern lands, e by the adventurers from different parts of *Europe*, voured to find out the north-weſt paſſage to *China*

Original of the Hudſon's-Bay *company.*

an account of that *erica*, which is the he land of *Kamſchat-* ed from the deſcrip- *mſchatka*, by profeſ- for *Kraſhennicoff*, printed at *Peterſburg*, in two volumes 4to. in 1759, and tranſlated by Dr. *Dumareſque*, chaplain to the *Engliſh* factory at *Peterſburg*.

and the *Eaſt-Indies*; and there is no great dependence to be laid upon the grant given by *Henry* the VIIth of *England*, in 1496, to the *Cabots* of all the lands they could diſcover and ſettle to the weſtward of *Europe*; for it is certain, that though they might take a general poſſeſſion, yet they made no ſettlement. In the years 1576, 1577, and 1578, Sir *Martin Forbiſher* made three different voyages to diſcover the ſaid paſſage; but all we know that he diſcovered, was the ſtrait which ſtill retains his name: nor could he bring the natives of *Terra de Labrador* to trade, or enter into the leaſt communication with the *Engliſh*; on the contrary, they took every opportunity of cutting them off.

Diſcovery of the bay.

In 1585, *John Davis*, who ſailed from *Dartmouth*, came to the latitude of 64 degrees, 15 minutes, and proceeded to 66 degrees, 40 minutes. Next year, he ran to 66 degrees, 20 minutes, and from thence he coaſted ſouthward to 56 degrees; but though at laſt in 54 degrees he found an open ſea, which he flattered himſelf might be the ſo much wiſhed for paſſage, yet the weather there was ſo tempeſtuous, that he was obliged to return to *England*; nor did he in the three voyages he made to thoſe parts, gain any farther diſcovery or ſettlement. About 1583, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* took poſſeſſion of *Newfoundland* for the crown of *England*; but no farther attempts were made, till *Henry Hudſon*, in 1607, is ſaid to have diſcovered as far as 80 degrees, 23 minutes; and proſecuted his diſcoveries, though very unſucceſsfully, and with little appearance of profit. In the year 1610, he proceeded many leagues farther than any man had done before him, and was ſtopt only by the ice and the ſhoal water; and finding himſelf imbayed, he was there obliged to winter; and the following ſpring, endeavouring to proceed farther, he periſhed. In the year of his death, prince *Henry*, who, for his public ſpirit, was ſo juſtly beloved by the people of *England*, encouraged Sir *Thomas Button* to paſs *Hudſon*'s ſtreights, which he did, and ſailing weſtward, diſcovered a continent, and gave it the name of *New Wales*. Being unable to paſs farther than the 56th degree of north latitude, called by him the *Ne Ultra*, he wintered at port *Nelſon*, in the 57th degree, and from him the bay was called *Button*'s bay. In 1616, one *Baffin* attempted to proſecute *Button*'s diſcoveries, and proceeded as far as the 78th degree; but perceiving his attempt to be impracticable, he returned, though he ſailed to the 80th degree. In 1632, captain *Fox* ſailed into *Hudſon's-Bay*, where he ſaw many whales towards the end of *July*; but he proceeded no farther than port *Nelſon*, in 56 degrees, and there he wintered. The

rs of *England* ſoon after coming on, prevented our
nen from puſhing their diſcoveries farther; but prince
and ſome public-ſpirited gentlemen, in 1667, fitted
m, who landed at *Rupert* river, on the eaſt conti-
Hudſon's-Bay, where he built *Charles* fort, and laid
lation of a fur-trade with the natives.

trade bore ſo good an aſpect, that in 1669, a royal *Its eſta-*
was granted to the adventurers, in the following *bliſhment.*
'To prince *Rupert*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, to
ike of *Albemarle*, to *William* earl of *Craven*, and to
iers, and to others whom they ſhall admit into the
corporate, power to make a common ſeal, and to
o chuſe annually, ſome time in *November*, a gover-
uty-governor, and a committee of ſeven, any three
nmittee, with the governor aud deputy-governor,
ourt of directors: freemen to be admitted (their
l ſervants may be admitted freemen) at a general
ower to diſmiſs the governor, deputy-governor, or
e committee, before the year expires; and upon
ſſion or death, to elect others in their room for the
of the year: to have the ſole property of lands,
al fiſhery, and mines, within *Hudſon's* ſtraits, not
ſeſſed by any chriſtian prince, to be reputed as one
pnies in *America*, to be called *Rupert's* land, to hold
in free and common ſoccage, to pay the ſkins of
and two black beavers, as often as the king and
ll come into thoſe lands: power to aſſemble the
and to make laws for their government and other
t repugnant to the laws of *England*; an excluſive
out leave obtained of the company, penalty, for-
goods and ſhipping, one half to the king, one half
pany. In their general meetings, for every 100 *l.*
ck, to have one vote, may appoint governors, fac-
ther officers, in any of their ports; the governor
uncil to judge in all matters, civil and criminal,
e juſtice accordingly: where there is no governor
l, may ſend them to any place where there is a
d council, or to *England* for juſtice: liberty to
f war, men, and ammunition, for their protec-
rect forts: to make peace or war with any people
t chriſtians, may appeal to the king in council."

THSTANDING this charter, the *French* pretended *diſputed by*
of pre-occupancy, founded upon the diſcoveries of *the* French.
ymen, long before the date of this charter. They
at the ſieur *Bourdon*, and another *Frenchman*, re-
k poſſeſſion of *Hudſon's-Bay* and its neighbour-

neighbouring country. Mr. *Baily* having relieved the prince, his cocamiſh or wife, and his great officers of ſtate, by giving them victuals, attended them in a fiſhing expedition, in which they had but very indifferent ſucceſs. In 1673, *Groſeilliers* arrived at port *Nelſon*, where a kind of factory had been eſtabliſhed, but under very diſcouraging circumſtances, becauſe the neighbouring *Indians* had been prevailed upon by the *French* to abandon the country. The governor himſelf, tho' he and the few *Engliſh* with him, carried on a gainful traffic with the diſtant *Indians*, was in a moſt miſerable ſituation, being in danger of periſhing in the crazy cabins they had erected, and they ſubſiſted chiefly on fiſhing, and killing ſuch wild fowl as came in their way. Towards the beginning of the year ſome *Indians* viſited them, and brought along with them a little freſh meat. This afforded them a temporary relief from the ſcurvy, which the eating their ſalt proviſions had introduced amongſt them.

which is oppoſed by the French.

THE *French* knew the hardſhips, but, at the ſame time, the benefits of the trade. *Radiſſon* had married a daughter of Sir *David Kirk*, the ſame who had conquered *Quebec*, and not thinking himſelf ſufficiently rewarded by the *Engliſh*, he had made his peace with the court of *France*, from which he had received ſeveral diſtinguiſhing favours, and ſettled in *Canada*. Here he formed what he called a company of the north, which was founded on a plan for diſpoſſeſſing the *Engliſh* of *Hudſon's-Bay*. At the head of this company *Radiſſon* and his companions were placed, as being beſt acquainted with the country and its trade. Nothing but the moſt inſatiate deſire of gain could have induced them to any attempt to diſturb the miſerable ſettlement of the *Engliſh* in *Hudſon's-Bay*. Profit, or the proſpect of it, recompenced governor *Baily* and his companions for all their hardſhips. By this time, ſome of the *Indians* were ſo well reconciled to the ſettlement, that they had built wigwams at the eaſt end of the *Engliſh* fort, for the benefit of their trade. Thoſe *Indians* went by the name of *Cuſcudidahs*, and their king promiſed to wait upon the *Engliſh* governor, who, with his company, were now reduced to almoſt as melancholy a ſituation, as the ſavages themſelves. The meſſage of the *Indian* prince coming to the ears of the *French* jeſuits, the latter animated the ſavages againſt the *Engliſh*, and the habitation of the *Cuſcudidahs*, at the eaſt end of the fort, was threatened with an invaſion from the *French Indians*. This was attended with very ſerious conſequences: the *French* leaving nothing unattempted to ruin the *Engliſh* trade, and to make a ſettlement, about eight days journey from that of the *Engliſh*. This introduced a debate amongſt the *Engliſh*, whether

r they ought not to remove to *Mooſe* river from fort
in order to prevent their trade with the natives being
ited by the *French*. This happened in the year 1674,
ſeems the reſult of the debate was, that the *Engliſh*
continue where they were, but to take all opportuni-
cut the *French* out of the trade. By this time, the
ſcudidah had enlarged his wigwam to the very walls of
ert, to which they proved ſo troubleſome and ſo dan-
neighbours, that Mr. *Baily* was obliged to order, that
n ſhould enter the fort, except the king and his
urtiers. On the 20th of *May*, twelve of the king
ab's ſubjects came to the fort, and informed him,
of the upland *Indians* would trade that year with the
n *Hudſon's-Bay*; they having been perſuaded by the
o traffic with their *Canadians*: upon this, Mr. *Baily*
his ſloop to proceed up the river, that he might re-
his intereſt among the upland *Indians*. Upon his
a feaſt of beaver and mooſe fleſh, and other eatables,
the *Indian* faſhion, was ſerved up in vaſt plenty; but
r of very little advantage which this viſit produced
ngliſh. They had better fortune in a voyage they
s made to the *Mooſe* river, where they diſcovered
hales, and were in danger of being attacked by the
Indians; but this expedition proved profitable; for
y returned with 1500 ſkins, and eſtabliſhed a trade
Shechittawams, from whoſe country he coaſted along
Jelſon.

he profits of the trade, however, could not ward off *Miſery of the* Engliſh *in* Hudſon's Bay.
er of ſtarving, which every day ſtared the *Engliſh*
e face. They had almoſt ſpent all their proviſions,
s their powder and ſhot, upon which their very be-
nded, having no means of ſubſiſtence but by killing
This danger being over, the governor of *Quebec*, on
of the great friendſhip then ſubſiſting between the
France and *England*, as he pretended, ſent a jeſuit
t fort, but in reality, to be a ſpy upon the ſtrength
tion of the *Engliſh*. This jeſuit brought letters for
rs, which, with ſome preceding circumſtances of
, confirmed the *Engliſh* in their opinion of his pri-
eeping a correſpondence with his countrymen the
Notwithſtanding this, Mr. *Baily* the governor, be-
nſelf towards this jeſuit with the greateſt humanity,
; him cloaths, he having been ſtript by ſome of the
tions. It appears, as if *Baily* had been ſo artful as
with the jeſuit to diſcover his real buſineſs; for he
rom him that the *Tabitte Indians*, whoſe country
lay

lay within the bounds of the patent granted to the *Hudſon's-Bay* company, traded with the *French*, who intended to pay the *Engliſh* at *Hudſon's-Bay* a very diſagreeable viſit. They had practiſed upon the *Nodways*, and *Mooſe-River Indians* to keep up their commodities at an extravagant rate; and this, together with the difficulty of ſubſiſting in that miſerable climate, at laſt determined the governor to march for *Point Comfort*, and from thence to ſail for *England*. All their flour and bread at this time did not exceed two hundred pound weight; and they had only two barrels of peas, and thirty geeſe in pickle, to ſupport them during their voyage. Their ſloop accordingly fell down to *Point Comfort*; but ſome firing being heard, they concluded it was from *Engliſh* ſhips, and delayed ſailing. This delay ſerved only to conſume their proviſions, and no *Engliſh* for ſome days appearing, they were overwhelmed with horror; but at laſt they underſtood that the ſhip prince *Rupert*, commanded by captain *Gillum*, with *William Lyddal*, Eſq; a new governor, was arrived upon the coaſt. At the ſame time, captain *Shepherd*, in the *Shaftſbury*, arrived from *England*; where the profits of the trade became to be better underſtood. It was now the 18th of *September*, (in that country a late ſeaſon) when Mr. *Bailey* delivered up all his authority to governor *Lyddal*, who finding the year too far advanced for the ſhips to return to *England*, employed their crews in felling timber for building houſes and conveniencies for dwelling. It ſoon appeared, that the newly arrived ſhips had not brought with them a ſufficiency of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the ſettlers, ſo that they were reduced to vaſt ſtraits. Mr. *Bailey* was happy enough to return to *England*, where he gave the company very great lights, as to their intereſt; and they encreaſed the ſettlement by an additional number of factories upon the rivers, which diſcharge themſelves into the bay.

They are invaded by the French.

In the year 1682, the *French*, at *Quebec*, fitted out two miſerably equipped ſhips for two purpoſes. The firſt was to drive the *Engliſh* from *Hudſon's-Bay*, and the other to eſtabliſh a peltry trade there among the natives. Proceeding to fort *Rupert*, they found it ſo well guarded, that they did not venture to attack it. They then cruiſed along the weſt coaſt of the bay, in ſearch of a commodious ſituation for the fur-trade, and at laſt they arrived at port *Nelſon*, where the two rivers of *Bourbon* and *St. Thereſe* join. *Radiſſon* was one of the adventurers in the expedition; and, when the *French* were wintering in the river of *St. Thereſe*, the *Engliſh* were encamped upon that of *Bourbon*; and that the *French* diſcovering the *Engliſh* ſo near them, though they were no more than

relve men, attacked the *Engliſh*, who were eighty in r, but all of them drunk, and made them priſoners, as id ſix other ſailors who were in a ſeparate body. Fa- *arlevoix*, however, [b] gives a very different account of venture. According to his information, upon the ar- *Radiſſon* in the river *St. Thereſe*, a *Boſton* veſſel ap- at the mouth of the ſame river, not far from the here the *French* were encamped. A few days after, a hip from *London*, caſt anchor at the ſame place, to at dread of the *Boſton* men, who, it ſeems, were little than pirates, and of the *French* who were unprovided e means of defence. The *Engliſh* large ſhip, how- as, by currents, driven from her anchors, and wrecked the ſhoals of ice, without any poſſibility of being ſaved. f the crew got upon thoſe ſhoals, which were driven the mouth of *St. Thereſe* river, where *Rediſſon* and rs then commanded. The *French* ſeem to have he utmoſt advantage of their misfortunes; for though leved the *Engliſh* with victuals, and ſuffered them to me booths on the banks of the river, to ſhelter them e inclemency of the weather, yet they obliged the commander to promiſe them in writing, to erect no tions there, and to do nothing prejudicial to the rights oſt chriſtian majeſty. The *Engliſh* are accuſed of violated their promiſe, and of endeavouring to ſur- e *French*, who ſecured them to prevent other conſe- . Such is the lame and improbable narrative given *levoix* of this affair; but, like other *French* narratives ame kind, it is full of abſurdities, and reſts upon no . The truth is, one *John Bridger*, Eſq; was ap- governor of the *Hudſon's-Bay* company of the weſt ome cape *Henrietta Maria*, which had been in Mr. , or the eaſt main's patent. Mr. *Bridger* went to ſon, where captain *Gillam* had been ſettled, but was g enough to prevent the *French* from landing. Up- er's ſhip appearing, the *French* commanded him to ; but, he landed his goods, and began a ſettlement, any interruption from the *French*, with whom he very good correſpondence till *February* following; e *French* treacherouſly ſurpriſed the *Engliſh*, and all ſts, and kept them in confinement till *Auguſt*, when the common men on board a rotten bark, which en up at ſea by an *Engliſh* ſhip; but they carried and *Gillam* priſoners to *Quebec*, with all the *Engliſh*

The Engliſh *recover their ſettlement.*

[b] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 300.

plunder.

plunder. Here *Radiſſon* and *Groſeilliers* quarrelled with the *French* northern company, who wanted to ſeize their cargoes, in right of their charter; upon which they went to *France*, where they found the miniſtry ſo much prepoſſeſſed againſt them, that they applied to lord *Preſton*, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador at *Paris*. By his intervention they again compromiſed matters with the *Engliſh Hudſon's-Bay* company, and *Radiſſon* received a penſion from the court of *England*, which he held the remaining part of his life. In 1685, he ſailed with two ſhips to ſecure the fort which he himſelf had built at the mouth of *St. Thereſe* river, and which was held by his nephew *Chouart*, ſon of *Groſeilliers*, with a garriſon of no more than eight men; and upon *Radiſſon*'s appearing before it, it was immediately ſurrendered with all the effects in it, which, according to the *French* accounts, amounted to a very conſiderable ſum.

The French ſettle on St. Thereſe river.

NOTWITHSTANDING this blow, the *French* ſtill continued to have a ſettlement on the river *St. Thereſe*; and it was agreed between the two courts, that the trade ſhould be common to both nations. We have, in the hiſtory of *Canada*, given an account of the ſubſequent operations of the *French* from *Canada*, againſt the *Engliſh Hudſon's-Bay* company; to ſuch we refer our reader. Captain *John Abraham* was then the *Engliſh* governor of port *Nelſon*, and *Henry Serjeant*, Eſq; ſucceeded Mr. *Nixon*, as governor of *Rupert* river. By this time, the chief factory was removed from fort *Rupert* to *Chickewan*, now called *Albany* river, which the governor made the place of his reſidence. His inſtructions from the company were, that he ſhould repair every ſpring to *Charleton* iſland, with all the goods he poſſibly could collect together, to be put on board the company's ſhips, who were to rendezvous there; and that he ſhould be particularly watchful againſt any ſurprize from the *French*. The company, at the ſame time, ordered *Serjeant* to ſettle a factory at a place called *Hayes* iſland, at the bottom of the bay, and another on *Charleton* iſland, where he built a fort, and kept ſome men in it, with warehouſes and other conveniencies for trade. The great gains which the company made, had, about this time, tempted many of its ſervants to be unfaithful to them; and they were removed. The expence of ſupplying their ſettlements with proviſions, made them recommend it ſtrongly to the factory, to endeavour to raiſe corn and vegetables; but, though repeated attempts were made for that purpoſe, yet they came to nothing. In 1686, we find, the *Hudſon's-Bay* company in poſſeſſion of five ſettlements; namely, *Albany* river, *Hayes* iſland, *Rupert*'s river, fort *Nelſon*, (or *York*) and *New*

Vol. XL. p. 33, 34.

ern. Their trade at all thoſe ſettlements was very
and from *Albany* river alone, they generally brought
500 beavers a year. The manner in which this Ibid.
s deſtroyed by the *French* has been already related.
ned fortunately for the *Engliſh* ſettlements, that very
ard was paid to their court by the *American* chiefs,
nations were equally diſguſted with the arrange-
t had been made of port *Nelſon*, being in common
Denonville, the governor of *Canada*, gave it as his
to the court of *France*, that all the three forts which
taken from the *Engliſh* ſhould be reſtored to them,
n ſuffer them to have any communication with fort
In 1687, the *Engliſh* attacked fort *Quitchitchouen*,
d fort *St. Anne*; but they were repulſed by *Iberville*,
t one of their veſſels, and a ſtorehouſe they had
n the banks of the river. Thoſe hoſtilities gave
aſineſs to the two courts, and ſeveral conferences
upon them; but nothing effectual was done, when
ution, which happened in *England* in 1688, em-
airs more than ever. The *French* were the firſt
ited by the breach; for, apprehending that the
the *Hudſon's-Bay* company would not be upon their
rontenac, who was now governor of *Canada*, had
drive the *Engliſh* from all their poſts there. The Ibid. *p.* 48
been already informed as to the ſucceſs of this plan, *and* 49.
we ſhall confine ourſelves, and which extended much
an the conqueſt of *Hudſon's-Bay*.

NG the campaign of the year 1689, the *French* were
te in all their enterprizes in *North America*, except-
Hudſon's-Bay alone, where *Iberville* commanded at
Lewis, which lay at the bottom of the bay, and his
la Ferte, having taken priſoner one of the com-
ents, found among his papers an order from the di-
f his company, for proclaiming king *William* and
ary, and to maintain the company's right to the
f the bay. According to the *French* account, this
ſupported by the appearance of two *Engliſh* ſhips,
hem of 18 guns, the other of 10, beſides ſwivels,
hem loaded with a great number of ſmall arms, and
of all kinds; the crews in the whole amounting to
. Though the *French* had moſt infamouſly broken *Succeſſes of*
ulation which had been ſettled between the chevalier *the* French
and governor *Serjeant*, when they took fort *Albany*, *in* Hud-
ompany's other ſettlements, yet they exclaimed againſt ſon's-Bay.
ept of the *Engliſh* to retake them, as a ſcandalous
f good faith. *Iberville*'s garriſon in fort St. *Anne*,
other-

otherwiſe called fort *Albany*, was but inconſiderable when the *Engliſh* ſummoned it to ſurrender: *Iberville* gave no determinate anſwer, and acted with ſo much cunning, that he deceived the *Engliſh* into an opinion of his compliance. This rendered them ſo ſecure, that he found means to carry off twenty-one of their beſt men, their ſurgeon, and one of their principal officers, he then ſummoned them to ſurrender priſoners of war. The *Engliſh*, who were ſtill forty able-bodied men, rejected the ſummons, tho' they were at that time in a miſerable ſituation, being encamped on a ſmall iſland, while their ſhips were jammed in by ſhoals of ice. *Iberville* ordered his brother *Maricourt* to harraſs them with a ſmall party, both by land and on board their ſhips; and he himſelf in two days after ſupported them, and a cannonade enſued on both ſides, without much loſs to either. At laſt, *Iberville* renewed his ſummons for a ſurrender, and threatened, if it was not complied with, to give them no quarter. The *Engliſh*, in anſwer, pretended, that the fort belonged to them, and that the *French* had begun hoſtilities. *Iberville* paid no regard to thoſe allegations, and demanded that not only the *Engliſh* ſhould ſurrender priſoners of war, but that they ſhould deliver up to him both their ſhips with their cargoes. After ſome conſultation, this was agreed to, upon *Iberville* paying the officers their wages, which amounted to about 600 *l.* and upon his giving them a veſſel, properly equipped, in which they might tranſport themſelves elſewhere. *Iberville* took care that thoſe officers ſhould be attended by very few of their common men, and by none of their pilots, of whom they had eleven on board, carrying them all priſoners to *Quebec*, to which, with his two prizes, he repaired by an order from the governor of *Canada*. He arrived at *Quebec* on the 25th of *October*, 1689, having left his brother *Maricourt*, with no more than thirty-ſix men, to guard the poſts at the bottom of the bay.

As we have little or no account of this expedition on the part of the *Engliſh*, we have been obliged to adopt the *French* account of it, though it is far from being ſatisfactory. There is, however, the greateſt reaſon for believing that the company, perhaps, by their own fault and niggardly diſpoſition, was very ill-ſerved by their officers, which might be the true cauſe of *Iberville*'s ſucceſs. Fort *Nelſon* was at this time in the hands of the *Engliſh*; and *Iberville* deſigned to attack it with two *French* ſhips of war, but it was too late in the year 1692, and the *Engliſh*, by this time, had even recovered fort St. *Anne*. According to *Charlevoix*, *Iberville* had acquired ſo much credit by his conduct in *Hudſon's-Bay*, that he gave

Ibid. *p.* 83.

ſome

ome umbrage to *du Taſt*, the *French* commandant, who had been ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron, fitted out at the expence of the *French* northern company, to drive the *Engliſh* entirely from all their poſts on that bay; and who, out of jealouſy to *Iberville*, declined the ſervice, on pretence that it was too late in the ſeaſon to attempt it. The court of *England* highly reſented the proceedings of the *French*, whom they accuſed of having ſurprized the company's poſſeſſions on *Hudſon's-Bay* in an infamous manner; and they were mentioned as ſuch by king *William* in his declaration of war againſt the *French* king. *Thomas Phipps*, Eſq; was then governor of port *Nelſon*, and upon the breaking out of the war with *France*, ſome troops had been granted to the *Hudſon's-Bay* company for the defence of their remaining ſettlements. According to *Charlevoix*[1], fort St. *Anne*, which was then in the hands of the *French*, had no more than three men to defend it; and they made their eſcape to *Quebec*, leaving a great booty of ſkins in the fort. This, together with many other advantages gained by the *Engliſh* in the bay, determined *Iberville* to run all riſks in diſpoſſeſſing them of fort *Nelſon*. This ſervice had been often projected, and as often miſcarried, as the *French* governors and officers in *Canada* were by no means fond of ſo painful an expedition, and which, though ſucceſsful, was to be attended with no profit, but to the *French* northern company. *Iberville*, however, had received ſuch encouragement from them, that he and *Serigny*, notwithſtanding all their diſcouragements from the ice, arrived with two ſhips of war at the mouth of the river St. *Thereſe*; and landing the ſame night, they made themſelves maſters of fort *Nelſon*, the name of which they changed to that of *Bourbon*; but they found there only a very inconſiderable booty; and they loſt ſo many of their men by the ſcurvy, and other diſeaſes, that the conqueſt was not worth the expence. Ibid. *p.* 96.

IN the year 1696, the government of *England* granted a new recruit of force to the *Hudſon's-Bay* company; and the *Bonaventure* and *Seahorſe*, two men of war, were aſſigned to that ſervice: *La Foret*, with a garriſon of 68 *Canadians*, commanded in fort *Bourbon*, and on the 2d of *September*, four *Engliſh* ſhips and a bomb-ketch appeared in view of the fort. They were followed by *Serigny* and *de la Motte Egron*, the former in a *French* man of war, and the latter in one of the *French* northern company's ſhips; but, perceiving the ſtrength of the *Engliſh*, they made the beſt of their way back, *Serigny* for *France*, and *de la Motte Egron* for *Quebec*; but he was 1696. *Progreſs of the war.*

[1] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 196.

wrecked in his voyage thither and drowned. The fort was ſummoned, but refuſing to ſurrender, a briſk cannonade began, which laſted for a whole day, and the *Engliſh*, in attempting to land, were at firſt repulſed by *Jeremy*, the enſign of the fort, and the ſame who has written a deſcription of *Hudſon's-Bay*, where he afterwards commanded himſelf for ſix years. The fort was then plied with bombs from the ketch, of which twenty-two fell into it, and *la Foret* was at laſt obliged to capitulate. If we are to believe *Charlevoix*, the *Engliſh* granted the capitulation required by the *French*, but afterwards violated it. The ſequel of *Iberville's* expedition againſt *Hudſon's-Bay*, with the bad ſucceſs attending them, is to be found in a former part of this work. We are to inform the reader, that captain *Allen* was the commodore of the *Engliſh* ſquadron, and that upon his return, he fought a *French* privateer of 50 guns, but was killed in the engagement. The loſs of fort *Bourbon*, and the other *French* ſettlements, rouſed their government, and *Iberville* was at laſt furniſhed with a ſufficient force, with which he recovered them in his turn from the *Engliſh*. The *French* were far from making all the advantages that this conqueſt might have been attended with. The *Engliſh*, though diſpoſſeſſed of their forts, ſtill preſerved a conſiderable footing in the bay, where they carried on almoſt the whole trade, but not for the benefit of the company, the moſt of it going through private hands. This is the chief reaſon why the accounts we have of this valuable trade are ſo barren; for the *French* private merchants in like manner never ſuffered their northern company and their government, at whoſe expences all their conqueſts there had been made, to enjoy its profits. The *Engliſh* found means ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of fort *Albany*, which indeed remained unmoleſted through the weak condition of the *French* in *Hudſon's-Bay*, where they had no more than ſixteen men, under the ſieur *Jeremy*, to garriſon all their poſts. Matters remained in this ſituation during all the war with *France*, under queen *Anne*. *Jeremy* lived there in a kind of exile, without receiving the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance from the *French* northern company. Finding himſelf unable to garriſon fort *Bourbon*, he built a ſmaller fort towards the north, to which he tranſported all his powder, ſtores, and ammunition, with a view of retreating to it, if he ſhould be attacked, the *Engliſh*, notwithſtanding the war, carrying on the moſt profitable branches of the trade. At laſt, *Jeremy* and his ſmall garriſon came to be in want of every thing, and he was forced to ſend his lieutenant and ſeven other of his men to hunt during the months of *July* and *Auguſt*. They pitched their camp near

Ibid. *page* 110 *and* 111.

iny of ſavages, who were reduced to the greateſt
r want of powder, by which they were deprived of all
ſubſiſtence. They had, ever ſince the *Europeans* came
iem, hunted a kind of a wild aſs, called by the *French*,
This creature is as ſwift as a deer, and is ſaid to
y in colour, from the famous rein deer of *Lapland*;
f the amphibious kind, and, according to *Jeremy*'s
between *Daniſh* river and fort *Nelſon*, they are to be
forty or fifty leagues, in herds of 10,000 at leaſt.
ges of thoſe parts depend upon this creature for
iſtence during a great part of the year; but having
the practice of bows and arrows, when they were
of powder, they could kill no game. They ſaw
, on the other hand, hunting with great ſucceſs, and
; abundance, but without being ſo hoſpitable as to
m to partake; and therefore, it was no wonder, if
tches, over-loaded as they were with miſery, laid a
: maſtering them, and acquiring the ſpoils of thoſe
huntſmen. They invited two of them to a feaſt in
ns, where they immediately murdered them: they
ered five others, who were aſleep in their tent; but
ho was only wounded, eſcaped, though with the ut-
:ulty, towards fort *Bourbon*, where he related to
: maſſacre of his companions. He found it in vain
if guarding his two poſts with no more than nine
therefore he ſhut himſelf up in fort *Bourbon*, while
, with great eaſe, made themſelves maſters of the
and all the ammunition that was in it. In this
ible ſituation, he maintained himſelf till the
Utrecht took place, which provided for the reſtitu-
udſon's-Bay, in the following terms.

French-men *murdered.*

ICLE X. The ſaid Moſt Chriſtian king ſhall re-
: kingdom and queen of *Great Britain*, to be poſ-
ll right for ever, the bay and ſtreights of *Hudſon*,
ith all lands, ſeas, ſea-coaſts, rivers, and places,
ne ſaid bay and ſtreights, and which belong there-
ds of land or ſea being excepted, which are at pre-
d by the ſubjects of *France*. All which, as well
lings there made, in the condition they now are,
ſe all fortreſſes there erected, either before or
rench ſeized the ſame, ſhall, within ſix months,
tification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if poſ-
ll and truly delivered to the *Britiſh* ſubjects, hav-
ſſion from the queen of *Great Britain*, to demand
the ſame, intire and undemoliſhed, together with
non, and cannon-ball, and with the other provi-

Hudſon's-Bay *reſtored to* England *by the treaty of* Utrecht.

ſion of war uſually belonging to cannon. It is, however, provided, that it may be entirely free for the company of *Quebec*, and all the other ſubjects of the Moſt Chriſtian king whatſoever, to go by land or by ſea, whitherſoever they pleaſe, out of the lands of the ſaid bay; together with all their goods, merchandize, arms, and effects, of what nature or condition ſoever, except ſuch things as above reſerved in this article.

"ARTICLE XI. The abovementioned Moſt Chriſtian king ſhall take care that ſatisfaction be given, according to the rule of juſtice and equity, to the *Engliſh* company, traders to the bay of *Hudſon*, for all damage and ſpoil done to their colonies, ſhips, perſons, and goods, by the hoſtile incurſions and depredations of the *French* in time of peace, an eſtimate to be made thereof by commiſſaries to be named at the reduction of each party."

SINCE that time the company has remained in full poſſeſſion of this important trade, which has proſpered in their hands more, perhaps, than any in the *Britiſh* dominions. Before the time of the peace of *Utrecht*, the value of it was but little known, on account of the loſſes and interruptions it met with; but it has ſince improved ſo greatly, that ſeveral attempts have been made to abridge their privileges, though hitherto without effect, and the trade encreaſed every day, as well as the profits of the company, till the laſt peace of *Aix la Chapelle*. This bay is famous for the attempts it has given riſe to towards finding out the northweſt paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies* and *China*; and as we have obſerved, its diſcovery was owing to ſuch attempts. It is therefore proper, in this place, to lay before our readers an hiſtorical account of that made by the *Engliſh*; but in doing this, we ſhall avoid, as much as poſſible, all philoſophical and geographical diſquiſitions.

Hiſtory of attempts for a north eaſt paſſage.

THE irregularity of tides in *Hudſon's-Bay* is one great argument, that it receives more water than comes from the ſtreights, or any inlet into it hitherto diſcovered; and it is likewiſe probable, that thoſe tides come by the weſt, but whether by an open practicable paſſage, or by a frozen impracticable one is the great doubt. We ſhall not trouble our readers with many conjectures, though ſome of them bear a great face of probability, that have been publiſhed in almoſt all languages concerning the reality of this paſſage, in the early times of improved *European* navigation. Sir *Martin Forbiſher* is the firſt *Engliſhman* upon whoſe attempts to find out this paſſage we can rely with any ſolidity. In the year 1576, he arrived at the height of ſixty-two degrees of north

titude, where he diſcovered the ſtreights which ſince
names; and he ſailed up them for ſixty leagues with
each ſide. This land was inhabited, and the natives
thoſe ſeal-ſkin canoes that are ſafe in the moſt tem-
ſeas. They traded with the *Engliſh* crew, whom they
l with fiſh in exchange for toys, and the *Engliſh*
off from them ſome ore, which, upon trial, was
contain only black-lead. Upon *Forbiſher*'s return, *by* For-
ted, that he had diſcovered a ſilver mine, but that biſher.
deep to be wrought. In 1577, he undertook a ſe-
age, and gave *Engliſh* names to the places he touch-
ſaw; and next year a third, in five veſſels. On the
May, he diſcovered what he called *Weſtern England*,
ſame with *Weſt Friezeland*, which had been before
l by the *Venetians*; and he took poſſeſſion of it in
lizabeth's name. In 1579, Sir *Francis Drake* aſſured *Sir* Fran-
lizabeth, that he had ſailed ſome leagues up the cis Drake,
of *Anian*, and diſcovered *New Albion* to the north
nia; but of this country we have very inadequate
r were *Drake*'s diſcoveries afterwards improved. In
hur Pratt and *Charles Jackman*, by queen *Eliza-*
ers, purſued a diſcovery, which was ſaid to have
e before one *Stephen Burroughs* an *Engliſhman*, to-
ing out the northweſt paſſage; but their voyage
ſucceſsful by the vaſt ſhoals of ice, and other diſ-
ey encountered.

ve already more than once mentioned the voyage Gilbert,
Humphrey Gilbert, by the direction of Sir *Francis and others.*
n, made to *Newfoundland*; which he took poſſeſ-
queen *Elizabeth*'s name. He undertook it upon
ation of a *Greek* mariner, who had affirmed, that
ſed through a great ſtreight into the north of *Vir-*
he died before he came to *England*; and we hear no-
er of the attempt; *Gilbert*, in ſettling the *New-*
rade, having performed a great and a beneficial
his country. In 1585, Mr. *John Davis*, in two
overed cape *Deſolation*, which is ſuppoſed to be a
enland, and after trading with the natives for pel-
id fiſh, he proceeded as far as the latitude of 64
in. where he diſcovered mount *Raleigh*, *Totneſs*
other places to which he gave names. Next year,
wards the weſt; and the year after, he advanced
itude 72 deg. 12 min. the compaſs varying 82 deg.
ward. He here diſcovered a coaſt, to which he
me of *London*, and the ſtreight which is ſtill cal-
nſelf. *Hudſon*, the diſcoverer of the ſtreights we

are now to deſcribe, did not apply to find out a north-weſt paſſage, till he had failed in diſcovering a ~~north~~-eaſt one. He is ſaid to have proceeded an hundred leagues farther than any had done before. He gave the names of the then royal family to ſeveral capes he diſcovered, and fanciful names to others; ſuch as, *Deſire-Provokes*, *God's-Mercy*, and the like: but he could do nothing effectual, being prevented by the ice, and the diſcontents of his crew. In 1611, Sir *Thomas Button*, at the deſire, and command, of *Henry* prince of *Wales*, ſailed through *Hudſon's-Streights*, and wintered at port *Nelſon*, in ſearch of the northweſt paſſage; but all he could do was to diſcover the bay which goes by his own name, and a tract of land which he called *Cary's-Swan's-neſt*.

THOSE diſcoveries ſeemed but to excite a farther ſpirit in the *Engliſh* for finding out the ſo much deſired paſſage. In this the merchants had a ſecondary view; for the expence of the attempt was amply repaid by the vaſt profits attending the voyage, from their commerce with the ſavages. In 1612, 1615, and 1616, *James Hall* and *William Baffin* proceeded farther towards the north-weſt than any navigator had ever done before, and gave *Engliſh* names to the places they diſcovered. At this time, the *Engliſh* had thirteen or fourteen ſhips employed in thoſe ſeas; but it does not appear that they made any ſettlements, or, indeed, that they could have made any in thoſe inhoſpitable and almoſt uninhabitable tracts. *Baffin's Bay* was diſcovered by Sir *William Baffin*, in 1622, though ſome ſay ſooner; and lies to the north of *Davis's-Streights*. In 1630, king *Charles* I. ſent captain *Luke Fox* out in one of his pinnaces, named the *Charles*, victualled for eighteen months: he followed the traces of former navigators, and had their difficulties to ſtruggle with. In port *Nelſon*, he found ſome remains of former *Engliſh* navigators, and he there built a pinnace. Next year, captain *James* was fitted out by the merchants of *Briſtol* for the ſame purpoſe; and, running over a large bay to the weſtward of port *Nelſon*, he named the land about it *New South-Wales*. Hereabouts he met with captain *Fox*, but they were ſoon ſeparated by bad weather. *James*, before his return, diſcovered cape *Henrietta Maria*, with various other iſlands, to which he gave the name of *Engliſh* favourites about court; and wintering in lat. 52, he there built a pinnace out of his ſhip, in which he returned home in 1632. This *James* was one of the moſt able and judicious navigators that ever ſailed from *England*, or any other country; and his voyages to the north were printed in 1633. As they are ſtill held in vaſt eſteem, having been ſince

Voyage of captain James, *and his opinion againſt the paſſage;*

d, we ſhall in the notes (O) give our reader his reaſons for believing that no ſuch paſſage exiſts;

has been long ago
e *Portugueſe*, ſays
I have come this
e *South-Sea*, the
of whoſe miſta-
ave come to us,
onfuted by their
Theſe hopes have
n time to time,
e ſpirits of this
earch this mere-
ſſage. For my
ve no credit to
d, as little to
abuſive wits of
and *Spaniards*,
k of any diffi-
water, ice, nor
ut, as if they
ht home in a
e. And, in-
rſes are found
aps, by which
e practiſed to
mere falſities;
there is known
nd land where
ut ſea.
it is, that, by
r own nation,
rts of *America*
red to the la-
rees and up-
has been ſo
e labours of
joined toge-
ain land has
and ſearched,
brought this
to this paſs,
to the north
latitude: a
ered with ice,
niencies; and
diſpoſitions,
s, can hard-
withal, it is

known, that the entrance of *Hudſon's-Streights* is but fifteen leagues broad, in the middle not ſo much; and between *Saliſbury* iſland and the main land is but eight leagues. Then proceeding to the northward, towards the forementioned latitude, it is but fifteen leagues from main to main: this in length is about 140 leagues, and infinitely peſtered with ice, until *Auguſt*, and ſome years not paſſable then; and I believe the ſtreight is never entirely clear of ice. Now it is moſt probable there is no paſſage, for the following reaſons:

"Firſt, There is a conſtant tide, flood and ebb, ſetting into *Hudſon's-Streights*, the flood ſtill coming from the eaſtward; which, as it proceeds correſpondent to the diſtance, it alters its time at full ſea. This alſo, entering into bays, and broken grounds, becomes diſtracted, and reverſes with half tides.

"Secondly, here are no ſmall fiſh, as cod, and very few great ones, which are rarely to be ſeen: nor are there any bones of whales, ſea-horſes, or other great fiſh, to be found on the ſhore; nor any drift-wood.

"Thirdly, we found the ice, in latitude 65. 30. to be lying all over the ſea, in rands; and I am moſt certain, that the ſhoals and ſhoals-bays are the mother of it. Had there been any ocean beyond, it would have been broke all to pieces; for ſo we found it coming from the ſtreight into the ſea to the eaſtward.

"Fourthly, the ice ſeeks its

or, if it does, that the diſcovery of it would not be attended with thoſe advantages that are commonly believed. Thoſe reaſons, however, have been attempted to be anſwered. There

way to the eaſtward, and ſo drives out at *Hudſon's-ſtreight*; which I have often obſerved upon the iſland of *Deſolation*, and driving among the ice in the ſtreight.

"Admit there were a paſſage, yet it is known that it is narrow, for 140 leagues, and infinitely peſtered with ice, as every one has found, who has gone that way. Comparing, therefore ſome obſervations taken at *Bantam*, *Gilolo*, and *Firando* in *Japan*, and the diſtance between *Japan* and the weſtern part of *California*, with the obſervations taken at *Charleton* iſland, referring all to the meridian of *London*, and then the diſtance between the meridian of cape *Charles*, and the weſtern part of *California* will be found to be about 500 leagues, in latitude 66. where yet the meridians incline very much together.

"To this may be added, that about cape *Charles* the variation is 29 deg. to the weſt; which is a probable argument, that there is much land to the weſtward; and that this ſtreight muſt be very long; and you have no time to paſs it, but in *Auguſt* and *September*, when the nights are ſo long, and the weather ſo cold, that it will not be durable.

"Add to this, that no great ſhips, which are fit for carrying of merchandize, can endure the ice, and other inconveniencies, without extraordinary danger.

"Moreover, 1000 leagues are ſooner ſailed to the ſouthward, and about the cape *de Bona Speranza* (of *Good-Hope*) where the winds are conſtant, and that with ſafety, than 100 leagues in theſe ſeas, where you muſt daily run the hazard of loſing ſhip and lives. Put hereunto, that no comfort for the ſick, nor refreſhment for your men, is to be had in theſe quarters. Towards the latter end of *Auguſt*, and in *September*, the weather grows tempeſtuous, and the winds incline to be weſterly; ſo that there will be but ſmall hope of performing your voyage this way.

"But let us, by way of imagination only, enlarge this ſtreight in this latitude, and free it of ice; yet what advantage in ſpeedy performance, will be got by this paſſage, if the winds be withal conſidered? To *Japan*, *China*, and the northern parts of *Aſia*, it may be the nearer cut. But in navigation, the fartheſt way about is well known in fewer days to be performed, yea, with leſſer pains, and more ſafety of ſhips and goods.

"Again; to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and other parts, where we have the greateſt commerce, and employment of ſhipping, the other way is as near. What benefit of trade might have been obtained in thoſe northern parts of *Aſia*, I will not preſume to ſpeak of; holding, that there is a great difference betwixt thoſe parts and the northern parts of *America*; whereas I am ſure there is none in any place, where I have been all this voyage."

being

o north-weſt paſſage, is ſtill a matter of doubt, and well be cleared up, unleſs colonies were fixed upon ls adjoining to *Hudſon's-Bay*, with a reward for mak-coveries both by land and water; and the reaſoning on the tides, is ſaid not only to be concluſive, but to ſtrong arguments for the paſſage. As to his ſecond nt, that no fiſh, eſpecially whales, are to be met with e ſeas, the reaſoning holds good only about *Charleton* Latter voyagers have indiſputably proved, that many are to be ſeen in thoſe parts, eſpecially at the opening er river, which affords a preſumption, that ſuch a may open on the north-weſt part of *Hudſon's-Bay*. As *which is* aſoning againſt the paſſage; becauſe the ice in lati- *anſwered.* °. 30'. lying along the ſhore as ſands, and drives eaſt- he calls them, the ſame thing is ſaid to happen in ſtreights, which open a paſſage to the *South Seas*; exiſtence was formerly as much doubted of by the *Americus Veſpucius*, as that of the north was by cap- *es*. Granting all the captain ſays to be true, about modiouſneſs of the paſſage by the way of the Cape *Hope*, yet, according to his own confeſſion, it would r to the *South Seas* and the northern part of *China*. this, that the hardſhips of the voyage towards the ſt are now but inconſiderable in compariſon of what *James* repreſents them.

regard to other circumſtances in this much diſputed is certain, that a factory has ſubſiſted for ſome years *urchill*, which is in a higher latitude than *Charleton* eyond which captain *James* thought no ſettlement made. It appears now, that the continent, weſt and ſt from *Charleton* iſland, is inhabited, and that in ces the *Indians* there are better cloathed, and more than they were in any part of *North America*, be- rrival of the *French* and *Engliſh*. One of thoſe na- led *Moſemlecks*, deſerve particular notice, as they lie remote parts of *Hudſon's-Bay*. They are, in con- of their being civilized, rational and converſable; have always ſtuck to their aſſertion, that to the ſt of them lie a people, who live in towns, who trade another upon a large lake, in veſſels, each of them mes as big as their canoes. Beyond thoſe people, end to give no account of any inhabitants. Could ounts be relied on, they would go far towards juſti- farther attempts towards a north-weſt paſſage; but ſome likelihood that the *French Canadian* jeſuits have

have had an intercourſe with thoſe *Moſemlecks*, we have the leſs dependence upon their reports.

Hiſtory of Mr. Dobb's *and captain* Middleton's *attempt.*

FROM the time of captain *James* to about the year 1730, the probability of a north-weſt paſſage was always mentioned as a ſpeculation, with few attempts to carry it into practice. At the above time, Mr. *Dobbs*, an *Iriſh* gentleman, collected together all the voyages that had been made for this diſcovery, and laid an abſtract of them, by way of letter, before colonel *Bladen*, then one of the commiſſioners of trade and plantations, with an intention to prevail with the *South-Sea* company to try the whale-fiſhery at the *Welcome*, that they might there have an opportunity of diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage. The extent of the privileges granted to the *Hudſon's-Bay* company proved an invincible obſtacle to this propoſal; and ſoon after, the *South-Sea* company quitted all thoughts of the whale fiſhing, which till then they had carried on in *Davis*'s ſtreights, and by which they loſt money. In 1733, Mr. *Dobbs* laid before Sir *Charles Wager*, who was then firſt lord-commiſſioner of the admiralty, his reaſons for a probability of finding out the paſſage, which Sir *Charles*, who was himſelf a very able navigator, thought ſo feaſible, that he mentioned them to Mr. *Jones*, then deputy-governor of the *Hudſon's-Bay* company. The latter endeavoured all he could to diſſuade him from proſecuting the project, and, among other reaſons, informed Sir *Charles*, that in 1719, the company had fitted out two ſhips, under one *Barlow*, for the diſcovery of the paſſage, but that they had never after been heard of; that their wrecks were afterwards ſeen in latitude 62, by the crew of a ſloop they ſent to enquire after them.

MR. *Dobbs* receiving this intelligence from *Wager*, was, by his recommendation, introduced to Mr. *Jones*; but eaſily found from him, that either no ſuch attempt had been made, or that the gentlemen of the *Hudſon's-Bay* company were very glad it had miſcarried; as ſuch a diſcovery would have been, by no means, for their intereſt. Upon Mr. *Dobbs*'s peruſing the *Hudſon's-Bay* company's charter in 1735, (an extract of which we have already given) he was ſurprized to find it ſo extenſive; but at the ſame time conſidering that the benefit of all diſcoveries was to reſult to the company, he applied to Sir *Bibye Lake*, who was perpetual governor of the ſame, and laid before him the ſame manuſcript which he had communicated to colonel *Bladen*. Sir *Bibye*, without entering much into the merits of the queſtion, informed *Dobbs*, that the company having already loſt 7 or 8000 *l.* upon the diſcovery, were reſolved to be at no farther expence about it. At laſt, upon *Dobbs*'s remonſtrances, he agreed, that one or two

ſmall

the voyage would coſt nothing, ſhould go from
e *Ultra*, or the *Welcome*, and there try the height
of the tides; and if they there found a paſſage
ice, with a weſterly direction, they might pro-
ty leagues farther; and if they there met with
, they might return, and by ſending home du-
ir journal, the matter might be determined.
ny was then about erecting a ſtone fort at
g appehenſive of a *French* war, they delayed
of the project at that time, but promiſed to
pportunity of putting it in practice.
made uſe of this interval to get acquainted with
ddleton, who had been very converſant in thoſe
the meaſures that had been taken towards
rth-weſt paſſage. From him he learned, that
commanded the ſloop that was ſent to en-
low's ſhips: and Mr. *Dobbs*, in the year 1739,
of the journal kept by *Scroggs*, who, accord-
, was a man very unfit for ſuch an undertak-
reader will in the notes meet with an extract
(P), which is very curious, and publiſhed

zd, 1722, he
rchill, in 59
tude from the
ndon 95 weſt.
62. he traded
for whalebone
eth. *Monday*,
the evening,
velve fathoms.
r ſeveral days
azy and thick,
to this depth.
up, he found
e or ten miles
de of the *Wel-*
y account, 64.
ſeveral iſlands
e ſouth-weſt
ſouth-weſt by
d-land at the
h bore eaſt-
three leagues
named *Whale-*
he name of
he 10th, at
ing, he ſent

his ſix oared boat on ſhore,
with ſeven hands, and two
northern *Indians*. Mr. *Norton*,
who is now governor at *Church-*
ill, was then pateroon of the
boat, and ſpoke the northen
Indian tongue: the two *Indians*
had been entertained at the
factory all the foregoing win-
ter, upon the account of this
diſcovery. They gave us inti-
mation of a rich copper mine,
that lay near the ſurface of the
earth, and ſaid, they could di-
rect the ſloop or ſhip to lie by
it, where ſhe might load very
ſoon. We had ſeveral pieces of
copper brought down to *Chur-*
chill, which made it evident
there is a mine ſomewhere in that
country. Theſe *Indians* ſketch-
ed out the land with charcoal,
upon a ſkin of parchment, be-
fore they left the factory; and
as far as the ſloop went, they
found it agree very well.

" *Scroggs*

Hudſon's Bay *company averſe to it.*

here, becauſe companies in general are far from being communicative of papers of that kind which may affect them-

" *Scroggs* ſays, he ſaw both ſides of the *Welcome*, from the ſouth back to the weſt, being up in the very cod of the *Welcome*, as he terms it The land is as high as in *Hudſon*'s-*ſt-eights*, as he and his men all agreed, and that land we can ſee very well, in clear weather, fifteen or twenty leagues off. Where he continued at anchor, he mentions it was very good ground. He always continued the variation the ſame as at *Churchill*, for he knew not how to obſerve it. It was then 26 deg. weſt, and is now but 20 deg. weſt at *Churchill*; though we find in the ſame latitude, 50 or 60 leagues to the eaſtward, almoſt 50 degrees variation weſterly, which makes the *Welcome* above two points nearer the meridian.

" *Tueſday*, *July* the 10th, he continued at anchor in the ſame place; and the boat returned on board at ſix o'clock in the afternoon. He ſays, they ſaw ſeveral black and white whales here. At four the next morning, they went on ſhore again, with the aforeſaid *Indians*, and came back about five in the evening. They found none of the natives, but plenty of deer, wild geeſe, and ducks: ſome of the deer they killed. He ſays, it ebbs five fathoms where he lay at anchor; for they anchored in twelve fathoms of high-water, as Mr. *Norton* this year alſo confirmed to me; and they found but ſeven fathoms at low-water. At noon, he and his mate obſerved the latitude to be 64. 56. north. Here he named the ſouthermoſt iſland, that bore ſouth-weſt by ſouth, cape *Fullerton*, after one of our directors.

" *Wedneſday*, *July* the 10th, continued in the ſame place at anchor. He obſerved the latitude again, and found it as before, 64. 56. north, by a good obſervation. His mate, he tells us, agreed with him. He ſent the boat up to the cod of the bay, as he terms it, to ſound, and the two northern *Indians* went in her. One of them, he ſays, had a deſire to go home, which he told them was but three or four days journey from them, but they detained him by fair words and promiſes.

" *Tueſday*, the 12th of *July*, at four in the afternoon, the boat returned from the ſhore. He gives us no account of the ſoundings, though they were ſent for that purpoſe; but he aſſerts, there was a bar croſs the *Welcome*, and that they could go no farther. All the men agreed, when they returned, that they were at leaſt ten leagues from what he would have to be a bar. At five in the afternoon, he weighed from that place, where he laid at anchor ever ſince the 9th inſtant, and ſteered out ſouth-eaſt by compaſs for two miles, and then ſouth-weſt by ditto, about four or five miles more. Here he ſounded in 45 fathoms, and continued ſailing to the ſouth-weſt quarter.

" *July* the 13th, obſerved the latitude at noon to be 64. 39.

From the peruſal of this journal, Mr. *Dobbs* was led in his opinion, that a north-weſt paſſage might be out about the *Welcome*, on the north-weſt part of *s-Bay*, about the latitude of 64 degrees, and for the ng reaſons: firſt, becauſe the coaſt in thoſe parts con- f broken lands and iſlands, with large openings be- hem; ſecondly, becauſe the tides ſet ſtrongly from the d north-weſt; and, thirdly, becauſe the black whales, were often ſeen there, muſt come from the weſtern as none ſuch had ever been diſcovered in any part of . In *January*, 1735-6, the *Hudſon's-Bay* company inclined to encourage the proſecution of the diſcovery, bbs, in the *April* following, laid before Sir *Bibye Lake* ments of the manner in which it ought to be proſe- He was of opinion, that two ſmall ſloops, neither of wing above four feet water, were neceſſary, and that ht to keep particular journals of their courſe till they the latitude of 64. They were there to be extremely nd exact in their obſervations upon the nature of the e appearances of the land, the quantities of ice they d, and the fiſh and whales they met with. "And e, they find an open ſea to the weſtward, after they egrees, and the land ſhould fall away to the weſt- nd the tide of flood meets them, and an earlier moon ll ſea, then the paſſage is gained; and they may not

had forty to fifty fa- ter. The next day, returning home, he latitude, by obſerva- be 64. 20. and the ſixty to ſeventy fa- Theſe ſoundings he mid-channel. In la- . 13. by obſervation on the ſouth; or rather of the *Welcome*, the e on ſo ſtrong, and ſo near the ſaid ſouth, ore, that he was ob- come to an anchor in ns. He does not ſay nce the flood came, he ever give his opi- t, during his whole his journal; but be- to the eaſt-ſide, it from the northward, according to the courſe of the *Welcome*.

"*July* the 15th, he croſſed the *Welcome* in ſeventy fathoms, and obſerved the latitude to be 64. 15. He makes the *Wel- come* to be fifteen or twenty leagues broad in this latitude, from ſide to ſide, by comput- ing the diſtance from his log- book. He ſaw many whales in latitude 64. 8.

"Governor *Kelſey*, in his journal 1720, takes notice, that in latiude 63. on the weſt-ſide of the *Welcome*, the tide comes ſtrong from the north-eaſt, which is near the courſe of the *Welcome*. He calls it a ſoaking tide, and ſays it flows neap and ſpring-tides from twelve to ſeventeen feet.

only

only ſail 50 or 100 leagues farther weſtward, and look out for a harbour for ſhips, which may go next ſeaſon, and then return to *Churchill*, for fear of any diſaſter; and ſend over a journal to the company of their obſervations. By proceeding after this manner, a diſcovery may be made for a trifling expence; as one ſummer may aſcertain, whether there is a paſſage or not."

THIS diſcovery became a matter of ſo much importance, that in 1737, the company ſent out two ſloops upon it: but beſides their being very improperly manned, they only proceeded to the 32d, one 4th degree north; and though they returned without making any great diſcoveries, yet the abundance of black whales they ſaw, and the tides they met with, flowing from the northward, raiſed the expectation of all concerned, that the diſcovery might be completed. The truth is, the expedition undertaken by thoſe two ſloops, ſeems to have been no other than a ſham contrived by the company, in compliance with the impatience of the public, which became now very inquiſitive about the diſcovery. Mr. *Dobbs* more than ſuſpected this, and thought he had a right to demand, which he did, a ſight of the journal of the two ſloops, from Sir *Bibye Lake*. All the ſatisfaction he could obtain was, that the two ſloops, well manned, and well victualled, had ſet ſail early in the ſpring from *Churchill*; but that, though they remained out till the 22d of *Auguſt*, they could find no inlets on the weſtern coaſt to the north of that fort. He, at the ſame time, excuſed himſelf to Mr. *Dobbs*, from intermeddling any farther in an affair, for which he had already incurred ſome blame from the company, as it had coſt them ſo much money. This convinced Mr. *Dobbs* and his friends, that the company were averſe to any ſuch diſcovery, though it is certain, that the intention of granting them their charter, with ſuch ample powers and privileges as it contained, was chiefly with a view of making that diſcovery. Mr. *Dobbs* very juſtly remarked, that the commanders of the ſloops either had received no ſerious orders for the purpoſes they pretended to ſet about, or that they trifled away their time; as it appeared, that from the beginning of the ſpring to the 22d of *Auguſt*, they had not ſailed 200 leagues, which is no more than the diſtance between *Churchill* and *Ne Ultra*, and that it was ridiculous for them to pretend to be afraid of entering latitude 66, as the whale-fiſhers at *Spitzbergen* and *Baffin's-Bay*, ſail every year to 78 and 80 degrees.

Mr. Dobbs applies to the government.

MR. *Dobbs* now reſolved to apply elſewhere for encouragement to his favourite ſcheme. He received a letter from Mr. *Middleton*, informing him confidentially, that he did not apprehend

prehend that the company were friends to the diſcovery, and that therefore it muſt be undertaken under the protection and encouragement of the government, by an able man; but that, for his own part, having an allowance from the company, he could not engage in ſuch an undertaking, but upon a certainty. Upon the whole, however, Mr. *Middleton* was of opinion, that the diſcovery was practicable, if properly attended to. Mr. *Dobbs* now applied to the fountain-head. He informed Sir *Charles Wager*, the firſt lord of the admiralty, Mr. *Horace Walpole*, who was auditor-general of *America*, and colonel *Bladen*, of the uſage he had received from the company; and acquainted Sir *Charles*, that he deſpaired of ſucceſs, unleſs the admiralty ſent out two ſloops. The reader will find in the notes a very ſenſible anſwer (Q),

(Q) "Sir,

I received the favour of your letter of the 20th paſt. I believe you judge very right, that all the *Hudſon's-Bay* company do not deſire to have any body interfere with them in the fur-trade in thoſe parts: they ſeem to be content with what they have, and make (I believe) a more conſiderable profit by it than if it ſhould be farther extended, which might be the caſe, if a farther diſcovery was made: for though they ſhould not find a navigable paſſage through into the *South-Sea*, they might, probably, find *Indian* nations, from whom furs might be bought cheaper than they are bought in *Hudſon's Bay*; and that would be a diſadvantage to their trade.

"The probabilities of finding a paſſage as you propoſe, ſeem to be very ſtrong; the flood coming that way is almoſt a demonſtration: what difficulties may be in the execution cannot be foreſeen. If a paſſage could be found into the *South-Sea*, it would open a very large field; and, very probably, of a very profitable commerce: but the beſt projectors, let the affair ſucceed never ſo well, have ſeldom, if ever, found their account in in it. However, that ſhould not hinder others from exerting themſelves in the diſcovering any thing that may be advantageous to the publick; but a ſpirit of that kind ſeems to have been aſleep for many years. War may have, perhaps, prevented, in ſome meaſure, and diverted men's thoughts from any enterprize of that nature. I confeſs, I have myſelf had thoughts of that kind, and eſpecially, ſince I read your manuſcript of a probability of a north-weſt paſſage to the *South-Sea*; but I have found but very few that were willing to beſtow any thoughts about it. I remember lord *Granard* and I have talked about it ſometimes, but it was but talk; other things, and buſineſs nearer home, have employed our time and thoughts too. I think the beſt way to undertake ſuch a diſcovery, is to have, as you propoſe, two proper veſſels, to go at a proper time of the year, and to winter there, if it was found neceſſary; and to carry with them a cargo, not a great one, of goods

which Sir *Charles*, according to his uſual affability and public ſpirit, returned to Mr. *Dobbs*'s application; but as *Great Britain* was then in the eve of a war with *Spain*, the government had neither men, money, nor ſhips, to ſpare for the diſcovery. In the mean while, Mr. *Dobbs* received another letter from Mr. *Middleton*, acquainting him, that he had that year been at *Churchill* factory, where the governor, Mr. *Norton*, who had ſailed with *Scroggs*, was of opinion, that the diſcovery was practicable, and that very year ſome of the natives, who had come down to trade at *Churchill*, and had never before been at any *Engliſh* ſettlement, informed them, that they frequently traded with *Europeans* on the weſt parts of *America*, in the latitude of *Churchill*, which Mr. *Middleton* thought confirmed the opinion that the two ſeas muſt unite. Mr. *Dobbs*, upon this, procured a commiſſion for captain *Middleton* to command the *Furnace* ſloop, which was fitted out by the government for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage, and which was to be attended by the *Diſcovery* pink, *William Moor*, maſter. *Middleton*'s inſtructions were to proceed from the *Orkney* iſlands directly to *Hudſon's-Streights*, from thence to *Cary's Swan's-Neſt*, and then to the *Welcome*. Being come up with the *Whalebone-Point*, in

Middleton's *inſtructions*,

goods proper to trade with the *Indians* they meet with; and capable and honeſt people to be employed, if ſuch are to be found in the world, which I doubt; and ten or a dozen perſons, or more, if thought proper, engaged in it, who would advance money ſufficient to carry it on; who may, in time, if it ſhould ſucceed, be better intitled to the name of the North-weſt or *South-ſea* company, than the preſent *South-ſea* company is to that name, who are not permitted to trade in any one place within the limits of their charter, which made ſuch an eclat at the firſt eſtabliſhing it. If this ſhould be once agreed on, and proper perſons be found to join in it, it may then be conſidered what authority may be proper to obtain from the crown, that the firſt who go and ſucceed, may not only beat the buſh, and others come afterwards to catch the hare: for though I do not much like excluſive companies, where it is not abſolutely neceſſary; yet I would not have the advantages that may be found by ſome, be given away to others. As to veſſels being ſent at the publick expence, though it would not be great, yet the parliament may think, eſpecially at this time, that we ought not to play with the money they give us, for other and particular ſervices. However, if Sir Robert Walpole, or ſome other proper perſons, ſhould think that the government ſhould attempt it at the publick expence, I ſhall not be againſt it. I am, &c."

65,

65, he was to try the beſt paſſage in doubling that land, whether to the eaſtward or weſtward, in caſe it were an iſland; and on which ſide ſoever he ſhould meet the tide of flood, to direct his courſe north, ſo as to meet the tide, whether weſterly or ſoutherly. If after doubling that cape, he found either a ſtreight, or an open, ſea, he was to keep on his courſe, ſtill meeting the tide of flood; and if it were ſo wide as to loſe ſight of land, then to keep the larboard, or *American* ſhore, ſteering ſouth-weſterly, ſo as to take the bearings of the land, and ſoundings; and obſerve whether there were any inlets, bays, or rivers, to ſhelter the ſhips, in caſe bad weather, or contrary winds, obliged him to take harbour: and there he was to make the beſt plans he could of ſuch harbours and charts of the coaſt [k]. When he came to the ſouthward of 60 degrees north, if he continued to find an open ſea, he was to make more obſervations of the ſame kind, till he made the latitude of 50 degrees, or any more ſoutherly, in caſe he found it convenient to winter on the weſtern ſide of *America:* but if he ſhould find it more convenient to return into the bay to winter, or could ſecure a paſſage home in time, after making a diſcovery of a paſſage to the weſtern ocean of *America*, in order to proſecute the diſcovery to advantage next ſummer, then he was to proceed no farther ſoutherly than 50 or 60 degrees north latitude, and to make all proper obſervations. If he found any inhabitants, he was to cultivate a friendſhip with them, but cautiouſly. If he wintered on the other ſide of the paſſage, it was not to be more northerly than latitude 42. He was to take with him ſeeds of fruit-trees, plants, grain, and pulſe, for ſowing. If he met with inhabitants, he was to make purchaſes for the crown of *Great Britain*; but in places where no inhabitants were found, he was to take poſſeſſion by ſetting up proper inſcriptions. If, in his paſſage, he met with any ſhips from which he apprehended danger, he was to proceed no farther, but return, till a ſufficient force could be ſent out to begin a trade, and make a ſettlement; and in all caſes not provided for by his inſtructions, he was to conſult with his officers.

his voyage, We know of no accidents Mr. *Middleton* met with till his arrival at *Churchill*, from whence he ſailed the 1ſt of *July*, 1742, and from thence he proceeded to the north ſide of the *Welcome*, where he ſaw a great deal of ice on ſhore, and continued to make his obſervations according to his inſtructions. Soon after he found himſelf and his companion pink jammed

[k] Syſtem of Geography, Vol. II. p. 795.

in with the ice, which reached for ten leagues to the windward. In this condition they lay two or three days in great danger of being forced aſhore; but at laſt the ice ſeparated, and left him room for a kind of traverſe-ſailing, till they diſcovered a head-land to the northward of *Whalebone-Point*, in the latitude of 65 degrees, 10 minutes north, which he named *Cape Dobbs*. Seeing there a fair opening, bearing north-weſt, he ſtood in for it, in the terms of his inſtructions, being ſurrounded all the time with what he calls ſailing ice, or ice parted into ſhoals, with openings between them. Proceeding a little way, he was in great danger of thoſe ſhoals; and finding it impoſſible to keep afloat among them, he ſent off his lieutenant in the boat to look out for a ſecurer place for the ſhip. In the mean while, ſome *Eſquimaux Indians* came on board of him, as he was then very near the ſhore; and they having nothing to trade in, were civilly diſmiſſed, with ſome preſents, by the captain. His ſhip was at laſt ſecured, but with great difficulty; but while he lay there, he found, for three weeks ſucceſſively, the flood conſtantly to come from the eaſtward, and that he had got into a large river, ſo full of ice as to render the navigation impracticable as well as dangerous. From thence he ſent his lieutenant and maſter to look out for a harbour towards the mouth of the river; but they found none: and it was next to a miracle that they ever again got on board.

He ſends Indians on ſhore.

MIDDLETON having ſome *Indians* on board, ſent them on ſhore to try if they knew any thing of the land; but appearing totally ignorant of it, he was obliged to continue there for three weeks, and employed that time in taking draughts of the river, to which he gave the name of *Wager*. The river being a little cleared of ice, he got into the latitude of 66 degrees, 14 minutes, where he ſaw a head-land, which he named *Cape Hope*, thinking it to be the northermoſt part of all *America*. They then proceeded with great ſpirits till they got into the latitude of 66 degrees and 40 minutes; and here the captain, according to his own account, found himſelf imbayed, and neither ebb nor flood, but deep water. From this he concluded, that he had overſhot the ſtreights on the north-eaſt ſhore, from whence the flood came, and where he reſolved to ſearch for a ſtreight or opening. After this, the captain, according to his own account, went on ſhore, and making the moſt accurate ſearches both by ſea and land that he could, he found the whole extent of the ſtreight, which was 16 or 18 leagues, and 6 or 7 broad, with very high lands on both ſides, and ſmall iſlands both in the middle and towards the ſhores. But all was froze

from ſide to ſide, with no appearance of its being cleared of the ice that year; and the water cloſe to the ſhore being ſo deep as to afford no anchoring to the ſhips, and at the ſame time vaſt ſhoals of ice driving with the ebb and flood, while they were every minute expecting thick weather. From all thoſe conſiderations it was reſolved in council, to make the beſt of their way out of that dangerous narrow ſtreight, and to take obſervations between the 64th and 62d degree of latitude. He accordingly bore away, and tried the tides on the other ſide of the *Welcome*, but met with little encouragement, though he ſaw ſome ſmall iſlands and deep bays, and ſome black whales, of the right whalebone kind. While he was thus working off and on *Brook Cobham*, an iſland ſo called, finding the floods ſtill came from the eaſtward, he ſent the northern *Indians* on ſhore upon it; and they reported, that it did not lie far from their own country, to which they had a great deſire to return, they being tired of a ſea-life. The captain accordingly furniſhed them with a ſmall boat, well fitted with ſails and oars, which they knew how to handle, it being laden with fire-arms, powder, ſhot, hatchets, and whatever could be deſireable to them. That ſame evening, being the 15th of *Auguſt*, he bore away for *England*, where he arrived with his company, greatly afflicted with the ſcurvy and other diſorders. *fails in his diſcovery*;

SUCH was the event of this celebrated voyage; and Mr. *Middleton*'s report ſeemed at firſt ſatisfactory to the public, and to Mr. *Dobbs* himſelf; till, upon farther enquiry, ſome doubts aroſe, that *Middleton* was too much in the intereſt of the *Hudſon's-Bay* company for him to be hearty in the diſcovery. When *Dobbs* examined his journal, and compared it with other informations, he concluded, that *Middleton* actually had been in the paſſage, and that what he called *Wager*'s river, was not a freſh water river, but a ſtreight, and the mouth of the paſſage itſelf. This opinion received great countenance from lieutenant *Rankin*, and the petty officers of the *Furnace*, whoſe papers proved that many material circumſtances, particularly with regard to the ice and the freſh water, had been altered or miſrepreſented. *Rankin*'s report was as follows; "*July* the 29th, 1742, I was ordered with the maſter to take the ſix-oared boat, and go up *Savage-Sound*, as high as *Deer-Sound*, and try the tides. I find that the flood there comes from the river *Wager*; it flowed there ten feet water. We then ſailed from *Deer-Sound* for the high bluff land, on the north-weſt ſide of the river *Wager*. The courſe from the iſlands off the north ſide of *Deer-Sound*, is north-weſt, and north-weſt by north, by compaſs. We ſounded all the way

over, and had no ground with a line of 68 fathoms, to the high bluff land. We then run up a branch of the main river, and ſounded, and found 50 fathoms one third over the branch. There were ſeveral iſlands in it. Sounded about a league off the north ſide, and found 30 fathoms water. In running between the iſlands and the ſuppoſed main, which was on the weſt ſide of that branch, the tide or freſhes ſuddenly turned againſt us, the boat altering the land very much before. Sounded near ſome of the iſlands, and had no ground at 68 fathoms. As we run up, we ſounded near a ſmall iſland, and had 29 fathoms. We ſteered weſt-north-weſt between the iſlands and the weſt land by compaſs, there being ſeveral iſlands in the fair way, and no ground in the middle of the channel at 68 fathoms. We went about 15 leagues above *Deer-Sound*, and ſaw a freſh or run of water coming againſt us; and the wind being fair, I was afraid to ſtay any longer for fear of hindering the ſhips from going to ſea. There is a great probability of an opening to the weſt ſide, by the coming in of the whales; but I could not go higher up, for the above-mentioned reaſon. We went to the top of a high mountainous land, from whence we ſaw a great run or fall of water between the weſt land and the iſlands. It was very dangerous, ſeemingly not a mile broad; and at the ſame time ſaw a fair channel or ſtreight to the northward of the iſlands, with land on both ſides, as high as the *Cape of Good Hope*, running away to the weſtward, with many bluff points and broken lands. In coming down we ſaw ſeveral very large black whales playing about the boat and in ſhore."

reaſons why.

THIS information was greatly ſtrengthened by the declaration which *Robert Wilſon*, maſter of the *Furnace*, made to Mr. *Dobbs* himſelf, in which he owned, "That he was drove out in the boat with the lieutenant by the tide of ebb, quite round *Cape Dobbs*, to the ſouthward: that, upon his return, when he went up to *Deer-Sound*, and from thence to the bluff on the weſt ſide, he had an open ſea, free from ice, and no ſoundings all the way over at ſixty eight fathoms; but near an iſland they had thirty fathoms: that he ſaw a great many large true black whales, as great as any he had ſeen in *Greenland*; and that they never came in at the eaſt entrance of *Wager* river, otherwiſe they muſt have been ſeen by them ſomewhere below; but he never ſaw any in other parts of the bay or ſtreights, but near *Brook Cobham*; where he apprehends, from the great tides there, that there is an opening or ſtreight from the weſtward: that when he came to the weſt bluff, thirty leagues up *Wager* river, the mid-channel lay then weſt-ſouth-weſt, the true courſe; that he

taſted

taſted the water there, which was as ſalt as any he had taſted in thoſe ſeas: that the fall about a league from them, or rapid current, he would fain have gone to, but does not know whether it was freſh-water or not; but it was not in the main channel: that he and another man went much higher up the mountains than the lieutenant, and killed two deer: that from thence he overlooked the iſlands which were betwixt them and the main channel, and ſaw a large ſtreight four or five leagues wide, free from ice, which ran directly ſouth-weſt, with high mountainous land on both ſides, which he had a great inclination to have gone to, and moved it to the lieutenant; but their proviſions being ſpent, and having already gone fifteen leagues beyond their warrant, which limited them, the lieutenant was unwilling to diſobey his orders, by going further. Upon which the maſter ſaid, To what purpoſe did they go there, if it was not to make the diſcovery? Upon their return, at *Brook Cobham*, the captain ſent the maſter aſhore to get water, and ſaid he would ſend him again: that he then obſerved that there had been very high tides, of which he acquainted the captain upon his return, and deſired to go aſhore again, to make obſervations; but the captain, upon pretence that he had ſtaid too long on ſhore before, told him, he ſhould not go on ſhore again, whilſt he was in the bay; and ordered others to go: ſo he could make no farther obſervations there. From thence they bore away for *England* the 15th of *Auguſt*."

THE reader will in the notes find freſh reaſons from authentic informations for ſuſpecting Mr. *Middleton*'s ſincerity in the purſuit of this diſcovery (R). One particular circumſtance

Other facts alledged.

(R) Here follows a copy of ſome other papers publiſhed by Mr. *Dobbs*, as they were delivered to lieutenant *Rankin* by *Alex. Morriſon*, *John Armount*, and *Abraham Humble*, petty officers on board the *Furnace*, ſigned and atteſted by themſelves and others, which relate to part of the voyage. "When I, *Alexander Morriſon*, (whoſe name is undermentioned) was up the *Wager's-ſtreights* with the lieutenant, I could not ſee any ice nigh the opening oppoſite to *Deer-Sound*. We ſaw a great many black whales, of the whalebone-kind, come into *Deer-Sound* every tide. I cannot believe that thoſe whales come in at the mouth of *Wager's-ſtreights*, as the captain and ſome other creatures would willingly make people believe, in order to anſwer his own end; for the ſtrong rapid tide we ſaw near *Brook Cobham*, (and a great many whales of the right whalebone kind) where I very well remember, that in bringing up the ice-boat to try the tide, (Mr. *Wiſhart* the mate was in the boat) the tide broke the deep ſea lead-line, and loſt a lead

ought not to be omitted, which is, that when three bottles of water, filled in three different places, were taſted by cap-

lead of fifty pound weight. The captain went into the boat himſelf, in a very great paſſion, to try the tide, when he ſaw every body ſtaring ſo very eagerly at the rapidneſs of it; and, at his return on board, ſaid, it ran but two miles ſix fathoms. I was at the cond the ſame time, and I am very certain the tide ran above ſix miles an hour; and have heard the officers ſay ſo many times. The number of whales we ſaw there, and off *Deer-Sound*, all of the right whalebone kind, gives me reaſon to believe that there is a paſſage thereabouts from ſome weſtern ocean; and one that comes into *Wager's-ſtreights*, oppoſite to *Deer-Sound*; for the ice was gone at that opening oppoſite to *Deer-Sound*, long before it was in the middle of the *Streights*. The 27th of *July*, when I was up the *Streights* with the lieutenant, there was no ice to be ſeen in that opening oppoſite to *Deer-Sound*, nor ſo much as one piece of ice to be ſeen above the high bluff point, to the higheſt we went up. The *Streight* is eleven or twelve leagues broad, the water was very ſalt all the way up, and actually ſo within three miles of the fall or rippling we ſaw. As to the captain's affidavit of men's drinking freſh water three leagues above *Deer Sound*, it will ſcarce prove it a freſh-water river; for ham and veal, with ſtrong beer, flip and punch, they eat and drank, might hurt and enfeeble their memories; though, indeed, ſeveral of them were never up the *Streights* at all, and ſwear by hear-ſay. I have many times drank the water where our ſhips lay in winter within two miles of the ſea, and many of our men I have ſeen do the ſame; which plainly ſhews that their affidavits are no reaſon to prove *Wager's-ſtreights* a freſh water river, as captain *Middleton* would make the world believe.

"*Auguſt* the 6th, I ſteered the boat with the lieutenant to the low beach point, and the tide, I very well remember, was falling, and had ebbed about two feet by the beach point; and ſet ſo very ſtrong about the point to the ſouth-weſt, that we were like to be drove round the point, which the lieutenant was very much vexed with, and ſtruck me, becauſe I could not keep right againſt the tide, it run ſo very ſtrong. He, as he ſaid, had no victuals for himſelf nor us, if we had been forced round the point, as we had like to have been. When we got on board, I heard him tell the captain, that the tide had ebbed two feet on the point at three of the clock, when they made ſignal for the boat; but the captain, to anſwer his own end, ſet it in the log-book, *he found it to be the flood-tide, and it came from the eaſtward*; which is very falſe, I very well remember, that we paſſed by what he called the *Frozen Streights*, within two or three miles of the iſlands in the mouth of it. Neither the lieutenant, nor any of the boat's crew, could ſee any appearance

of

tain *Middleton* himſelf, he pronounced that to be the ſalteſt which had been filled the higheſt up the river or ſtreight.

of any opening; yet the captain has named that a *Frozen Streight*; and *Wager's Streight*, that is above three times broader, muſt paſs with him for a river; which ſhews his deſign to impoſe upon the publick, and anſwer his own ends. I never ſaw any whales in the ſtreight or bay, nor ever heard of any, but ſince we came home, but near *Brook Cobham*, and *Deer-Sound*; and all of them of the right whalebone kind, as I very well underſtand them, having been a whale-fiſhing in *Greenland* before in the merchants' ſervice. All this I can make affidavit to, to be real fact, as well as ſeveral more can do, beſide us undermentioned: ſigned *Alexander Morriſon*, *John Armount*, *Abraham Humble*. Witneſs, *Robert Fiſke*, *John Seward*, midſhipmen on board the *Princeſs Royal*."

Another paper, ſigned by the lieutenant, and atteſted by others. "The ſoundings up the eaſt channel, between the iſland and the eaſt-ſide or iſland, is 45, 40, 39, and 25 fathoms, ſoft ground in the middle of the channel, and from ſixteen to ſix fathoms within a quarter of a cable's length to ſome of the iſlands, and good ſoundings through in many channels between thoſe iſlands. The depth of water is eighteen fathoms where I ſounded, and ſeven or eight fathoms within half a cable's length of the iſlands. The channel between the iſlands and the eaſt ſide is three or four miles broad. We went into a bay or cove on the eaſt-ſide, good clear ground. Soundings from thirty to five fathoms. The tide came from the ſouth-weſtward of the iſlands, and flowed thirteen feet; the northermoſt iſland bearing north by weſt, diſtance four or five miles. The ſoundings from the bay or cove, to the northermoſt point on this ſide the bluff, is 45, 40, 30, 20 fathoms, according to the diſtance we were off the ſhore. Above the iſlands, from the eaſt-ſide to the ſouth-weſt ſide, is ſix or ſeven leagues broad. The land runs north-weſt by weſt, the tide flowed neareſt north-weſt by weſt, along the ſhore. We ran into a bay or cove at the north end of the point, on this ſide the high bluff; the ſoundings from 20 to 15, 12, 10, 8, 6 fathoms, good clear ground, and clear of ice. The tide of flood came from the ſouthward, and flowed thirteen feet and a half. The ſtreight above the iſlands is ſix or ſeven leagues broad. I went up the higheſt land on the eaſt-ſide, and ſet the land by compaſs. There is a bluff point on the ſouth-ſide, with three low iſlands off it; and a low point at the back of it, that bore ſouth by weſt, with that opening to us. The land ran from the ſouth by weſt to the north-weſt, a high mountainous land, and round again to the high bluff point, this appearing to me from the high land I was upon. It being about one quarter flood, or more, by the tide that came through the ſtreights, I ſaw the

This experiment ſeems to ſilence all that can be ſaid on the probability of the place where *Middleton* was being a freſh water river. The examinations which paſſed on this head before the lords of the admiralty, afforded farther reaſons for believing, that what is called *Wager* river is in reality a ſtreight, that in the opening it is ſix or ſeven miles wide, and the water from fourteen to ſixteen fathoms deep; that in ſailing up the ſame, the width, the depth, and the ſaltneſs of the water encreaſed; that the ſtreight, moſt probably, leads into the weſtern or north-weſtern ocean, from the number of whales ſeen there, which could not come in at the mouth of the ſtreight, as no whales were ever ſeen in the bay, but on the broken coaſt of the ſouth-weſtward of the *Welcome*, which, very probably, led to a paſſage ſtill more eaſy. The height and rapidity of the tides is another argument for proving *Wager* river a ſtreight to lead to the ocean, as they could not come from *Hudſon*'s ſtreights; and lieutenant *Rankin* declared, that the tide of flood came from the ſouthward. There is, likewiſe, the higheſt probability, from the nature of the tides, that the ſtreight cannot be above an hundred leagues long, and that if it was navigated through, the adventurers would find themſelves in a more moderate climate than that of *Deer-Sound*; for the ſtreight was ſeen from eminences to bend away to the ſouthward of the weſt. From all this it follows, that there is a poſſibility of a paſſage to the ſouthward from *Brook Cobham*, on account of the number of

ice break up, and ſet round the point I ſtood upon with ſome force; ſo that all the ice was preſently in motion in the middle of the channel againſt the flood, and was almoſt clear in the middle this morning. It is nine or ten leagues broad. *July* the 16th, 1742. *John Rankin.*"

The following paper, which is a confirmation of this, is ſigned by the ſame perſons who ſigned *Morriſon*'s account, and runs thus: "All this is matter of fact; for I was with the lieutenant upon the high land, and with a perſpective-glaſs ſet that opening oppoſite to *Deer-Point* by compaſs, and and found it bear as is here ſet down. The next time I was upon the ſaid high land with the lieutenant, we ſaw the ice clear of the opening, although there was much ice driving in the middle of the channel, but none to interrupt the boat in her paſſage up the ſtreights; and I am very ſure the water was as ſalt as it could be among ſo much ice as was in the ſtreight at that time, and ſuch quantities of ſnow as were melting upon the high land. All this is true, as we are ready to make affidavit of, if required; as witneſs my hand, as well as thoſe underwritten, this 22d day of *November*, 1743."

whales

whales ſeen there, and no where elſe, except about *Deer-Sound*, and from the rapidity of the tide at that place, which appears to flow into *Wager* river, and to come from a ſea different from that which fills *Hudſon's-Bay*. The broken appearance of the coaſt, from latitude 62 to latitude 65, is an additional argument of a paſſage thereabouts into the weſtern ocean, or the *South-Sea*. It was likewiſe urged againſt Mr. *Middleton*, that his own great log-book diſproved his ſearching exactly all the weſtern ſhore from cape *Frigid* to *Brook Cobham*; and it came out, upon examination of the officers, that after ſtanding in with the headland of *Brook Cobham*, being informed of a fair opening there, and a ſtrong tide of flood from the weſtward, he would not let it be tried.

An act of parliament encouraging the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage.

UPON the whole, the arguments for a north-weſt paſſage were ſo convincing, that the legiſlature, in 1744, paſſed an act of parliament to encourage the diſcovery of the ſame. The preamble of the act takes notice, that, "As the diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage through *Hudſon's-Streight* to the weſtern *American* ocean, would be of great benefit and advantage to this kingdom; and that it would be a great encouragement to adventurers to attempt the ſame, if a publick reward was given to ſuch perſons as ſhould make a perfect diſcovery of the ſaid paſſage: It is therefore enacted, That if any ſhips or veſſels, belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, ſhall find out and ſail through any paſſage by ſea between *Hudſon's-Bay* and the weſtern ocean of *America*, the owners of ſuch ſhips or veſſels ſhall be intitled to receive, as a reward for ſuch diſcovery, the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds." Commiſſioners are appointed by the ſame act for examining the claim that may be made under it; and a proviſo is added, "That nothing in this act ſhall extend to prejudice the eſtate, rights, or privileges, of the governor and company of the adventurers of *England* trading into *Hudſon's-Bay*." In conſequence of this act, two ſhips, the *California* and the *Dobbs*, were fitted out, and ſailed in queſt of the ſo much deſired paſſage, in the beginning of *May*, 1746; but we do not hear that it is yet diſcovered.

Account of Hudſon's-Bay.

According to Mr. *Dobbs*, who has given us the beſt account of *Hudſon's-Bay*, it may be eſteemed from 51 deg. to 65 deg. north lat. and from 78 deg. to 95 deg. weſt long. from *London*. The whole of its extent in length may be about ſix hundred miles, and its northern boundary may be reckoned at †*Davis's* ſtreights; the country lying to the north of that being claimed by the *Danes*. The entrance of the ſtreights is variouſly repreſented. At *Reſolution-Iſland*, it is ſaid

† Hudſon's Streights rather; for Davis's ſtr. are ſome hundred miles beyond the northern extremity of Hudſon's

ſaid to be twelve or thirteen leagues wide, but others make it not half ſo much. As to the ſtreights themſelves, they are ſaid to be an hundred and twenty leagues in length; the ſhores, on both ſides, being inhabited by a moſt ſavage race. At the mouth of the ſtreights lies *Reſolution-Iſland*; and in the ſtreights themſelves lie the iſlands *Charles*, *Saliſbury*, and *Nottingham*; and *Mansfield-Iſland* is ſituated in the mouth of the bay. The truth is, the whole of this vaſt country is ſo inhoſpitable, and great part of it ſo uninhabitable, that the geography of it is very uncertain. We ſhall, however, preſent our reader with the general deſcription of it from the beſt authorities.

The ſouth coaſt of *Hudſon's-ſtreights* is known by the name of *Terra de Labrador*, and is by ſome called *New Britain*. It extends from the 50th to the 63d degree of latitude, and from the 51ſt to the 79th degree of longitude, weſt from *London*; its form being triangular. The inland parts of this country are but little known, and are inhabited by the *Eſquimaux Indians*, the moſt untamed and intractable people in *America*. They were firſt diſcovered by the *Danes*, but no ſettlement has ever yet been made in their country. They have no ſettled habitation, nor do we know of any villages or towns among them. To what we have already ſaid of thoſe ſavages, we are to add, that they are thought to be ſo numerous, that they can bring 30,000 fighting men to the field; but though miſchievous, untameable, and treacherous, they are exceſſively cowardly; and ſometimes, in the night-time, they cut the cables of ſhips that they may enjoy their wrecks in the morning. The *French* have ſeveral times built forts and little towns upon their frontiers, in hopes of enticing them to traffic with them, but all hitherto has been to no purpoſe; for even the zeal of the miſſionaries could make no impreſſion upon their barbarous manners. The only commodities they trade in are furs, which they exchange for knives, ſciſſars, pots, kettles, and the like hardware; but if an *European* ſhip ſhould ſuffer them to come near it in too great numbers, they will, if they can, maſter the crew and plunder the veſſel. As to the other ſavages in the neighbourhood, we have already mentioned them. Mr. *Moll*, however, has given a very different account of this country. He tells us, that the inhabitants of the inland parts of it are induſtrious, and that the country itſelf produces gold. Something of that kind is not at all improbable, as we cannot account how ſo great a number of people can be maintained in a country ſo rude and ſavage, and ſo unproductive of every neceſſary of life as this is repreſented to be, with-

See Vol. XXXIX. p. 395.

Ibid.

without ſome kind of induſtry in the inhabitants. Add to this, that we are informed that the *Hudſon's-Bay* company intend to ſettle a factory on the *Labrador* coaſt for trading with the *Indians* and the *Eſquimaux*, near the opening from their bay and the *Atlantic* ocean, which we can ſcarcely ſuppoſe the company would attempt without ſome probability of ſucceſs.

ON the other ſide of *Hudſon's-Streights*, to the north of *Labrador*, lies what is called the *North Main*, which is bounded on the eaſt by *Davis's-Streights*, and on the north by *Baffin's-Bay*, and on the weſt by a nameleſs ſtreight. Some geographers have imagined the whole of this country to be an iſland, ſtretching from the 62d to the 75th degree of latitude. Some call it *James Iſland*; others ſuppoſe it to conſiſt of three ſmall iſlands, that on the north-weſt being cut through by *Cumberland-Bay*, the mouth of which lies under the arctic circle, and runs to the north-weſt. *White-Bear-Bay* ſeparates the iſle on the ſouth-eaſt from that on the ſouth-weſt. *Cape Mary*, by ſome called *Charles Cape*, lies on the ſouth-weſt ſhore of the laſt mentioned iſland, and *Smith's-Bay* and *Cape Baffin* on the weſtern coaſt; but all writers ſeem to agree in acknowledging their ignorance of the inland parts. *North-Bay* lies to the ſouth of the iſle lying to the eaſt of *White-Bear-Bay*. On the ſouth-eaſt point of it are the iſles of *Reſolution*, and *Lumley's-Inlet* lies on the eaſtern coaſt. The iſle that lies to the north-eaſt of *Cumberland Bay* has *Cape Walſingham* on the ſouth, to the eaſt of which ſtands *Mount Raleigh*, and *Cape Bedford* is higher up. The *Cumberland Iſlands* lie in the bay of that name. *The* North Main.

WE have already mentioned the diſcovery of the *Streights* of *Davis*, who, in 1585, came to the ſouth-weſt cape of *Greenland*, in the latitude of 62 degrees, which he called *Cape Deſolation*. Here he traded with the natives for peltry ware, ſmall cod and muſcles. He afterwards ſailed to the latitude of 64 degrees, 15 minutes, and from thence to that of 66 degrees, 40 minutes. In 1586, in a ſecond voyage which he made to the ſame coaſt, he diſcovered many places to the weſt; and the following year he proceeded as far as 72 degrees, 12 minutes. But what goes by the name of his ſtreights, extends to the 75th degree of longitude; and there it communicates with *Baffin's-Bay*, or rather what is called *Chriſtian-Sea*. To the north of this *Chriſtian-Sea* lies Sir *Thomas Smith's Bay*, in the 78th degree of north latitude. But though it appears to run northward, we have no particular deſcription of it. On the weſtern coaſt of *Baffin's-Bay* are two ſounds or inlets; the northermoſt in latitude 76,

is

is called *Alderman Jones's Sound*; and the other, which is in latitude 74 degrees and 20 minutes, is termed Sir *James Lancaſter's Sound*; the country lying round *Baffin's-Bay* goes by the name of *Prince William's Land*; but we know nothing more of it.

New North Wales.

To the ſouth of *Prince William's Land* lies *New North Wales*, which has on its ſouth *New Denmark*, and on its weſt another land, but both of them unknown. *Wager's-Streights* being already deſcribed, and the *Welcome*, or *Ne Ultra*, is a narrow ſtreight between the 62d and 63d degree of north latitude. Captain *Middleton* meeting with land there, which trenched away from eaſt by north to north by weſt, was in hopes that it was the extreme part of *America*, and he therefore called it *Cape Hope*; but, to his diſappointment, he met with a deep bay, which he called *Repulſe Bay*, and which, though in the month of *Auguſt*, was full of broken ice. In that bay, about latitude 66 degrees, 45 minutes, lies *Cape Frigid*, ſo called from lying on a frozen ſtreight; but it is not clear whether this was an iſland, or the main land. As to the ſtreight itſelf, it ſeems to be no more than an arm of the ſea, three leagues wide, and full of iſlands. From the tides of flood obſerved here, it is probable there is a north-weſt paſſage into the weſtern ocean. We know very little or nothing of the land between the *Welcome* and part of *Baffin's-Bay*, only that it is barren and inhoſpitable; and by ſome it is laid down as an iſland. From *Cape Hope* to the mouth of *Wager's-Streights*, or *River*, the country is unknown. The mouth of *Wager's-Streights*, lying in latitude 65 degrees, 23 minutes, is not above two or three miles wide; but five or ſix miles within its entrance, it extends to ſix or eight miles. It is full of iſlands and rocks, but the lands on both ſides are high, as has been already obſerved. In latitude 65 degrees, 50 minutes, is the entrance of a ſmall river; but how far it runs inland, is not known. The great plenty of deer that appeared on its banks, gave it the name of *Deer-Sound*, and in the vallies there are ſaid to be large freſh lakes, with plenty of graſs, deer, and water-fowl; but the highlands contain only a kind of a rocky marble. In this ſound ſome whales were likewiſe ſeen. The ſouthermoſt cape at the entrance of *Wager's-Streight*, is called *Cape Dobbs*. Southweſtward, in latitude 65, lie *Whalebone-Point* and *Cape Fullerton*. *Brook-Cobham*, or *Marble-Iſland*, which lies in latitude 63, has to the weſt of it an opening within land, called *Rankin's-Inlet*. To the ſouth are two other openings, called *Whale-Cove*, and *Love-Grove*. It is thought by many, that thoſe openings, though yet but very imperfectly known,

lead

lead to the *South-Sea*, which, if true, would be a diſcovery of the higheſt importance. The country, from *Wager's-Streights* to *Seal-River*, the mouth of which lies in latitude 60 degrees, 30 minutes, is called *New Denmark*, ſo termed, from its being taken poſſeſſion of by the *Danes* by captain *Monck*.

THIS captain *Monck* was employed by *Chriſtiern* the IVth, king of *Denmark*, to find out a paſſage between *Greenland* and *America*, ſo as to facilitate the voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſoon after Mr. *Hudſon* had miſcarried in the ſame attempt. He ſailed from the *Sound* on the 16th of *May*, 1619, with two ſhips, one carrying 48, and the other 16 men. On the 20th of *June* following, he reached *Cape Farewell*, which he found ſituated in 62 degrees, 30 minutes latitude, but covered with ice and ſnow. According to *Monck's* account, he ſteered from thence towards *Hudſon's-Streights*; and on the 18th of *June* at night, his ſails were rendered uſeleſs by [1] the ice adhering to them; but next day, the afternoon proved ſo hot, that his ſailors were obliged to ſtrip themſelves to their ſhirts. On the 17th of *July*, he arrived in *Hudſon's-Streights*, to which he attempted to give the name of *Chriſtiern's-Streight*, and landed on an iſland, (as he ſuppoſes) oppoſite to *Greenland*. Here with ſome difficulty he met with ſavages, who ſeemed ſhy, and the *Danes* ſeized their arms, but returned them, upon the ſavages informing them by ſigns, that they had no other means of ſubſiſtence but the game which they killed with their arrows. They ſeemed in other reſpects to be a harmleſs, ſimple people; and *Monck* was detained here for ſome time by the ice. The ſavages, however, had diſappeared; nor could all the ſtratagems of the *Danes* bring them back. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, while *Monck* remained at *Reen-Sund*, (for ſo he called the iſland where he was) he defended his ſhip from the vaſt ſhoals of ice which every where ſurrounded him. He found ſeveral other iſlands in *Hudſon's-Streights* and wherever he landed, he ſet up the arms of *Denmark*, and took poſſeſſion in that king's name. He afterwards viſited ſeveral coaſts and ſeas, to all which he aſſigned new names, in honour of his royal maſter, though they had before received names from *Hudſon* and other *Engliſhmen*. Continuing his courſe weſt-north-weſt, he came to 63 degrees, 20 minutes; where, being ſurrounded by the ice, he was obliged to winter in a place which he called *Monck's Winter-Harbour*, and the country round it he called *New Denmark*. On the 7th of *October*, having ſecu-

Diſcoveries of captain Monck;

[1] CHURCHILL's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 560.

red his ſhips in a creek, he diſcovered a river, and attempted to ſail up it; but could make no progreſs, becauſe of the vaſt ſhoals of ice which he encountered. He then attempted a paſſage by land, but meeting with no inhabitants, he returned another way. In his progreſs, he perceived many druidical kind of altars, with bones near them, and other indications that the country was not deſtitute of inhabitants, tho' he could bring none of them to traffick with him; and he concluded that they led a wandering life, like the *Tartars* and the *Laplanders*.

THE miſeries from the cold and froſt which thoſe *Danes* ſuffered during the winter, were inexpreſſible; and ſo many of them died, that captain *Monck* was obliged to do the duty of a common man. At laſt, their proviſion of bread failed them. Towards the end of *May* they ſaw abundance of wild fowl of all kinds; but they were too weak to catch them. The captain himſelf by this time fell ill, and of ſixty-four men he ſailed out with, only two were alive. Theſe three had the courage to go on board the ſmaller ſhip; but on the 8th of *September* they were overtaken by a tempeſt, which drove them upon the coaſt of *Norway*, and from thence, with great difficulty, they reached *Denmark*. *Monck*, after returning to his own country, was ſo fully convinced that there was a paſſage between *Greenland* and *America* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, that he perſuaded ſome perſons of great diſtinction to fit out two other ſhips, in which he propoſed to try another voyage. *Chriſtiern* the IVth, king of *Denmark*, a prince of a brutiſh nature, hearing of this, ſent for *Monck*, and reproached him with the ill ſucceſs of his laſt voyage, and the loſs of his two ſhips; and upon *Monck*'s returning a haſty anſwer, he received a blow of his majeſty's cane, which he took ſo much amiſs, that he went home, and ſtarved himſelf to death.

his death.

SEVERAL iſlands lie on the coaſt of *Labrador*; and the country from *Button's-Bay*, ſouthward and eaſtward, as far as *Labrador* is called *New South-Wales*. This vaſt country from north-weſt to ſouth eaſt, extends three hundred miles. It is bounded on the eaſt and ſouth by *Canada*, and on the weſt by vaſt tracts of countries, whoſe inhabitants trade with the *Engliſh*, who are the only *Europeans* who have plantations or ſettlements within land. How far thoſe countries extend, or where they terminate, is unknown. The *Engliſh* ſettlements conſiſt of forts or houſes lying on the coaſts, chiefly calculated to protect them againſt the inclemencies of the weather. They are directed as to the ſituation of thoſe forts by the mouths of the rivers which are moſt proper for trading with the *Indians:* the chief on the weſtern continent

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are *Churchill-River*, *Nelſon's-River*, *Severn-River*, *Albany-River*, and *Mooſe-River*. *Churchill-River*, at the mouth of which is built the *Prince of Wales's* fort, is moſt northerly, and ſituated on the weſt part of *Hudſon's-Bay*. The company here keeps about twenty-eight men. The river is navigable for 150 leagues, and about 20,000 beaver-ſkins every year are returned at this fort. Fort *York*, or Fort *Nelſon*, but by the *French* called Fort *Bourbon*, is ſituated upon *Nelſon's-River*, in the 57th degree of north latitude. Here about twenty-five of the company's men reſide; and the river itſelf is the largeſt and fineſt in the bay, by means of its communications with the great lakes and the trading rivers. *New Severn River* lies in the 55th degree of north latitude; but is at preſent neglected. *Albany-River* lies in the 52d degree, and the company there keep twenty-five in the fort. From the middle of *May* to the middle of *September*, the weather here is mild and warm; and in the year 1731, no fewer than one hundred and eighteen canoes traded with the fort. *Mooſe-River*, which is larger than that of *Albany*, lies in the 51ſt degree of north latitude, and the company has at their fort here twenty-five men. *Prince Rupert-River* lies in the ſame latitude, but on the eaſt-ſide of the bay; and the fort there is at preſent gone to ruin. At the fort upon *Slude-River*, which lies on the eaſt-ſide of the bay, the company keep no more than eight or nine men. *Farther deſcription of Hudſon's-Bay.*

About five or ſix leagues from the *Weſt-main*, lies the little rocky iſle, which, tho' no more than a heap of rocks and ſtones, ſhelters great numbers of gulls and water-fowl. The ſoil of *Charleton-iſland* is a light white ſand, producing juniper and other ſhrub-trees. In the ſpring, this iſland is noted for the beautiful appearance it makes to voyagers, who for months before have been accuſtomed to the moſt ſavage inhoſpitable ſcenes in nature; though at the bottom of the bay, the latitude is nearer the ſun than *London* itſelf; yet the climate is exceſſively cold for nine months in the year; but, excepting, when a north-wind blows, the other three months are very hot. As to the ſoil in general of the counties bordering on *Hudſon's-Bay*, it is very barren, ſcarce any grain growing upon it; but upon *Prince Rupert-River* there grows ſome gooſeberries, ſtrawberries, and the like dwarf-fruits.

Notwithstanding all thoſe diſcouragements, it is certain that the advantages of the trade to *Hudſon's-Bay* are immenſe. The commodities moſt proper for trade here are guns, powder, ſhot, cloth, hatchets, kettles, and tobacco. Theſe are exchanged with the natives for furs, beavers, marten, fox, mooſe, and other peltry ware; and the prodigious profits *An account of its trade.*

profits of the company may be eſtimated by the following ſtandard of commerce, which formerly was fixed by them for their goods bartered on the ſouthern part of the bay.

GUNS, one with the other, ten good ſkins, that is, winter-beaver; twelve ſkins for the biggeſt ſort, ten for the mean, and eight for the ſmalleſt. Powder, a beaver for half a pound. Shot, a beaver for four pounds. Hatchets, a beaver for a great and little hatchet. Knives, a beaver for ſix great knives, or eight jackknives. Beads, a beaver for half a pound of beads. Laced coats, ſix beavers for one good laced coat. Plain coats, five beaver-ſkins for one red plain coat. Coats for women, laced, two yards, ſix beavers. Coats for women plain, five beavers. Tobacco, a beaver for one pound. Powder-horns, a beaver for a large powder-horn, and two ſmall ones. Kettles, a beaver for one pound of kettle. Looking-glaſſes and combs, two ſkins.

THE reader who underſtands trade, muſt readily be ſenſible of the vaſt gains of ſuch a commerce as the above, eſpecially as it is but in a few hands, and carried on with very little expence. It is true, the trade for ſeveral years before the treaty of *Utrecht*, and for ſome years after, was but inconſiderable; but it is well known, that during the late war their profits were greater than that of any commerce carried on by *Britiſh* ſubjects. It is ſaid, [m] that the annual exports were about 3000 l. value, and their half-yearly ſales about 25,000 l. and that nine-tenths of the ſtock have been engroſſed by eight or nine merchants. They are ſuppoſed to be at the charge of one hundred and twenty ſervants a year, and about an hundred and twenty men on board the two or three annual ſhips which they employ in time of war. Their imports are deer-ſkins, caſtorum or beaver-ſtone, feathers, whalebone and blubber; but beaver-ſkin is two-thirds of the whole. Some writers, Mr. *Dobbs* in particular, who is well acquainted with the country, and the ſtate of its trade, have been of opinion, that the privileges of this company are ſo extenſive, that its charter ought to be vacated, and the trade laid open. It has likewiſe been ſaid, with what juſtice we cannot determine, that this company has always been averſe to the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage, though their endeavouring to make ſuch a diſcovery is one of the conditions on which their charter was granted.

PERHAPS none of the natives of *North America* are ſo rude and ſavage as the *Indians* inhabiting the neighbourhood of *Rupert-River*, and other places in the bay. This may

[m] DOUGLAS's Summary, Vol. I. p. 218.

eaſily

eaſily be accounted for, as they have no opportunities like the *Canadian* ſavages, or thoſe in the neighbourhood of the *Engliſh* plantations, of ſeeing any places of great reſort. Their intercourſe is confined to little forts and booths, where they deal with *Europeans* who have no other converſation, or ideas, but to make the beſt bargains they can. In general, however, they are peaceable, only the *Nodways* are a tribe more ſavage than the reſt; upon whom they ſometimes make incurſions, and after killing eight or ten people, retire in triumph. The rivers, which in that country are very plentiful, are commonly the boundaries of thoſe ſavage tribes. Though it does not appear, that they have any notions of ſubordination in government, yet each tribe has its okimah, or orator, who preſides in their public meetings every ſpring and fall, where they adjuſt their boundaries for hunting, fowling, and fiſhing, and mark out the ſpace which each family is to occupy during the ſeaſon. This okimah makes their harangues to the *Engliſh*, and nothing but the danger of ſtarving can prevail with the ſeveral families to quit the bounds allotted to them. They have ſome notion of two manitous (as the *Canadians* call them) or ſpirits, one the author of good, the other of bad; and they expreſs ſome rude ſigns of worſhip or devotion at their feaſts and dances.

SECT. XIII.

Containing the Hiſtory of the BRITISH *and other* ISLANDS *in the* American Weſt Indies.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of BARBADOS.

Firſt diſcovery of Barbados.

IT is ſurpriſing that the *Engliſh* in general are ſo much in the dark as they are with regard to their original poſſeſſion of this valuable iſland; nor can it be otherwiſe accounted for, than by the firſt coloniſts being ſo much immerſed in commercial purſuits, that they gave very little attention to matters of mere curioſity. As to the hiſtory of the natives of this iſland there can be none, becauſe, by the beſt accounts we have, it was entirely uninhabited when the *Portugueſe*, who certainly were its original diſcoverers, firſt landed upon it. It is probable, however, that it was viſited at certain times by the neighbouring *Caribbees*, or ſavages, in their canoes. Even the origin of the name is uncertain, ſome attributing it to a tree, the leaves and fruit of which at a diſtance ſomewhat reſemble a human beard; others with more probability think, that it was called *Barbados* by the *Portugueſe*, on account of the barbarous, uncultivated proſpect it preſented. As the *Portugueſe*, long before the *Engliſh* took poſſeſſion of *Barbados*, had uſed to ſail to the *Braſils*, there can be little or no doubt of their being acquainted with this iſland; and we learn from ſome good authorities, that they left hogs there to ſerve them for a ſtock of freſh proviſions, and that when the *Engliſh* took poſſeſſion of the iſland, thoſe hogs had multiplied extremely. As the *Portugueſe* had diſcovered *Braſil* in 1501, *Barbados* was probably known to them many years before the *Engliſh* took poſſeſſion of it, which undoubtedly muſt have been before the death of *James* the Firſt, which happened in the year 1625. The author of the Complete Syſtem of Geography [n] informs us, that where the great fire happened at *Bridge-Town*, in 1666, ſome papers were ſaved, which were afterwards printed on the iſland, and by them it appeared, that an *Engliſh* ſhip, called the *Olive*, homeward-bound from *Guiney*, touched here; and, landing ſome men, they ſet up a croſs in or about St. *James's*

[n] Vol. II. p. 747.

town,

town, now called the *Hole*, and marked on a tree, "*James* king of *England*, and this iſland:" that proceeding along ſhore, they left other marks of ſuch their poſſeſſion at the *Indian* river. It ſeems to have been about this time that the earl of *Marlborough*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, obtained his patent of the *Caribbees*: after this Sir *William Courteen*, (S) one of the greateſt merchants *England* ever had, about the year 1624, fitted out a ſhip for the *Braſil* trade. This trade was prohibited to all the nations of *Europe* by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, who made it death for any adventurer to ſail weſtward beyond ſuch a latitude; but about the years 1623 and 1624, the ſyſtem of power in *Europe* having taken a different turn from what it ever had known before, the *Spaniſh* court permitted the ſtates-general to trade to the *Braſils*; and it muſt have been under their ſanction that one of Sir *William Courteen*'s ſhips ſailed, as we are told it did, to *Fernambucca*, in *Braſil*. Returning from this, this ſhip was forced, by ſtreſs of weather, upon the coaſt of *Barbados*. Some of the crew had the curioſity to go a-ſhore, but found this iſland over-grown with weeds, and no living creatures, but the *Portugueſe* hogs already mentioned, upon it.

BUT though this is the ſtory that generally has been told concerning the firſt diſcovery of this valuable iſland, it is more than probable, that it had never been deſtitute of *Engliſh* inhabitants from 1615 to 1624. Had it been entirely uninhabited, uncultivated, and almoſt unknown, a man like Sir *William Courteen* would not have riſked his property as he did in peopling and improving it; for it is agreed upon by all, that the ſailors who then went aſhore, upon their return to *England*, made ſo good a report of the ſtate and fertility of the iſland, that *Courteen* and his friends, (among whom were people of the higheſt diſtinction in *England*) reſolved to make a ſettlement there, but under the earl of *Marlborough*'s patent. Every one who has read the Hiſtory of *England*, knows with what indiſcriminate profuſion *James* the Iſt and *Charles* the Iſt made grants to their favourites of the iſlands, as well as the continent, of *America*; and though *Courteen* and his friends had been at a conſiderable expence in fitting out two ſhips, with all kind of neceſſaries, for planting and fortifying *Barbados*, his deſign was no ſooner known, than

(S) We apprehend that this gentleman's ſon, or one of his deſcendants, was the ſame who was originally concerned with Sir *Hans Sloane* in his amazing collection of natural and other curioſities, now repoſited in the *Britiſh Muſeum*; where an original picture of Mr. *Courteen* is ſtill ſhewn.

Hay earl of *Carliſle*, who was a favourite with king *James* and his ſon, applied for, and obtained, a gift from the crown of all the *Caribbee Iſlands*, of which *Barbados* was one, upon agreeing to pay 300*l.* a year to the earl of *Marlborough*. By this time, *Courteen*'s two ſhips, one of which was called the *William* and *John*, captain *John Powel* commander, had put thirty men on ſhore at *Barbados*, near the *Hole Town*, to the leeward part of the iſland, then called *James Town*, a ſtrong preſumption that ſome *Engliſh* were then living there; and began to fortify themſelves under one captain *William Dean*, who acted as their governor, and placed the *Engliſh* colours on the infant-fortification. The earl of *Carliſle* happened to be abroad on an embaſſy when *Courteen*'s ſhips ſailed, and the then earl of *Pembroke*, who was that gentleman's friend, hearing a very promiſing account of the new undertaking, obtained of *Charles* the Iſt a grant of the iſland, in truſt for Sir *William Courteen*. Upon the earl of *Carliſle*'s return from his embaſſy, he was ſurpriſed to hear of the ſettlement that had been made upon an iſland which was within his prior grant, and reſolved to defeat it; and, indeed, the ignorance and neglect which appeared on the part of the crown on this occaſion, ſtrongly indicate the genius of the then government.

granted to the earl of Carliſle, *who ſettles it.*

THE earl of *Carliſle*, to counteract *Courteen*'s ſettlement, made an agreement with *Marmaduke Brandon*, *Robert Wheatley*, *Edmund Forſter*, *Henry Wheatley*, *John Farringdon*, and others, of *London*, merchants, for 10,000 acres, under a governor of their own chuſing. The choice fell upon one *Charles Wolferſtone*. When this new coloniſt arrived upon the iſland, *Courteen*'s ſettlement was in a very promiſing condition. They had cleared a conſiderable quantity of lands, which were let at an eaſy rate; and ſo great was the fertility of the ſoil, that *Barbados* bade fair, in a ſhort time, to be the moſt flouriſhing of all the *Caribbee Iſlands*; but two intereſts ſo incompatible as that of *Courteen*, or rather the earl of *Pembroke*, and that of the earl of *Carliſle* were, could not long ſubſiſt upon the ſame ſpot. The *Carliſlemen* ſettled near a place called the *Bridge*, near *Bridge Town*, under the denomination of Windward-men, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the earl of *Pembroke*'s men, who called themſelves the Leeward-men. Soon after *Wolferſtone*'s arrival upon the iſland, he emitted a kind of proclamation, in which he treated the *Pembroke* ſettlement as being little better than an uſurpation. He therefore ſummoned them to appear at the *Bridge*, which they did; and governor *Dean*, who, it ſeems, was a *Bermudian*, not only ſubmitted to the earl of *Carliſle*'s authority, but marched

marched with a party of armed men to reduce the ſettlement at the *Hole*, who ſtill held out for the earl of *Pembroke*, under the command of Mr. *Powel*, ſon to the ſhipmaſter who had carried them over. This diſpute might have terminated in bloodſhed, had it not been for the interpoſition of a clergyman, who reconciled the two parties, and the Leewardmen ſubmitted to the earl of *Carliſle*'s authority.

THE planters had now made a great progreſs in cultivating the iſland; an amazing proof of *Engliſh* induſtry, conſidering the unpromiſing appearances it bore, when they firſt landed on it. But though theſe are repreſented as very diſcouraging, yet *Ligon*, who lived upon the place, and near the time, allows, that beſides the hogs already mentioned, the planters uſed to find ſome vegetable ſubſiſtence in the woods, it being common for all nations, eſpecially the *Portugueſe*, when they landed upon a deſart iſland which they expected again to viſit, to ſow ſome ſeeds for vegetables. Be this as it will, notwithſtanding the grand diſputes in *England* between the earls of *Pembroke* and *Carliſle*, concerning the property of the iſland, and which occaſioned its ſupplies to be ſlow and precarious, the potatoes, plantains, *Indian* corn, and other fruits, which the *Engliſh* planted, came up ſurpriſingly. We are told, that thoſe planters, in different parts of the iſland, found ſeveral pots and pans of clay finely tempered, and ſo elegantly turned, that they did not ſeem to be the work of barbarians. They muſt, however, have belonged to the *Caribbeans* in the neighbouring iſlands, and made uſe of by them in their viſits to *Barbados*, in dreſſing the hogs-fleſh and vegetables which they found in that iſland. The planters, after clearing the land ſo far as that it afforded them a ſtock for their own ſubſiſtence, began to conſider how to make it uſeful in point of commerce, and applied themſelves to the cultivation of tobacco, at that time the moſt profitable commodity of any that was raiſed in *America*. It is ſaid of *Ligon* and others, that their ſucceſs in this undertaking was ſo indifferent, and the tobacco they raiſed was ſo poor, that it came to no account in *England*. Their cultivation of ſugar, in which the inhabitants of *Barbados* have been ſince ſo eminent and ſucceſsful, is differently accounted for. If we are to believe Mr. *Ligon*, they began to cultivate ſugar with the plants which they brought from *Fernambucca*, in *Braſil*, where the making of ſugar was perfectly well underſtood, and that, ſoon after the *Engliſh* began to inhabit *Barbados*. They raiſed the plants with wonderful facility, and they throve prodigiouſly; but they were entirely at a loſs as to the manufacturing of the product; ſo that, for a long time, they

Tobacco trade.

put their ſugars to no other uſe than ſweetening the cooling drinks which the heat of the climate required. The intercourſe which ſtill continued to be kept up between the *Braſils* and *Barbados*, ſeems to have given riſe to the proper manufacture of ſugar in that iſland. This was not a little aſſiſted by the *Hollanders*, (who had been indulged in trading to *Braſil*,) eſpecially after they had quarrelled with the *Portugueſe*. They not only furniſhed the *Barbadians* with the ſugar-plants, but ſome of them ſettling in the iſland, put them upon erecting works for manufacturing the commodity. Thoſe works were at firſt but imperfectly carried on; the *Hollanders* themſelves, as well as the *Engliſh*, being unſkilled in the chief myſteries of the art. Their perſeverance, however, in the end, got the better of their difficulties, being convinced that a little inſight into the manufacture would make it practicable. They even ventured upon clandeſtine viſits to *Braſil*, and were ſo ſucceſsful, that they ſeldom returned without obtaining new lights as to what they wanted, which conſiſted in the manner of planting, the time of gathering, the right placing the coppers and furnaces, and the way of covering the rollers with plates or bars of iron; yet, after all, the manufacture in general reached no higher than to produce a moiſt, ill-cured kind of what is called muſcovade ſugar, which did not anſwer for the *Engliſh* market.

Original of its ſugar-trade.

THOSE imperfections ſeem not to have been univerſal; for, according to the beſt accounts of this infant-ſettlement, one Mr. *Drax*, and, perhaps, one or two more, had engaged a *Hollander* from the *Braſils*, who carried on, but for his or their private advantage, a more complete manufacture of ſugar; but his method remained for ſeven or eight years a ſecret to the inhabitants of the iſland in general, though it enriched the particular planters who had acquired it. It was not till about the year 1650, that the bulk of the planters got into the true ſecret of making ſugars, by ſuffering the canes to ripen fifteen months inſtead of twelve, and by boiling and curing them to a white conſiſtence; and after this ſecret was found out, the value of lands on the iſland encreaſed to an incredible degree: but we are now to attend the civil hiſtory of the iſland.

AFTER the compromiſe between *Powel* and *Wolferſtone*, captain *Robert Wheatley*, one of the original and chief ſettlers, ſucceeded the latter in the government of the iſland, or rather in the care of the plantations that were upon it. But a ſtrong party of the Leeward-men ſtill continued to hold out for the earl of *Pembroke* and *Courteen*, and even attempted to drive the Windward-men from their ſettlements; but they met

met with ſo warm a reception, that they were beaten off, and heere rewarded by the earl of *Carliſle* with a grant of having their goods toll-free for ſeven years. The diſpute ſtill continuing, the earl of *Carliſle*'s patent was called for by the king; and a flaw being found in it, which had given occaſion for the earl of *Pembroke*'s attempt, the ſame was rectified by a new patent, which was granted to the earl of *Carliſle* in 1629. The truth is, that though the earl of *Pembroke* was then lord-chamberlain of the king's houſhold, yet his competitor was the better courtier; and the whole of this tranſaction is of a very dark complexion. The earl of *Carliſle* had obtained his patent upon a ſuggeſtion, according to the earl of *Clarendon*, that the iſland had been firſt diſcovered, poſſeſſed, and planted, at the charge of the ſaid earl; whereas, from what we have ſaid, it appears, that the firſt *Engliſh* ſettlers there were Sir *William Courteen* and his company, which was the true reaſon why the earl of *Pembroke* was ſo zealous in their intereſt. But that the reader may have a more comprehenſive view of this affair, it may be proper to inform him, that we learn from the earl of *Clarendon*, that the planters who had ſettled in *Barbados*, (we ſuppoſe, under the original patent granted to the earl of *Marlborough*,) hearing of that granted to the earl of *Carliſle*, deſired leave to proſecute a ſuit in his majeſty's name, at their own charge, in the court of exchequer, to repeal the grant to the earl of *Carliſle*, and that the king would take the colony under his protection; or elſe, if his majeſty would not conſent to the repeal of the charter, that he would refer thoſe who claimed under the earl of *Carliſle*'s patent, to their remedy at law, and leave the planters to their own defence; who inſiſted, that they alone had been at the charge of ſettling the plantation [a]. But, as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory, this plea, though ſufficient to have ſet aſide the equity of the earl of *Carliſle*'s patent, and though it was founded in material juſtice, was diſregarded.

THE firſt governor ſent over by the earl of *Carliſle*, after his patent was amended, was Sir *William Tufton*; but his government proving diſagreeable to his lordſhip, he was ſuperſeded in it by captain *Henry Hawley*. *Tufton* reſented this, and procured the hands of ſome planters to a petition, complaining of *Hawley*, as if he had with-held ſome ſtores from the colony, which the earl of *Carliſle* had appointed for them. *Hawley* moſt arbitrarily conſtrued this petition into an act of mutiny, and ſentenced Sir *William Tufton* to be ſhot to death

Sir William Tufton, governor.

[a] Syſtem of Geography, Vol. II. p. 748.

He is ſhot by his ſucceſſor, Hawley.

for the ſame, which was accordingly executed off the bay in 1631. We do not find that *Hawley* was ever tried for this unexampled barbarity, in which he is ſaid to have had the concurrence of the council; but by thoſe counſellers can only be meant a few planters, or merchants, who were devoted to the intereſt of the proprietary. Upon *Hawley*'s being recalled by the earl of *Carliſle*, whoſe credit with the court of *England* undoubtedly ſcreened him from puniſhment for Sir *William Tufton*'s murder, he left his brother-in-law, *Richard Peers*, Eſq; his deputy-governor in 1633. Next year, he returned to his government; and in 1635, he left *Peers* his deputy-governor, as before, and again went over to *England*. Next year he returned to *Barbados*, and acted as governor till 1638, when he again returned to *England*, and left his brother *William Hawley* to be his deputy-governor.

It is probable, by this time, the proprietary began to be ſenſible of the worth of *Barbados*, and did not think that his returns from it were anſwerable to its improvements and importance; and very poſſibly he might attribute this to the practices of the governor among the planters; for we find *Hawley*, in 1639, returning clandeſtinely from *England* to *Barbados*, and without proper authority, pretending that he was furniſhed with ſecret inſtructions from the king and the proprietary, and endeavouring to reſume the government. He was ſoon followed by Sir *Henry Hunkes*, who, producing a commiſſion to be governor, was oppoſed by *Hawley*, who was not treated with that barbarity he had inflicted upon *Tufton* for a far leſs crime; for *Hunkes* contented himſelf with ſending him priſoner to *England*, and ſeizing his eſtate. By this time, the face of *Barbadoes* was entirely changed. Though the woods were thick, and the trees enormouſly large, and though the progreſs of the planters in cultivating tobacco was ſtill inconſiderable, yet great quantities of land were cleared; indigo and cotton-wool came up plentifully, as did fuſtic; all which went well off at the *Engliſh* market, and brought back, in return, the goods that were wanted at *Barbados*; ſuch as working-tools, iron, ſteel, clothes, ſhirts and drawers, ſtockings, ſhoes, and hats. The calamities of *England* ſerved to people *Barbados*, from whence the returns of profit were much more quick than from any of the other *Engliſh* colonies in *America*. During the arbitrary exertion of power under *Charles* the Firſt, and before it was checked by his parliament, many gentlemen and traders in *Devonſhire*, *Cornwall*, and the other weſtern counties, being under many melancholy apprehenſions concerning the fate of their country and the conſtitution, had retired to *Barbados*; and

their

their examples were followed by the inferior orders of people, who flocked thither with incredible ardour; but, ſo far as we can find, without making any previous agreement with the proprietary, or the governor. The reaſon of this might be, that when the civil war broke out in *England*, there was, in fact, no regular government in *Barbados*, as the earl of *Carliſle* ſcarcely thought it worth his while to take any concern in it. Sir *Henry Hunkes* returning to *England* in 1641, was ſucceeded by captain *Philip Bell* as lieutenant-governor; and in 1645, he was appointed governor in chief. The reader may eaſily conceive that, at that time, when the regal power was ſo low, the proprietary's authority had very little influence in that iſland. This was, perhaps, the main reaſon of the aſtoniſhing progreſs in riches and population which it made, while *England* was deſolated by civil war. The names of the chief planters at this time were, Mr. *Hilliard*, *Halduppe*, *Silveſter*, *Walrond*, *Raines*, *Kendall*, *Middleton*, *Standfaſt*, and *Drax*. When thoſe gentlemen came over, they found the affairs of the iſland ſo much neglected by the proprietary, that his name was ſcarcely ever mentioned among them. Governor *Bell* being thus almoſt independent, began to think of making proper regulations for the government of an iſland, now become ſo populous and important. The leeward part of it was now very well ſettled, and ſome of the planters had acquired conſiderable eſtates. The hiſtorian of the *Britiſh* empire in *America* [p], has been ſo minute, as to deſcend to the particulars of their names, and the ſituations of their eſtates, to which we refer the reader; who, perhaps, will be ſurpriſed to be informed, that under *Bell*'s government, the iſland could muſter 10,000 foot, and 1000 horſe; and *Ligon* ſays, that the number of white inhabitants upon it were 50,000. The value of the lands encreaſed in proportion to the population of the country; for after the making of ſugar came to be underſtood, the ſame land which could have been purchaſed for 200 l. coſt 7000 l. and it has continued to riſe in value ever ſince.

Account of its population.

HITHERTO *Barbados* being a proprietary government, no great attention had been paid to the police of the iſland; but *Bell*, by the advice of a kind of council he had, conſiſting of ten gentlemen, formed an aſſembly, which was to repreſent the inhabitants in nature of a parliament. For this purpoſe, the iſland was divided into four circuits, and into eleven pariſhes, each pariſh to ſend two repreſentatives to the aſſembly. About the ſame time, churches, though mean,

[p] Vide *Britiſh* Empire in *America*, Vol. II. p. 19.

were

were built, and miniſters appointed to their cures. The vaſt encreaſe of whites upon the iſland, occaſioned a proportionable encreaſe of blacks; and even theſe not being ſufficient for the labour which the cultivation required, the planters were ſometimes wicked enough to force the neighbouring *Caribbees*, a people ever impatient of ſubjection, to be their ſlaves. But this cruel practice was far from anſwering their intentions: thoſe barbarians, having no ideas of labour, either pined themſelves to death, or obſtinately reſiſted the moſt cruel treatment to force them to work; and at laſt, they became ſo ſhy in their own iſlands and countries, that they were not to be procured; and as to the white ſervants, they were too expenſive to be maintained and paid.

Importation of negroes.

THE colony of *Barbados*, therefore, was obliged, like the *French* and *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*, to import from *Africa* vaſt numbers of negroes to be their ſlaves. This was, at that time, a dangerous, becauſe a new expedient. Thoſe negroes, in a ſhort time, beheld themſelves more numerous upon the iſland, and therefore they thought themſelves more powerful than their maſters. Not being, as they were afterwards, and are now, habituated to the intercourſe of *Europeans*, they ſoon entered into conſpiracies; and their diſcontents were encreaſed by the ſevere, if not cruel, treatment of their maſters. Their general ſpirit of diſcontent went ſo far, that they even fixed upon a day for an univerſal riſing, in which they were to maſſacre all the whites, and then to make themſelves maſters of the iſland. This deſign was carried on with ſuch impenetrable ſecrecy, that it is hard to ſay what the conſequences might have been, had not, the very day before the maſſacre was to have taken effect, one of the conſpirators diſcovered the deſign to his maſter, who was called *Hotherſall*, and by ſending timely advertiſements to all his friends, and the other planters, prevented the conſpiracy from being executed. Numbers of the conſpirators were ſecured; but ſo reſolute did the ringleaders appear, and ſo determined, had they been ſuffered to live to execute what they had projected, that their maſters were obliged, though otherwiſe againſt their own intereſt, to put many of them to death.

Their conſpiracies.

THIS happened about the time when *Charles* I. was murdered, and his friends ſequeſtered or exiled; and for ſome time the complexion of the colony, in matters of principle, had been altered. Some of the puritans, for ſo the anti-courtier party, or diſſenters, were called, finding, that the king's intereſt in *England* was ruined, and that they had little to expect under a proprietary intereſt eſtabliſhed by his authority, had moſt of them returned to *England*, and their places were

were occupied by royaliſts, or, as they were termed cavaliers, who found more encouragement at *Barbados*, and, at this time, formed the bulk of the planters upon the iſland; tho' great numbers of the anti-royaliſts ſtill continued there, and affected the name of parliamentarians. It is probable, that the multiplicity of buſineſs of the *Engliſh* government after the murder of *Charles* I. did not ſuffer it to give much attention to the affairs of *Barbados*; and Mr. *Bell* ſtill continuing to act under the proprietary commiſſion, lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* not only obtained from *Charles* II. in his exile, a commiſſion to be governor of *Barbados*, but covenanted with the earl of *Carliſle* for twenty-one years, upon a certain conſideration, in the nature of a fee-farm rent, to be the proprietary governor likewiſe. Thoſe two commiſſions can hardly be reconciled, without ſuppoſing lord *Willoughby* to act in a military capacity under that of *Charles*, and in a civil one under that of the proprietary. Lord *Willoughby* was a brave active officer; in his principles he had been a preſbyterian, but deteſting the king's murder, he had declared himſelf for the royal family, and followed *Charles* into *Holland*, where he received his commiſſion, which extended not only to *Barbados*, but to all the *Leeward Iſlands*. To ſo low a paſs were the affairs of *Charles* now reduced, that it was thought, if by the lord *Willoughby*'s means thoſe iſlands could be ſecured to the royal intereſt, and if *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and the other colonies on the continent of *America*, who had not yet owned the power of the parliament, ſhould hold out, his majeſty would have gone thither in perſon.

Bell, *governor.*

UPON lord *Willoughby*'s arrival on the iſland, he found it rich, flouriſhing, and populous, and moſt of the principal planters extremely well-affected to the royal cauſe; ſo that they embraced it with incredible ardor. One of the firſt ſteps of his adminiſtration was to ſummon an aſſembly, which paſſed an act, entitled, "An acknowledgement and declaration of the inhabitants of the iſland of *Barbados*, of his majeſty's right to the dominion of this iſland; and the right of the right honourable the earl of *Carliſle*, derived from his ſaid majeſty; and by the earl of *Carliſle*, to the right honourable the lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*; and alſo for the unanimous profeſſion of the true religion in this iſland; and impoſing condign puniſhment upon the oppoſers thereof." Before this time, the inhabitants of the iſland had entered into a compromiſe, that however divided they might be in their civil principles, they would live in good correſpondence with each other, and little or nothing of party-heat had been known among them. The arrival of lord *Willoughby* neceſſarily put

Lord Willoughby, *governor.*

put an end to this tranquillity; for he ordered king *Charles* to be proclaimed all over the iſland. This obliged one colonel *Allen*, a conſiderable planter, and ſome others, who were apprehenſive of the parliament's reſentment, and knew how inſignificant ſuch an oppoſition muſt be againſt the power of the commonwealth of *England*, to remove from the iſland to *England*, where they inſtructed the government as to the ſtate of affairs in *Barbados*. In the mean while, lord *Willoughby*, at the head of the loyal *Barbadians*, acted with great ſpirit and ſucceſs in raiſing men, fitting out ſhips, and reducing all the iſlands under his government to acknowlege the royal authority.

THOSE proceedings ſounded very high in *Europe*, where prince *Rupert* commanded a very conſiderable ſquadron of the *Engliſh* fleet, and intended actually to ſail for *Barbados*, and to ſecure all the *Engliſh American* poſſeſſions for the king. Had this deſign been put into execution, it might have ſhaken the foundations of the *Engliſh* commonwealth; but the great men who compoſed it knew well how to cruſh it. They had, in leſs than three years, raiſed a marine which was the terror of *Europe*; and it was not among the leaſt of the cauſes which made them declare war againſt the *Dutch*, that the latter openly carried on an illicit trade with *Barbados*, and that they encouraged and ſupported thoſe iſlanders in their rebellion againſt the republic. Colonel *Allen*, and the other *Barbadians* who were then in *England*, having laid before the government the ſtate of their affairs in the *Weſt-Indies*, Sir *George Ayſcue* was immediately commiſſioned to the command of a ſtrong ſquadron, and a conſiderable body of land-forces, for the reduction of that iſland, and all the other *Engliſh Caribbees*, which, by this time, the lord *Willoughby* had forced to acknowledge the royal cauſe. As the iſles of *Scilly*, at that time under *Godolphin*, *Carteret*, and others, held out for the king; Sir *George*, before he ſailed from *Barbados*, had orders to attack two of thoſe iſlands, which he did with great courage; and one captain *Morris*, who was to ſerve under him in the expedition to *Barbados*, at the head of two hundred of the land-forces, reduced them both. Upon this, Sir *George*, who had orders to keep his expedition to *Barbados* a ſecret, returned to *Falmouth*, where he found a large number of *Barbados* merchants *Dutch*, as well as *Engliſh*, waiting to embark on board his fleet (T).

Sir George Ayſcue *ſent with a fleet againſt* Barbados.

(T) See *Mercurius Politicus* for 1651. page 789, where the reader will find a letter from Sir *George Ayſcue* giving an account of this expedition.

In

In the mean while [p], the commonwealth of *England* had iſſued very rigorous prohibitions againſt the *Dutch* trading to *Barbados*, or any of the *Leeward Iſlands*, which were highly reſented by the merchants of *Holland*, who appear to have traded there in the ſame manner as if the iſland had belonged to themſelves. They, therefore, made moſt grievous complaints to the ſtates-general at the *Hague*, of their being ruined by this prohibition, and prayed them to interpoſe their authority with the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors, then in *Holland*, that the trade might be free as formerly. But the ambaſſadors being then upon their departure, nothing was done in the matter; though we learn from one of Sir *George Ayſcue*'s letters, that ſome *Dutch* merchants had a particular indulgence for that purpoſe granted them. Some demur happening about Sir *George*'s ſailing, he wrote from on board the *Rainbow*, preſſing for diſpatch, and he ſailed about the middle of *May*; but had a ſecret inſtruction to look out for prince *Rupert* and his ſquadron, and, if poſſible, to fight him. It was the 16th of *October*, 1651, when he appeared in *Carliſle-Bay*, and he ſent in the *Amity* frigate, captain *Peck*, commander, to ſeize fourteen ſail of *Dutch* ſhips; which he accordingly did, and made their captains and crews priſoners, as he did thoſe of three other ſhips trading to other iſlands. But the ſervice proved of more difficulty than had been imagined. Lord *Willoughby* and his friends were ſtaunch to the royal cauſe. They manned the forts which defended *Carliſle-Bay*, and made ſuch an appearance by land on the ſhore, that though Sir *George* had on board his ſquadron above 2000 land troops, he could not effect his landing. According to ſome accounts that have come to our hands, he was defeated in ſeveral attempts to make it good, and even obliged to conclude a treaty with the *Barbadians*, who, though they could not be prevailed upon to acknowledge the authority of the commonwealth, offered, that colonel *Allen*, and the reſt of the planters who had taken part with the parliament, ſhould re-enter into peaceable poſſeſſion of their eſtates and plantations. This propoſal was embraced by ſeveral of thoſe merchants, but not by *Allen*, who continued on board the fleet, and had been pitched upon by Sir *George* as being the moſt proper perſon to conduct the landing, as ſoon as a favourable opportunity preſented. All this while, *Ayſcue*'s ſquadron was beating about the iſland, and in *December* anchored in *Speight's-Bay*. Though Sir *George* was ſo much of a man of honour that he would not neglect, far leſs betray, the ſervice he was employed on,

[p] Ibid, p. 760.

yet it is certain, that he was no enthuſiaſt in the cauſe of his maſters; but an accident happened, by which he acquitted himſelf of this expedition with credit. Perceiving that his force was too ſmall actually to reduce this iſland, he waited till the arrival of the *Virginia* merchant-fleet, on board of which was a regiment of 700 men, and about 150 *Scotch* tranſports, who had been made priſoners at the battle of *Worceſter*; and reſolving to avail himſelf of this force, he immediately made diſpoſitions for landing all his men, who now amounted to about 3000. The landing was effected under the command of colonel *Allen*, who was killed before he got on ſhore, with above ſixty of his men; while the *Barbadians* were driven to a fort, which was taken with four pieces of cannon; but this was far from compleating the reduction of the iſland.

Barbados *ſubmits to the commonwealth of* England.

LORD *Willoughby* and the common people ſtill kept the field; and though there was no probability of their being of effectual ſervice to the cauſe they eſpouſed, yet *Ayſcue* could make no impreſſion upon them. On the other hand, the principal royaliſts, who were men of large eſtates, coincided with *Ayſcue*'s moderate plan; and colonel *Modiford*, who was one of their chiefs, entered into a correſpondence with *Ayſcue*, whoſe men made frequent ſallies from the fort they had taken, to the ruin of the neighbouring plantations. The negociation was ſo well managed, that *Modiford* engaged himſelf and his friends to join with *Ayſcue*, in caſe lord *Willoughby* ſhould prove ſo intractable as to reject all terms of accommodation, to bring him to reaſon. By this time, *Ayſcue* had put on ſhore 2000 foot and 100 horſe; and lord *Willoughby* being apprized of the ſentiments of his friends, was obliged to agree to a ceſſation of arms, and to name commiſſioners for treating of a capitulation for the whole iſland. Thoſe for his lordſhip were Sir *Richard Peers*, *Charles Pym*, Eſq; colonel *Ellice*, and major *Byham*; and thoſe for Sir *George*, captain *Peck*, Mr. *Searl*, colonel *Thomas Modiford*, and *James Colliton*, Eſq. On the 17th of *January* was the firſt meeting, and every thing paſſed in the moſt amicable manner. Both parties were ſecured in their freedom and eſtates, as was even lord *Willoughby* himſelf, though obnoxious in the laſt degree to the governing party in *England*; and had he been made priſoner, could have expected no mercy. This moderate conduct was of infinite ſervice to the iſland; nor was the pacification followed by any acrimonious meaſures againſt the loyaliſts. So far from that, it has been made matter of doubt, though we think without the leaſt degree of probability,

bility, whether the inhabitants were obliged to take the oaths to the commonwealth.

It is uncertain, nor, indeed, is it very important to know, what became of lord *Willoughby* after this pacification. Some ſay that he viſited the reſt of the iſlands of his government, and confirmed them in their attachment to the king; but it appears, that he was in *England* about the time of the reſtoration. Some have ſaid [q], that one of the articles of the late pacification was, that the chief royaliſts, as well as lord *Willoughby*, ſhould quit the iſland for a year, till its government could be put upon a proper footing. This may be true, but probably none were obliged to comply with the terms, but thoſe whoſe conſciences did not allow them to act under the authority of the commonwealth. Upon lord *Willoughby*'s leaving the iſland, Mr. *Searl* was appointed its governor, and he called an aſſembly, in which the following acts paſſed: "an act for weights, numbers and meaſures, according to the weights, numbers and meaſures, uſed in the commonwealth of *England*; an act to prevent frequenting of taverns and alehouſes by ſeamen; an act for the keeping clear the wharfs, or landing-places, at the *Indian-Bridge*, and on *Speight's-Bay*, alias *Little Briſtol*; an act, that the bringing writs of errors, and other equitable matters, before the governor and council, to be by them determined, be, and do continue in force, according to the ancient cuſtoms of this iſland; an act for prohibiting all perſons to encroach upon their neighbours line; an act for the certain and conſtant appointment of all officers fees within this iſland."

Upon *Cromwell*'s death, and the ſubſequent change of affairs in *England*, when the committee of ſafety (as it was called) took upon themſelves the direction of national affairs, Mr. *Modiford* was appointed governor of *Barbados*. Though he was a perfect royaliſt, yet his moderation, and the credit he obtained in the iſland, recommended him to the ruling powers. About this time, the navigation-act took place in *England*, and it required that the product of all the colonies ſhould be ſhipped for the mother-country. Though this was a very noble and a beneficial proviſion for *England*, yet it altered the whole ſyſtem of the *Barbadian* commerce. That iſland had been governed under the authority of a proprietary, whoſe circumſtances were ſo indifferent, that he could not make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for its improvement, ſo as to render it of any emolument either to himſelf or to *England*. The planters, therefore, had no rule to ſteer by but private

Modiford, governor.

[q] Complete Syſtem of Geography, Vol. II. p. 748.

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intereſt; ſo that all the nations in *Europe*, but the *Dutch* eſpecially, reaped the benefit of the *Barbados* trade. As that people were then, as they have been ſince, the great carriers of *Europe*, they ſupplied the *Barbadians* at an eaſy rate with all the *European* luxuries for their ſugar and other products, which were always ſure of finding a ready market all over the world. The ſoil being new, after it was cleared, was incredibly fertile; and the facility of obtaining lands and plantations upon the iſland, had encreaſed its population to the amazing numbers we have mentioned, in little more than the ſpace of twenty years: but thoſe vaſt improvements had been of very little ſervice to the mother-country; and it muſt be acknowledged, it was during her republican ſtate that *England* firſt received the true principles of commerce, for making her colonies beneficial to herſelf. The *Dutch* had been indeed greatly inſtrumental in raiſing *Barbados* to what it was, and had not only furniſhed it with the means of making ſugar, but with utenſils of all kinds, and with negroes from *Africa*; a trade which was at that time little known to the *Engliſh*: but they found their own intereſt in all this; and upon the reſtoration of peace between the two commonwealths, meaſures were taken for putting an end to their gainful trade with *Barbados*. The *Barbadians*, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the *Engliſh* government, had, during the war, ſtill carried on a trade with the *Dutch*, which was connived at by the governor, Mr. *Searl*, who durſt not venture to uſe any rigorous meaſures for ſuppreſſing it; and when the act of navigation paſſed, the *Barbadians* complained of it, as the greateſt hardſhip that could be impoſed upon them; and if we are to believe their writers, both their trade and population has ever ſince been upon the decline.

Wiſe regulations.

THE wiſe regulations introduced into commerce by the navigation-act, were ſo ſelf-evident, that they were retained by the government of *England* after the reſtoration: but it was impoſſible that they could be carried on to any purpoſe under a languiſhing proprietary government. At this time, however, the population of *Barbados* began to decreaſe by the conqueſt of *Jamaica*, and the ſettlements of other iſlands. The numbers of whites in *Barbados* had been ſo great, that in the expedition under *Penn* and *Venables* againſt *Hiſpaniola*, in *Cromwell*'s time, the *Barbadians* alone furniſhed 3500 ſoldiers towards it, and that without any ſenſible inconveniency. They were encouraged in this by the vaſt proſpect they had of plunder, little foreſeeing that the caſual conqueſt of *Jamaica* would prove ſo prejudicial to them as it afterwards did. But a very favourable juncture now preſented itſelf. The family

family of *Carliſle* was extinct, and *Hay* earl of *Kinnoul*, a *Scotch* nobleman, was its heir, and the king propoſed to give him 1000 *l.* a year upon his ſurrendering to the crown the earl of *Carliſle*'s patent, which the earl of *Kinnoul* agreed to. This, however, was not done without great oppoſition on the part of the planters. The value of *Barbados* came now to be well underſtood; and therefore the right of the planters poſſeſſions being more narrowly examined into, it was found or pretended, that very few of them had any right to the eſtates they held. If we ſuppoſe, that their rights were to ariſe from proprietary grants, this very poſſibly was true; for the king diſclaimed all that had been done under *Cromwell* and the republic. In the mean while, lord *Willoughby* had ſeven or eight years of his covenant with the earl of *Carliſle* ſtill unexpired, and he had before behaved ſo well in the government of *Barbados*, that it was confirmed to him by the king, with a new commiſſion of captain-general and governor in chief of this and the reſt of the *Caribbee Iſlands*, for ſeven years, to commence from the time of his majeſty's purchaſe, and a ſalary of 1200 *l.* a year.

Proprietary government diſſolved.

THE proprietary government being thus diſſolved, and the iſland reverting to the crown, a new clauſe, that had never been in any former commiſſion, was added to this of lord *Willoughby*, renewing to the king a power to approve or diſallow of all laws that ſhould be made in the iſland. It muſt be acknowledged, that in all this proceeding, the king had upon his ſide the letter of the law; but as the planters had improved the iſland upon the good faith of the government under which they had lived, and had received neither profit nor protection from *Carliſle*'s patent, it would have been barbarous and unjuſt to have treated them with rigour; not to mention the ingratitude of oppreſſing men, who had ſuffered, as many of the *Barbadians* had done, ſo much for the royal cauſe. My lord *Clarendon* was then lord high chancellor of *England*, and fell in with the moderate and equitable cauſe, which was that of the planters, by making them ſecure and eaſy in their poſſeſſions. This was a work of ſome difficulty. It was pretended, that the earl of *Carliſle* had died 50,000 *l.* in debt, which muſt be ſatisfied out of his patent; and beſides the 1000 *l.* a year granted to *Kinnoul*, the heirs of the earl of *Marlborough* had a perpetual annuity of 300 *l.* a year upon the ſame patent. The planters, not to be wanting to themſelves, had ſent over agents, to take care of their intereſts. They were given to underſtand, that the king was reſolved to take the government of the iſland into his own hands; but that he expected the aſſembly would give him a proper conſideration

ſideration for the benefits they were to enjoy under a royal government. Upon ſome heſitation on the part of the agents, who ſaid, they could do nothing without knowing the terms propoſed, and without the authority of the aſſembly, they were given to underſtand, that it was expected the latter would grant to the crown four and a half pounds for every fiveſcore pounds of the dead commodities of the produce of the iſland. The agents urged, that this would amount to a tax of ten per cent. on the clear profits of the planters eſtates, and would produce, upon the whole, at leaſt 15,000 *l.* a year. Mr. *Kendall*, one of the agents, was for accepting this propoſition; but the other remonſtrated againſt it, as being a tax which the iſland could not bear. But the meaſure had been reſolved upon, and his majeſty, as well as the hungry dependents upon his court, were ſo greatly intereſted in its ſucceſs, that the lord *Willoughby*, in 1663, agreed to carry it into execution, by going over in perſon to *Barbados*, which he afterwards did. Though he had for ſome time received his patent, yet he left the adminiſtration of affairs to the preſident and his council, who happened to be *Humphry Walrond*, an old royaliſt, and himſelf a conſiderable planter. This gentleman ſeems to have diſcharged his duty with great integrity and prudence, and many excellent acts took place during his adminiſtration. Proviſions were made for regulating the courts of juſtice, for ſettling commercial diſputes, for ordering the rates between maſters and ſervants, for the keeping highways in good repair, and other matters of great benefit to the iſland. But nothing was more commendable under this gentleman's adminiſtration, than the great care that was taken in regulating the militia, and in ſetting a regiment of horſe.

Oppoſition to lord Willough*by;*

LORD *Willoughby*, upon his arrival, found the planters in general extremely out of humour with the tax that had been propoſed. The royaliſts thought it was an ungrateful return for their ſufferings, and the others oppoſed it through principle. At the head of this oppoſition was one colonel *Farmer*, a man of a reſolute diſpoſition, who gave his lordſhip great diſquiet. The aſſembly was called in the *December* after his lordſhip's arrival, which was in *Auguſt*. He found every thing in very flouriſhing circumſtances; for though the population of *Barbados* had been ſomewhat diminiſhed, as we have already obſerved, by the removal of *Modiford*, and ſome other families, to *Jamaica*, yet the remaining planters were the richer; and though the ſpirit run very high againſt the propoſed tax, yet the conſideration of the precarioufneſs of their tenures prevailed with the members of the aſſembly to paſs it, which they

they did in an act, with the following ſpecious preamble; "As nothing conduceth more to the peace and proſperity of any place, and the protection of every ſingle perſon therein, than that the publick revenue thereof may be in ſome meaſure proportioned to the publick charges and expences; and alſo well weighing the great charges that there muſt be of neceſſity in the maintaining the honour and dignity of his majeſty's authority here, the publick meeting of the ſeſſions, the often attendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, the building a ſeſſions-houſe, and a priſon, and all other publick charges incumbent on the government: we do, in conſideration thereof, give and grant unto his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, for ever; that is to ſay, upon all dead commodities, of the growth of this iſland, that ſhall be ſhipped off the ſame, four and a half in ſpecie for every five-ſcore."

who ſends colonel Farmer priſoner to England.

THIS act did not paſs without ſo ſtrenuous an oppoſition, that the lord *Willoughby*, being apprehenſive of a general revolt, ordered colonel *Farmer* to be arreſted, and ſent over priſoner to *England*, with a charge againſt him of mutiny, ſedition, and treaſon; and that his behaviour and practices had prevailed upon a diſaffected party in the iſland ſo far, that it would be highly improper to ſuffer him to return to the iſland before the inhabitants were brought to a better temper. This was an infamous proceeding on the part of the governor, but agreeable to, what was called then, the ſpirit of loyalty, which ſuſpended all regard for the conſtitution; nor could the wiſdom and honeſt intentions of the great earl of *Clarendon* himſelf guard him from the infection. When *Farmer* arrived in *England*, he was carried before the king and council, where he pleaded with a freedom, which the temper of that court could not bear, and which the lord *Clarendon* himſelf pronounced to be inſolent and preſumptuous, and to deſerve impriſonment. *Farmer*, on the other hand, urged his rights of an *Engliſhman* under Magna Charta, and that he had done nothing but in a loyal conſtitutional manner, and agreeable to the birthrights of a free ſubject. His plea became his demerit, and he was ſent to priſon chiefly through the influence of lord *Carendon*, againſt whom his conduct in this affair afterwards conſtituted an article of his impeachment. His lordſhip, at the ſame time, thought that *Farmer* ought to be ſent back to *Barbados*, there to be proceeded againſt for the crimes laid to his charge; becauſe, ſaid his lordſhip, if he was diſcharged in purſuance of Magna Charta, the governor could not preſerve his majeſty's right. This muſt be acknowledged to be a very extraordinary argument, and could be called

no other than a reaſon of ſtate, or rather, of tyranny. *Farmer* was the ſacrifice; nor did he recover his liberty till after a long tedious impriſonment.

IN 1664, during the war between *Holland* and *England*, *de Ruyter*, the famous *Dutch* admiral, appeared off *Barbados*, ſeemingly with an intention to make a deſcent upon it; but the *Barbadians* drawing out their militia, made ſo good an appearance, that *de Ruyter*, after firing a few ſhot, ſheered off. After this, till the death of the governor, *Francis* lord *Willoughby*, which happened in 1666, nothing memorable occurs in the hiſtory of *Barbados*, where the royal intereſt, after the impriſonment of *Farmer*, gained an entire aſcendency. In juſtice to his lordſhip, it muſt be acknowledged, that this proceeding was the only one in his adminiſtration, that could be called unwarrantable, and that all the reſt of his conduct was equitable and wiſe, both in *Barbados*, and in the other iſlands of his government. He had carried over thither with him ſome part of his family, and intending, under the pretext of viſiting the other iſlands of his government, to undertake an expedition againſt the *Dutch*, he nominated *Henry Willoughby*, *Henry Hawley*, and *Samuel Berwick*, Eſqrs. to be governors in his abſence. His lordſhip then departed from *Barbados*, but periſhed at ſea by ſhipwreck, upon his expedition.

Death of lord Willoughby.

The Barbados *laws collected.*

THE new governors, during their adminiſtration, undertook a very uſeful deſign; and that was to aſcertain the laws of the iſland, which having paſſed under various conſtitutions, and repugnant governments, ſtood greatly in need of a proper arrangement and publication; not to mention that, through the calamities of fires, hurricanes, and other accidents, great part of the original records of the iſland had been deſtroyed. An act accordingly paſſed, which appointed *Philip Bell*, *Conſtant Silveſter*, *Robert Hooper*, *Simon Lambert*, and *Richard Evans*, Eſqrs. and Mr. *Edward Bowden*, ſecretary of the iſland, commiſſioners to collect what laws ſhould be in force there, which they accordingly did to the beſt of their information and knowledge. Among other things, they wiſely confirmed all the acts that had paſſed under *Searl's* and *Walrond's* governments, and made their return, in a fair tranſcript, of the whole, conſiſting of fifty-eight laws; which were not only confirmed by the aſſembly, but duly publiſhed through all the pariſhes of the iſland, and honoured with the royal confirmation and approbation of their being the ſtanding laws of *Barbados*, which they continue to be at this day. But ſtill the duty of four and a half per cent. continued to be of ſo hard a digeſtion, that thoſe commiſſioners ex-

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preſſed themſelves not a little doubtful as to the legality of the aſſembly which impoſed it, and whether the former taxations under the proprietary government were not all that this iſland ought to pay.

THE certainty of *Francis* lord *Willoughby*'s death being known in *England*, the king appointed his brother *William* lord *Willoughby*, to ſucceed him in the government of *Barbados*. This *William* lord *Willoughby* came to *Barbados* ſoon after his brother's death; but another *William Willoughby* being upon the iſland, and ſometimes acting as deputy-governor, has occaſioned ſome confuſion in this part of the hiſtory, though of no great conſequence. The government of *England* ſeems even at this time, to have been not a little diſtruſtful of the ſafety, and perhaps, the allegiance of the *Barbadians*; for, at the time of this lord *Willoughby*'s arrival upon the iſland, a regiment of ſoldiers, likewiſe, landed there under the command of Sir *Tobias Bridge*. The aſſembly was very aſſiduous in providing accommodations for thoſe ſoldiers, and paſſed ſeveral acts for that purpoſe; beſides making other regulations in regard to the law-courts of the iſland, and its internal police. Some of thoſe acts are remarkable, and ſerve to point out the diſorders that then chiefly prevailed in the iſland. One was for preventing forcible and clandeſtine entries into lands; another, for reducing the yearly intereſt of money to ten pound for an hundred; and another, declaring the negroe ſlaves of the iſland to be real eſtate. About the ſame time, the aſſembly applied themſelves towards the repairing the damage that had been done by a conflagration at *Bridge-Town*, by ordering a ſtop to be put to the running up wooden houſes, and that the chief materials for building ſhould be of ſtone, and ſo contrived, as to make a better reſiſtance againſt future fires.

He is ſucceeded by his brother.

BY this time, the date of lord *Willoughby*'s commiſſion, under the earl of *Carliſle*'s patent and the king's authority, was on the point of expiring; and, after ſpending ſome months in viſiting the other iſlands of his government, he embarked for *England*, leaving as his deputy colonel *Chriſtopher Codrington*, in *November* 1668. Upon the expiration of his lordſhip's patent, no new powers arriving, we are told that the council and aſſembly then in being met, and voted themſelves to be governor, council, and aſſembly, until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known; and we are to ſuppoſe, that *Codrington*, in this interval, acted under their authority. Lord *Willoughby*, after an abſence of ſix months, returned, but with a commiſſion to be governor of *Barbados* only; his majeſty thinking proper to divide the former government, by

giving another governor to the other iſlands. Soon after, his lordſhip again took leave of *Barbados*, and left colonel *Codrington* once more his deputy-governor, who acted as ſuch in 1672; but was ſucceeded next year by Sir *Peter Colleton*. Lord *Willoughby* afterwards returned to *Barbados*, but died in 1674; and his place, as governor of *Barbados*, was filled up by Sir *Jonathan Atkins*: here ended the government of the two lords *Willoughby*. Notwithſtanding the outcries againſt the tax of the four and a half in the hundred weight, and the unjuſtifiable proceedings againſt *Farmer*, it muſt be acknowledged, that the adminiſtration of thoſe two lords was prudent, mild, and equitable, and well calculated for the proſperity of the iſland. After the Reſtoration, the humour of preferring *Jamaica* to our other iſlands, which, during the uſurpation, had been very ſtrong, ſubſided; and *Barbados* recovered its reputation ſo greatly under its two noble governors, that, upon the arrival of Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, the whites were computed to be 50,000, of whom 12,000 were able-bodied men, 80,000 negroes, and 20,000 mulattoes and meſtize ſlaves; a number of inhabitants ſcarcely credible upon ſo ſmall an iſland; eſpecially when we conſider the prodigious loſſes the planters had ſuſtained by fires and hurricanes, which beſides killing great numbers of people, and blowing down three hundred houſes, had ſo effectually deſtroyed their plantations and works, that they could make no ſugar for two years. The corn was deſtroyed, and eight ſhips caſt away in the harbour. In ſhort, the face of the whole iſland preſented but one continued wreck. To heighten the misfortunes of the *Barbadians*, *New-England* about the ſame time was in no condition to ſend them the uſual ſupplies of proviſions.

Atkins, governor.

Hurricane at Barbados.

One of the firſt acts of Sir *Jonathan Atkins*'s government, was to take ſome effectual meaſures againſt the conſequences of this public calamity. *Barbados* was now thought to be in danger of depopulation, not ſo much from the hurricanes, as from the rapaciouſneſs of creditors, ſhould they preſs their debtors ſo, as to oblige them to leave the iſland. Sir *Jonathan* immediately called together the aſſembly, and laid before them the danger they were in from their negroes, ſhould any of the whites abandon the iſland; but we know of no act that paſſed to obviate this danger, which, perhaps, was only imaginary. The diſtreſs of the iſland, nevertheleſs, called for ſome relief; for the officers of the cuſtom-houſe refuſed to allow the four and a half duty that had been paid for goods loſt in the late ſtorm, to be deducted from a ſecond entry of the like goods. The aſſembly, therefore, paſſed

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an act for allowance of a ſecond free entry for the dead production of this iſland, loſt or taken, relating to the four and a half per cent. At the ſame time, the aſſembly agreed upon an addreſs, to be tranſmitted to the government of *England*, praying, that the duty of four and a half per cent. ſhould be taken off, as the only means of ſaving the planters from ruin; but this was an indulgence that could not be granted them, and the petition came to nothing. It was in vain for the *Barbadians* to remonſtrate upon their hardſhips, and that none of the public-ſpirited purpoſes for which that great tax had been granted, ever had been anſwered. The neceſſities of the king's government, and of raiſing money to ſupport his pleaſures, were replies to all their complaints.

BUT the court of *England*, at that time, began to adopt a new ſyſtem with regard to the iſland of *Barbados*, and the other *Caribbees*. The duke of *York*, brother to king *Charles*, underſtood trade, and had been at ſome pains to put himſelf at the head of one branch of it, by projecting the Royal *African* Company. Till that was eſtabliſhed, the *Barbadians* had imported their own negroes without any exorbitant exences attending them; but this company obtaining an exuſive charter for the trade to *Africa*, laid the *Barbadians* der what contributions they pleaſed to raiſe, and the merants of *London* trading to *Barbadoes*, or any of the *Eng-* iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*, were ſharers in the ſame hardips. Other cauſes gave uneaſineſs to the ſubſtantial planters the ſame time. The petty traders upon this iſland uſed various arts to engroſs proviſions before they came to marand this occaſioned an act to prevent the inconveniences on the inhabitants of this iſland, by foreſtallers, ingroſſers, d regrators. Another infamous practice prevailed at this e, not only in the *Engliſh*, but in the *French* and *Spaniſh* *eſt-Indian* iſlands, which was that of kidnapping the *Indian* tives from the continent, and, as often as they could find caſion, from the iſlands likewiſe. Though this practice s not perhaps, in itſelf, more barbarous than that of buy- negroes, yet it was attended with worſe conſequences, cauſe it deprived the *Engliſh* of all trade with the natives, o not only became ſhy in their communications, but loſt opportunities of being ſeverely revenged. It was then ubtful under what ſpecies of felony this practice came; and colonel *Warner*, who was charged with it, was ſeized in *gland*, and ſent over in the *Phœnix* man of war to be tried *arbados*: but he was acquitted, either for want of a to puniſh him, or becauſe he had a powerful intereſt in *Weſt-Indies*.

Which is oppreſſed by the royal African *company.*

by ſeizing the ſhips of the iſland.

THE iſland began now to recover from the vaſt loſſes it had ſuſtained by the late hurricanes. The planters had been thrown into ſuch conſternation, that they had lived for many months in huts upon the open fields, without daring to venture their perſons in houſes, or to be at the expence of them. But falling now into a more ſubſtantial manner of building, they began not only to build houſes, but to repair their fortifications and breaſt-works, and to raiſe new ones for the ſecurity of the iſland. But all their precautions could not ward off the blows they received from the duke of *York*'s intereſt. The governor had orders to ſeize all interlopers, for ſo the *Barbados* ſhips importing negroes from *Africa* were called: thoſe orders were put very ſeverely into execution, and ruined a vaſt number of families; ſo that every day produced freſh bankruptcies upon the iſland. As to the political and religious principles of the *Barbadians*, they were pretty much according to the complexion of thoſe which reigned in *England*; and it was, perhaps, of no ſervice to their commercial intereſts, that when the popiſh plot broke out there, their aſſembly paſſed an act for enforcing an *Engliſh* act againſt popiſh recuſants. Prior to this, it appears, that the quakers had not been a little active in converting the negroes. Their principles of non-reſiſtance were far from being agreeable to a colony which, like that of *Barbados*, was every hour expoſed to invaſion; and therefore an act paſſed to prohibit negroes from frequenting quakers-meetings; and the ſame act contained a clauſe againſt diſſenters teaching ſchools upon the iſland. This laſt was a precaution perhaps not quite impolitical among planters, where labour was of more utility than learning.

IN 1678, the *Conſtant Warwick* man of war, captain *Delaval* commander, which was ſtationed at *Barbados*, took the *Barbadian* merchant-fleet as far under convoy as in 20 deg. of latitude; and that captain, upon his return to *Barbados*, was extremely active in ſeizing interlopers, which he did to a very conſiderable amount, and to the great oppreſſion of the *Barbadians*. The hardſhips ſuffered, as repreſented by them, were inconceivable. If they met with any of thoſe ſhips upon the coaſt of *Africa*, they were treated as being little better than open enemies; and at home, they never miſſed being condemned in the courts of admiralty, without having the benefit of being tried by a jury. Thoſe proceedings were the more ſhameful, as the forfeitures always extended to ſhips and goods, and were given to the king; the governor being, at the ſame time, the judge and the informer. At laſt, thoſe oppreſſive practices became ſo crying, that Sir *Jonathan Atkins*

Hins desired to be recalled from his government, which he was in 1680; and Sir *Richard Dutton* was appointed to succeed him. This new governor is represented as having been a thorough tool of the court, and sent over to reconcile the *Barbadians* and the other inhabitants of the *Leeward-Islands* to popery and arbitrary power. After touching at the *Madeiras*, he arrived in *April* at *Barbados*, where he was received by the assembly and people with great expressions of loyalty. He was the first who procured a clause to be inserted in the militia-act for the men to wear red coats, which was complained of as an unnecessary expence to the inhabitants, who appear, nevertheless, to have been very tame under his government. The doctrine of abhorring addresses for redress of grievances, prevailing, at that time, greatly at the court of *England*, Sir *Richard*, to give a proof to the government of his services, brought the assembly of *Barbados* to agree to one of those abhorring addresses, which he transmitted to *England*, where it was received by his majesty with particular marks of satisfaction. We have little historical matter to relate farther of this governor, excepting that the severity of his proceedings is said to have driven a great number of people from *Barbados*, who left the island burdened with their wives and children. This made it necessary for the assembly to pass an act for the better regulating the manner of giving tickets out of the secretary's office, in order to prevent such emigrations. In 1683, the grand jury of *Barbados* overflowed so much in zeal for his majesty, that they voted a most loyal address to be presented to him by their governor, who was then about to take his departure from *Barbados*. In this address his majesty is complimented upon their governor's having stifled and discountenanced faction and fanaticism in their very embrio. They then inform the king, that "their minds had been infinitely ruffled and disturbed at the notices they had of the many attempts and offers that had been lately made in their native country of *England*, and by the rebellious heat of some spirits, hatched in hell, to shake his majesty's throne." They conclude with declaring themselves to be hearty lovers and admirers of his dearest brother.

Sir Richard Dutton, *governor.*

It is not certain whether Sir *Richard* had, at this time, any other business in *England* but that of presenting this notable address to his majesty; who, possibly, wanted to be informed by himself concerning the condition of his government; but Sir *Richard* returned, after a few months absence, to *Barbados*. It is well known that the regal, or as some call it, the popish faction, gave law in *England* during the last four years of *Charles*'s reign, and that the common people were ab-

He goes to England.

ſorbed in a kind of whirl of loyalty. Upon Sir *Richard*'s return to *Barbados*, he held an aſſembly, in which he paſſed ſeveral new provincial acts; and colonel *Richard Salter* was by law appointed treaſurer for the iſland. Soon after this, *Monmouth*'s rebellion broke out in the weſt of *England*; and great numbers of unfortunate wretches, who were engaged in it, were tranſported to *Barbados*, where their condition is ſaid to have been rendered almoſt as miſerable as that of the negroes, by a bill which that zealous aſſembly paſſed, entitled, An act for the governing and retaining within this iſland all ſuch rebel convicts as, by his majeſty's moſt ſacred order, or permit, have been, or ſhall be, tranſported from his *European* dominions to this place.

New taxes on the Barbadians.

Colonel *Walrond*, who had been left deputy-governor by Sir *Richard* about this time, fell under his diſpleaſure, and was ſent to *England*, to anſwer a petty charge againſt him, on account of a trial before a court of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, in which *Walrond* preſided; and he was there proſecuted to the ruin of himſelf and his family, though he was ſo much in favour with the aſſembly, that they not only gave him an ample teſtimony of his behaviour in that court, but made him a preſent of 500 *l.* for the ſervice he had done the iſland. The ceremonies which the governor, to demonſtrate his loyalty, ordered to be obſerved when king *James* the Second was proclaimed, were ſo magnificent, as to exceed any exhibition of the ſame kind that has ſince appeared in *Barbados*. All thoſe demonſtrations of loyalty were ineffectual for delivering them from the ſtorm that was now hovering over them. They were given to underſtand, that they muſt ſubmit to a new tax of two ſhillings and fourpence upon every hundred weight of muſcovado ſugar, and ſeven ſhillings upon ſugars fit for uſe. The *Barbadians* repreſented, that if the whole tax muſt be laid upon trade, it might be laid upon all commodities alike: they ſaid, that a ſmall advance upon all the cuſtoms might ſerve every purpoſe, as well as a great one upon ſome; and that this might be borne with ſome eaſe, there being ſo many ſhoulders to bear it. All their remonſtrances availed nothing; the king was in earneſt that the tax ſhould take place: but ſome of his privy-councellors aſſured the parliament, in his name, that if it ſhould prove too burdenſome to the plantations, it ſhould be taken off. After the act impoſing this heavy tax paſſed, the planters claimed the king's promiſe by petitioning againſt it, and endeavouring to ſhew that it was more heavy than the plantations could bear. The anſwer returned to them was well ſuited to the deſpotic ſpirit of this reign. "That it was very indecent,

not

not to ſay undutiful, to tax the king with his promiſe." This tax was laid on in time of peace, without any apparent neceſſity, and continued from the firm perſuaſion which the government entertained as to the ability of the iſland to diſcharge it. *Dutton* encouraged every motion towards loading the planters, and was ſo zealous a friend to the Royal *African* Company, that he left Mr. *Edwyn*, (afterwards Sir *Edwyn*) *Stede*, his deputy-governor when he went to *England*; tho' *Stede* was known to be an agent of the *African* company, and had been in no higher ſtation than deputy-ſecretary to *Dutton*. Soon after, king *James* ſent him a commiſſion to be lieutenant-governor of the iſland; and in the year 1687, he had the honour to receive the duke of *Albemarle* with great pomp and magnificence, when he put into *Barbados* in his voyage to *Jamaica*, of which he was appointed governor.

A plot among the negroes diſcovered and puniſhed.

IT was at this time that a freſh plot was formed among the negroes for murdering all the white men upon the iſland, or rendering them ſlaves, and to poſſeſs themſelves of the women. This conſpiracy was diſcovered when it was upon the point of breaking out; and about twenty of the ring-leaders were put to death. Soon after, ſome gentlemen of the iſland formed a project of a factory for monopolizing in reality all the ſugars and other commodities of the iſland; but it was of ſo arbitrary and oppreſſive a nature, that it was diſcouraged even by the lord-chancellor *Jefferies*. By this time, the government of *Barbados* began to make a great figure in the ſtate of *England*; for the planters found their account ſo much in having the governor for their friend, that from time to time they preſented him with a thouſand pounds; and it was ſaid, that the place brought in about 4000*l.* a year. When the revolution in *England* took place, king *William* renewed *Stede*'s commiſſion as lieutenant-governor, and ſoon after appointed *James Kendall*, Eſq; who was himſelf a native of *Barbados*, to be captain-general and chief governor of that iſland and the other *Caribbees*. Before his arrival, the people of *St. Chriſtopher's* and the other *Leeward Iſlands*, as will be ſeen in their hiſtory, applied to the government of *Barbados* for aſſiſtance againſt the *French*; and Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, a gentleman of *Barbados*, received a commiſſion for raiſing a regiment on the iſland for their relief, which he did, to the amount of 700 men, who were all of them cloathed, armed, and embarked, at the expence of the *Barbadians*. This expedition took place the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1689, and Sir *Timothy Thornhill* remained at *St. Chriſtopher's*, and the other *Leeward Iſlands*, with his regiment, ſome time after the arrival of Mr. *Kendall* at *Barbados*.

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War with the French *in the* Weſt-Indies.

THIS gentleman was a zealous enemy to the *French* encroachments upon the *Leeward Iſlands*, and paſſed many popular acts for the encouragement of trade in thoſe parts. The war with *France* raging with great violence, the maſters of the ſhips trading to *Barbados* took that opportunity of raiſing their freights to ſo exorbitant a rate, as to demand the interpoſition of the legiſlature of the iſland. An act accordingly paſſed, "for regulating the exorbitant rates demanded and received by maſters of ſhips and others, for freights of ſugars for *Europe*;" by which the freight was ſettled at 6*s.* and 6*d.* the hundred weight; for muſcovado ſugar, 7*s.* and 6*d.* for whites; 5*s.* a hundred for ſcalded, and 6*s.* a hundred for ſcraped ginger; and 2*d.* a pound for cotton. This regulation, however promiſing, was ineffectual; for the ſhip-maſters, though they were bound by it, could not be obliged to ſend veſſels to *Barbados* upon the terms preſcribed by the act, and therefore it was repealed. It was obſervable, that great fortunes were made now upon the iſland, by the improved ſale of the ſugars it produced; and the operations againſt the *French* ſtill continuing in the *Leeward Iſlands*, no fewer than ſix ſtout ſhips were taken up at *Barbados*, and ſent from thence to reinforce commodore *Wright*'s ſquadron at *St. Chriſtopher's*. On the 17th of *March*, 1690, an act paſſed to repeal an act for the governing and retaining within this iſland all ſuch rebels convicts, as, by his majeſty's moſt ſacred order or permit, have been, or ſhall be, tranſported from his *European* dominions to this place. This act was in conſequence of an order, ſaid to be ſent by king *William*, for the enlargement of the rebels who had been tranſported to *Barbados* for being concerned in the duke of *Monmouth*'s rebellion; and who, as has been already hinted, remained there under particular hardſhips.

The Barbadians *appoint agents at* London.

AFTER the Revolution, one Mr. *Gardener*, who was ſollicitor at *London* for the affairs of *Barbados*, remonſtrated ſo effectually againſt the hardſhips which that iſland ſuffered from the excluſive patent of the royal *African* company, that the planters were eaſed of their oppreſſions, by the company's right to ſeize their ſhips as interlopers being repealed, and the *African* trade thrown open. This was thought to be the conſequence of the great partiality which king *James* had always expreſſed for that company. That ſame year, the aſſembly of *Barbados* appointed two agents, with a ſalary of 250*l.* each, to manage their affairs at *London*. The proſperity of *Barbados* may be now ſaid to have been at its vertical point. The trade to *Africa* being thrown open, the enterpriſing *Barbadians* engaged deeper than ever in the *Leeward* expeditions; but their affairs were under very bad management. *Wright*, the

the *Engliſh* commodore, appears to have been a man neither of courage nor capacity; and notwithſtanding the great reinforcement ſent to him by the *Barbadians*, he trifled away his time ſo egregiouſly, that the *French* made prizes of a great number of *Barbados* ſhips, ſo that the iſland itſelf was threatened with ſcarcity. This drove the planters to the neceſſity of fitting out two ſhips for their own defence; and an act of the aſſembly paſſed, "to ſecure and reimburſe the honourable colonel *Richard Salter*, treaſurer of this iſland, all ſuch ſums of money, together with the intereſt of the ſame, after the rate of ten *per cent. per annum*, he ſhall lend and accommodate towards the hiring, equipping, and fitting out, two ſhips, ſloops, or other veſſels of war, for the defence of this iſland." Another act, about the ſame time, paſſed, "for entrenching and fortifying this iſland, in ſuch places as his excellency ſhall direct." It muſt be acknowledged, that the maritime affairs of *England*, during moſt part of the reigns of king *William* and queen *Anne*, were under a miſerable direction. The *Barbadians* being left to defend themſelves, ſuffered vaſtly, not only by their moſt uſeful hands being employed in war, but by a peſtilential diſeaſe, which broke out among their ſoldiers, and communicated itſelf to the iſlanders, ſuch numbers of whom were ſwept off, that it is believed *Barbados* has not to this day recovered the depopulation it then ſuſtained. *Their affairs miſmanaged.*

THE cowardice and miſmanagement of commodore *Wright* being too notorious to be longer palliated, he was ſent home priſoner, and was ſucceeded in his command by captain *Wren*, a brave active officer. He arrived at *Barbados* with eight men of war on the 16th of *January*, 1690-91, while the *French*, with ſixteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips, remained maſters of the ſeas there, and diſtreſſed the *Britiſh* trade. *Kendall*, the governor of *Barbados*, hearing that nine of thoſe men of war were plying to the north-eaſt of that iſland, fitted out two ſtout merchant-men as ſhips of war; and they were joined by his majeſty's ſhips the *Norwich*, *Mary*, *Antelope*, *Mordaunt*, and *Diamond*, with two ſloops. This ſquadron, after cruiſing for ſome time in the latitude of *Martinico*, returned on the 5th of *February* to *Barbados* without effect. Captain *Wren* then took under his convoy the merchant-ſhips bound to the *Leeward-Iſlands* and to *Jamaica*; where being joined with the *Aſſiſtance*, the *Hampſhire*, and the *Paul* fireſhip, he ſailed in queſt of the *French* fleet. On the 21ſt of *February*, being off the *Delcadas*, he diſcovered it to the number of ſixteen men of war and two fireſhips, commanded by the count *de Benac*; and, after ſeveral manœuvres, an engage-

ment enſued, in which captain *Wren*, though he had but ſeven men of war, acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he carried all his ſhips and convoy ſafe to *Barbados*, excepting the *England* frigate, which bore away to *Jamaica*. About the ſame time, the *Aſſiſtance* man of war met a *French* ſhip of ſixty guns, laden with maſts, with all kinds of ſhip and ſea-ſtores, and carried her into *Barbados*. This was one of the moſt ſeaſonable prizes that was made during the whole war in the *Weſt-Indies*.

Great diſtreſs of the iſland.

THAT iſland continued, during all the year 1692, to be in a moſt miſerable ſituation. The mortality raged on board the ſhipping to ſuch a degree, that hands were wanting to man their veſſels, and the brave commodore *Wren* was among the number of the dead. To add to the affliction of the ſurvivors, the weather was ſo rigorous, that their crop of ſugars failed, and a freſh demand was made upon them for raiſing 1000 men, to be employed in a new expedition againſt the *French*. It was about this time that the board of trade and plantations began to make a figure in *England*, and the iſland of *Barbados* became one of its chief ſubjects. Some of the principal planters were diſplaced from their ſeats in the council, on account of miſrepreſentations for diſaffection; but they were cleared by their governor, and replaced. The *French* ſtill continuing to harraſs the *Barbados* trade, the aſſembly there ordered their agents in *England* to petition the commiſſioners of trade and plantations for a regiment of ſoldiers, to whom they promiſed free quarters, to remain in their iſland; but this propoſal came to nothing. The *Barbadians*, all this while, expreſſed the greateſt loyalty to the government of *England*, as ſettled upon king *William* and queen *Mary*; and colonel *Stede* received the honour of knighthood for preſenting the addreſs of the aſſembly to their majeſties.

Another conſpiracy of the negroes.

BUT the face of affairs was now greatly altered in this iſland, which, from being rich, powerful, and populous, but a few years before, was now diſtreſſed by ſickneſs, and want of hands to carry on their neceſſary works. Thoſe were chiefly ſupplied by a vaſt importation of negroes from *Guinea*; who not being born upon the iſland, conceived an implacable hatred to their maſters, and entered into a more dangerous conſpiracy than any they had yet formed, to exterminate the white inhabitants. Though the *Engliſh* were ignorant of the particulars of the plot, yet they knew in general that ſome ſuch deſign was in agitation. They had paſſed two acts; one "for encouragement of all negroes and ſlaves that ſhall diſcover any conſpiracy;" and another "for prohibiting the ſelling of rum, or any ſtrong liquors, to any negro or other ſlave."

ſlave." Thoſe precautions had but little effect; for the negroes proceeded upon a plan much better concerted than could have been expected from ſuch barbarians. They agreed to begin with killing the governor; and the ſlaves of each plantation were to murder their maſters and overſeers, while the ſtorekeeper's own negro was to cut his maſter's throat, and to throw open the magazine of arms and ammunition to the conſpirators. They had appointed their own officers, and projected a deſign for ſurpriſing the fort, and thereby to become maſters of the ſhipping. In all this they were encouraged by the ſcarcity of white inhabitants upon the iſland; and though the conſpiracy, even if proſperous, muſt have terminated in their deſtruction, yet it primarily muſt have occaſioned that of the iſland likewiſe.

THE general perſuaſion the *Engliſh* had that ſuch a conſpiracy was on foot, made them more than commonly vigilant; and at laſt, two of the head conſpirators being overheard to talk of their deſign, they were apprehended almoſt upon the eve of its being put into execution. The wretches thought themſelves ſo ſure of being reſcued, that they ſuffered themſelves to be hung in chains for four days, without any ſuſtenance. Their puniſhment daunted the other conſpirators. They made no efforts to ſave the criminals, who, on their own requeſt, were taken from their gibbets, and diſcovered all they knew. Their accomplices were immediately ſeized, put to the torture, and many of them executed, to the great detriment of their maſters and the trade of the iſland. It is now more than probable, that this conſpiracy was privately fomented by *French* agents; and the *Barbadians* reſolved to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in an expedition againſt *Martinico*; but in the mean while, they very prudently paſſed acts for preventing for the future the like dangers which they had ſo lately eſcaped. Notwithſtanding the thinneſs of their iſland, the *Barbadians* raiſed two regiments, of 500 men each, one commanded by colonel *Salter*, and the other by colonel *Boteler*, two of their own countrymen. The government of *England* had this expedition ſo much at heart, that Sir *Francis Wheeler* was appointed to the command of a ſtout ſquadron, with two regiments of foot on board, which ſailed for *Barbados* under the command of colonel *Foulk*.

THIS armament arriving at *Barbados* about the beginning of the year 1693, were immediately joined by the regiments raiſed in that iſland, and ſuch a number of volunteers as made the whole to amount to near 1400 men. On the firſt of *April*, this ſquadron with the troops on board arrived off *Martinico*, and anchored in the *Cul de Sac Marine*, while the admiral, *Martinico invaded.*

miral and the commanders of the land troops were ſearching for a proper place to land their men. According to the beſt accounts, this expedition was miſerably miſmanaged. The *Engliſh* regulars amounted to above 4000 men, a force that was thought ſufficient to have diſpoſſeſſed the *French* of the iſland. The *French* had ſtrong poſts all along the ſhore, and the wind blew high; but at laſt colonel *Foulk* effected a landing with 1500 men. All he could do was to deſtroy defenceleſs houſes and works in the neighbourhood; and, after being but one day on ſhore, they reimbarked on the 4th of *April*. Next day, Sir *Francis Wheeler* landed with 500 men in *Diamond-Bay*, where he burnt ſeveral houſes and plantations, while the inhabitants fled to the woods. Next day, colonel *Lilliſter* landed with another party, and ravaged part of the open country. On the 9th, colonel *Codrington* joined the ſquadron with *Lloyd*'s regiment, and the *Leeward* forces, and the armament was then thought ſtrong enough to attack St. *Pierre*, the chief fort of the iſland; before which they accordingly arrived on the 15th of *April*, and anchored within muſket-ſhot of the ſhore.

It is ſaid, to the honour of the *Barbadians*, that had all the *Engliſh* troops behaved as well as they did, not only *Martinico*, but all the *French Leeward-Iſlands*, muſt at this time have fallen into their hands; but the government of *England* had not been ſufficiently careful in their choice of officers to command the expedition. Many of them were diſaffected to the ſervice, and for that very reaſon were employed in the *Weſt-Indies*; and ſome of them were known to be *Iriſh* Roman catholics. The colonels *Foulk* and *Goodwin*, with major *Abrahall* and others of their chief officers, remained on board the ſhips, where they died ingloriouſly of contagious diſtempers. Notwithſtanding this, the *Barbados* and the *Leeward* troops behaved with the greateſt ſpirit and reſolution. They poſſeſſed themſelves of an eminence which commanded the town of St. *Pierre*, landed their heavy artillery, deſtroyed the country, drove the enemy from all their advanced poſts, and obliged them to keep behind their entrenchments. On the 19th, the *French* made a ſally, but were repulſed; and ſo apprehenſive were the people of *Martinico* of their danger, that the moſt wealthy of them ſhipped off themſelves and their effects for *France*; but ſome of them were intercepted by the *Engliſh*. Nothing but the moſt ſcandalous miſmanagement could have prevented St. *Pierre* from being reduced; but a council of war being held, it was moſt unaccountably reſolved to reimbark the troops and the artillery, under pretext that they had not foreſeen the difficulties they had

Miſcarriage of the expedition.

had to encounter, and that both the ſoldiers and ſailors were ſickly. Thus ended this promiſing expedition, in which, according to the *French* accounts, the *Engliſh* loſt ſome of their heavy artillery, beſides having about 600 men killed, and 300 taken priſoners; but thoſe numbers probably include thoſe who died of ſickneſs.

Soon after, his majeſty king *William* recalled colonel *Kendall*, whom he made one of the lords of his admiralty; and nominated colonel *Francis Ruſſel*, brother to the earl of *Orford*, to the government of *Barbados*; and likewiſe to the command of a regiment, which was to reſide and do duty upon that iſland. This regiment arrived there in 1694, and the aſſembly took care to accommodate the men with quarters. All this while, the epidemical ſickneſs continued to rage both at ſea and on land, and carried off ſuch numbers of ſeamen, that the aſſembly was forced to paſs an act for manning the *Tiger* and the *Mermaid*, two men of war that lay in *Carliſle-Bay* for the protection of the iſland. Some of the *Barbados* regiment having been left in the *Leeward-Iſlands*, after the *Martinico* expedition, the new governor fitted out the brigantine *Marygold* to bring them home. The aſſembly, about the ſame time, victualled the *Briſtol* man of war, and the *Play-Prize*, for their ſecurity againſt the *French*; remitted a conſiderable ſum of money to their agents at *London* for the uſe of their iſland; and made a preſent of 2000 *l.* to their governor, who had carried over with him a numerous and expenſive family, beſides paying his regiment. Upon the death of queen *Mary* in 1695, the governor, council, and aſſembly, preſented a moſt dutiful addreſs of condolance to his majeſty, which he received with great ſatisfaction; but the want of œconomy in *England*, and the party-heats which prevailed at court, laid the *Barbadians* under infinite hardſhips. They were obliged to victual, man, and pay the very ſhips appointed for the convoy of their trade; and though they made a freſh preſent to their governor of 2000 *l.* ſo little attention was paid to the ſecurity of the iſland, that it is ſaid, that when *de Pointis*, the *French* admiral, came in ſight of *Barbados*, in his expedition to *Carthagena*, there was not in all the forts upon the iſland ſeven rounds of powder. It was thought that the agents of the pirates, who now became to be very troubleſome, had ſhipped off great quantities of that commodity for their new ſettlement at *Madagaſcar*. Mean while, governor *Ruſſel* died, and the adminiſtration in the interim devolved, as uſual, upon the preſident of the council, who was *Francis Bond*, Eſq.

Ruſſel, *governor.*

Loyalty of the Barbadians *to king* William.

UPON the breaking out of the aſſaſſination-plot, the preſident, council, and general aſſembly of *Barbados*, voted an addreſs "to congratulate his majeſty's wonderful and happy deliverance from the moſt barbarous and bloody aſſaſſination lately deſigned againſt his royal perſon by execrable villains, and monſters of mankind, who are the diſhonour of the preſent, and will be the horror and deteſtation of future ages." The grand-jury of the iſland preſented a like addreſs upon the ſame occaſion. Mr. *Bond*'s adminiſtration was productive of ſeveral excellent meaſures for the benefit of the iſland. The right of elections of members to ſerve in the aſſembly was ſecured, and a great point was gained by their paſſing an act, "That the ſolemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, ſhall be accepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form." By another act of the ſame aſſembly, judges were reſtrained from pleading and practiſing in any courts of the iſland; and by another act, the militia of *Barbados* was put under a better regulation than it had ever been under before. By that act, cannons were ordered to be mounted upon the principal poſts of the iſland, the inhabitants being every day apprehenſive of an invaſion; but they were ſomewhat relieved in 1697, by the arrival of an *Engliſh* fleet under admiral *Nevill*, who was ordered to go in ſearch of *Pointis*.

Grey, *governor.*

UPON the concluſion of the peace of Ryſwick, which was of great ſervice to *Barbados*, his majeſty appointed the honourable *Ralph Grey*, Eſq; brother of the earl of *Tankerville*, to be governor of that iſland. He ſailed from St. *Helens* the 1ſt of *June*, 1698; and on the 26th of *July*, after touching at *Madeira*, he arrived at *Barbados* in the *Soldados* prize, together with the *Speedwell* man of war, the captain of which narrowly eſcaped being murdered by ſome of his crew, who intended to have run away with the ſhip, and to have turned pirates; but being diſcovered, they were ſent in chains to *England*. The new governor was received with high marks of reſpect by the adminiſtration of the iſland; and Mr. *Maxwell*, the ſpeaker of the aſſembly, complimented him on his ſafe arrival. It may be here proper to obſerve, that his excellency's commiſſion nominated him to be "captain-general and chief governor of the iſland of *Barbados*, *Sancta Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *Dominico*, and the reſt of his majeſty's iſlands, colonies, and plantations in *America*, known by the name of the *Caribbee-Iſlands*, lying and being to windward of *Guadaloupe*." Before the arrival of Mr. *Grey*, the governors of *Barbados* had generally reſided upon an eſtate called *Pontabell*, which was hired for them by the aſſembly; but that

that habitation was now not only out of repair, but inconveniently ſituated, being expoſed to deſcents of pirates and enemies. The aſſembly, therefore, paſſed an act "to ſettle 500 *l. per annum* on his excellency for his habitation." Another act paſſed for declaring and aſcertaining the rights and powers of the general aſſembly of the iſland; and on the 7th of *September* that ſame year, the aſſembly made their new governor a preſent of 2000 *l.*

MR. *Grey*'s adminiſtration happened to be very popular, though he had from the crown an order to receive 1200 *l.* a year out of the four and a half per cent. to be paid on the ſpot by the collectors of the tax; but, being generous and magnificent, his perſon was very acceptable to the planters, though their iſland at the time of his arrival was in a miſerable condition. The infectious diſtemper was not quite abated. The expedition to *Martinico* had coſt the *Barbadians* above 30,000 *l.* above forty ſugar-works were deſerted; many acres of ground lay waſte; the late expenſive taxes had diſabled ſome of the principal planters from carrying on their works. Not only corn and proviſions of all kinds, but even ſugars, were become ſcarce; and a freſh hurricane deſtroyed great numbers of plantations that had been repaired. As ſome alleviation to ſo many misfortunes, the ſickneſs ſoon after Mr. *Grey*'s arrival ceaſed; and though it broke out about two years after, it did not laſt long. The northern colonies, *New-England* eſpecially, ſupplied *Barbados* with proviſions; and though not above 90,000 acres in the whole iſland were in a condition to pay taxes, the inhabitants ſupported themſelves and their government with invincible ſpirit and conſtancy. The laws of the iſland were collected and printed at the public expence; and, by the return of health to the iſland, all its former calamities ſeemed to vaniſh. In the year 1701, the governor, Mr. *Grey*, went to *England* for the recovery of his health, where he ſoon after became lord *Grey* of *Werk*, by the death of his brother.

MR. *Grey* left the adminiſtration of affairs in the hands of *John Farmer*, Eſq; preſident of the council; and in his time happened the death of king *William*, and the acceſſion of queen *Anne* to the crown; events which were notified in form to the preſident and aſſembly of *Barbados*. Her majeſty was proclaimed with all the pomp which the government of the iſland could furniſh out; and a moſt loyal addreſs of congratulation and condolance was ſent over, which was preſented o her majeſty by the lord *Grey* the late governor. As ſoon s the war broke out between *France* and *England*, the iſland f *Barbados*, which now had recovered an entire ſtate of

health, fitted out a vaſt number of privateers to act againſt the *French Leeward-Iſlands*. A fleet of no fewer than ſixteen of them rendezvouſing off the iſland of *Guadaloupe*, their crews landed; and after deſtroying part of the iſland, they brought off from it a conſiderable number of negroes. *Barbados* was, at the ſame time, threatened with a new conſpiracy of the negroes, who had plotted to ſeize the forts of the iſland; but being diſcovered, the ringleaders were apprehended and executed. In 1703, Sir *Bevill Greenvill* ſupplanted Mr. *Mitford Crow*, a *London* merchant, in the government of *Barbados*. Mr. *Crow* had kiſſed king *William's* hand upon the ſame, and was very acceptable to the planters; but upon that prince's death, Sir *Bevill* was appointed, to the great diſappointment of a number of the iſlanders. The preſents of 2000 *l.* which had been made, being found inconvenient for the crown as well as the people, the cuſtom was aboliſhed in Sir *Bevill's* perſon; but he was impowered to receive as his ſalary 800 *l.* a year of additional revenue, which raiſed his ordinary income to 2000 *l.* Upon his arrival at *Barbados*, the aſſembly paid him the compliment of appointing his brother-in-law, Sir *John Stanley*, to be one of their agents at *London*; and a new houſe was built for Sir *Bevill* himſelf, on a ſpot called *Pilgrim's Plantation*, which continues to this day to be the reſidence of the governors.

Sir Bevill Greenville, *governor.*

Sir *Bevill* having been brought in by the tory miniſtry, which had the aſcendency in the firſt years of queen *Anne's* reign, met with many enemies upon the iſland, who repreſented him in a very unfavourable light at home. There is ſome reaſon for believing that Sir *Bevill's* behaviour was not ſo cautious as it ought to have been; but the *Barbadians* under him having had great ſucceſs in privateering, his conduct was the leſs queſtioned; eſpecially as he had denied all the charge that had been ſent over againſt him; and none of them ſeem to have been legally proved. On the other hand, Sir *Bevill* complained of a deſign that had been formed againſt his life; and parties went ſo high in the iſland, that a member of the council was fined 2000 *l.* on that account. In 1705, the want of ſpecie in the iſland was ſenſibly felt, on account of the ſilver being ſent off to evade the compliance with a proclamation for reducing it to a certain ſtandard all over the *Engliſh Weſt-Indies*. To ſupply this ſcarcity, the aſſembly paſſed an act for ſtriking paper-money to the amount of 65,000 *l.* which their treaſurer was to give out in bills to the planters, upon the ſecurity of land and negroes; and Mr. *Holder*, the ſpeaker of the aſſembly, being appointed treaſurer, had an allowance of five per cent. for managing the bills.

This

This act was exclaimed againſt by the gentlemen of the greateſt property in the iſland, who complained of it as a fraud, on account of the difficulty they found in negotiating the bills; and no ſooner did the aſſembly riſe, than they ſent over remonſtrances to *England* againſt the act.

SIR *Bevill Greenvill* found himſelf now uneaſy, and obtained his recal, but died on his voyage to *England*. Upon his death, Mr. *Crow*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſervices in *Spain* to the whig adminiſtration, was appointed governor of *Barbados*, where he arrived in 1707. He found parties there running very high on account of the paper-credit; and the whig intereſt now prevailing in *England*, one of the firſt acts of his government was, to remove from their places at the council-board, and from the adminiſtration of all affairs, all who were at the governor's diſpoſal, all who had been concerned in the paper-credit act; and Mr. *Holder* was obliged to refund the money he had received for the management of the bills. This ſerved only to encreaſe the ſpirit of party in the iſland; which running higher than ever, Mr. *Crow* was recalled from his government, upon the change of the miniſtry, at the latter end of queen *Anne*'s reign, in 1711, and was ſucceeded by *Robert Lowther*, Eſq. This gentleman was removed from his government in 1713, upon ſome complaints againſt him.

Succeeded by Crow.

Lowther, *governor*;

UPON his departure, the adminiſtration fell into the hands of *William Sharp*, Eſq; preſident of the council; but *Lowther*, notwithſtanding his recall, was ſo loth to part with his power, that he threatened to proſecute two members of the council, *Cox* and *Salter*, for treaſonable practices, becauſe they diſowned his authority. *Lowther* being at laſt obliged to leave the iſland, Mr. *Sharp*'s adminiſtration was ſo unexceptionable, that he received the thanks of the miniſtry; but in 1715, *Lowther* was reſtored by king *George* the Iſt to the government. Being a proud vindictive man, he made an unmerciful uſe of his reſtoration to power. Having a particular quarrel with the reverend Mr. *Gordon*, rector of St. *Michael*'s, and the biſhop of *London*'s commiſſary upon the iſland, he repreſented him to his dioceſian in the moſt odious colours, and obtained, by means of the *Barbados* agents, ſome harſh proceedings to paſs at the board of trade againſt *Gordon*. The latter, upon this, appealed to the crown; and on the 15th of *March*, 1718, his majeſty referred his petition to a committee of the council, complaining as well againſt a petition of the agents of the iſland of *Barbados*, and a report of the board of trade thereupon, as againſt a letter wrote by the governor of the ſaid iſland to the lord biſhop of

his miſmanagement.

London, highly reflecting on the said *Gordon*'s conduct as commissary, and on his principles and character. Mr. *Gordon* obtained from the lords-justices (the king being then at *Hanover*) an order for taking depositions at *Barbados*, and the governor had the same liberty; but upon Mr. *Gordon*'s returning to *Barbados*, and serving this order upon the governor, the latter paid so little regard to it, that he committed *Gordon* prisoner to the common gaol. In short, the whole of the prosecution against *Gordon* was so arbitrary and malicious, that the lords-justices voted them to be groundless, and that they ought to be dismissed.

Tyranny of Lowther. THIS was not the only act of tyranny which *Lowther* was guilty of in his government. One *Lansa*, a merchant in *Bridge-Town*, petitioned the king and council in *England* against an unlawful seizure, which *Lowther* made of his ship, and returned to *Barbados* with an order for making an enquiry into the matter of the complaint. *Lowther* disputed the authenticity of this order; and pretending that it was forged, he not only forced the original from Mr. *Blenman*, who was counsel for *Lansa*, but sent him to prison, and bound him over in 1000 *l.* bail. *Blenman* being unable to obtain any justice upon the island, went over to *England*; where, upon hearing the cause, the lords justices ordered, That all proceedings on the recognizance be vacated; and if any levy had been made upon the forfeiture, that the same be forthwith returned to Mr. *Blenman*, or his agent. About this time, Sir *Charles Cox* petitioned the king and council against *Lowther*, for removing his brother from the council-board in an arbitrary and illegal manner. While this petition was in dependence, *Lowther* went over to *England*, and left the government of *Barbados* in the hands of his nephew, one Mr. *Frere*. The truth of *Cox*'s complaint being fully proved, the lords-justices restored his brother to the presidentship of the council, and ordered *Frere*, of course, to resign to him the administration of the island; and he not complying with this order, was summoned forthwith to appear before the council-board of *England*.

Misgovernment of the island. EVERY day now produced fresh charges against *Lowther*. Two others of the council, *Alexander Walker*, and *Timothy Salter*, Esqrs. having likewise been arbitrarily removed from the council-board, were restored to their seats there. A petition was presented against the governor for peculation and illegal practices, and signed by Sir *Robert Davers* and *John Walters*, Esq; both of them members of the *British* parliament, Mr. *Allen*, and other gentlemen of great interest in the island. The allegations of this petition were, that *Lowther*, in

in violation of his inſtructions from the crown, had extorted from the iſland of *Barbados* 28,000 *l.* of that currency; and that he had, contrary to the acts of trade and navigation, ſuffered a *Spaniſh* veſſel to trade with the iſland. Thoſe charges being fully proved, *Lowther* was ordered to be taken into cuſtody and proſecuted; but the proſecution was afterwards dropped. Other charges, of the moſt tyrannical nature, were brought againſt *Lowther* and his creatures, particularly for their having cauſed a gentleman of the iſland to be publickly whipped by the common ſlave-whipper, upon an accuſation of private defamation; and all the juſtices, to the number of eight, who had been concerned in this illegal judgment, were removed from the commiſſion of the peace. Mr. *Cox* being reſtored to the preſidentſhip, and conſequently to the adminiſtration during the vacancy of the government, a ſtrange ſcene of anarchy enſued. All the chief places of the iſland were filled with *Lowther*'s friends, who had on their ſides a majority both in the council and the aſſembly; and they had paſſed an act for preſerving the peace and tranquillity of the iſland. The meaning of this act, in fact, was, to preſerve their own places and ſeats at the council-board and in the aſſembly, and to reſtore *Frere* to the preſidentſhip, notwithſtanding the royal orders in favour of *Cox*. Their party was ſo ſtrong, that when Mr. *Cox* at laſt took poſſeſſion of the preſidentſhip, they inſiſted upon the validity of the tranquillity-act (as they called it); and he was ſo hampered in his government, that he was obliged to ſuſpend five or ſix of the refractory counſellors.

THE fluctuation of parties in *England*, and the death of ſecretary *Craggs*, who was *Cox*'s great patron, with ſeveral other incidental cauſes, proved favourable to *Lowther* and his party. He ſuſpended counſellors, and their friends ſent over heavy complaints againſt *Cox*, and they obtained an order for reſuming their ſeats at the council-board. This was ſo complete a triumph to the party, that they exulted more than ever, and perplexed the affairs of the government ſo much, that even the exciſe-bill, which was neceſſary for the ſupport of the public, was in danger of being loſt. It muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that Mr. *Cox* did not behave with the requiſite moderation; and this might prepoſſeſs the miniſtry againſt him. He had, under no very juſtifiable pretexts, removed from the bench of juſtice ſeveral men of conſequence in the iſland, who had been friends to *Lowther*, and had endeavoured to commence vexatious proſecutions againſt them; and this ſerved to encreaſe the oppoſition to his government. The apparent intention of the *Britiſh* miniſtry, upon ſo many

contradictory charges as daily came over from *Barbados*, was to let matters continue in the ſtate they were, until a new governor ſhould be appointed, who was to be furniſhed with full powers and proper inſtructions for enquiring into, and puniſhing all publick malverſations on both ſides.

Lord Belhaven *appointed governor.*

IT was about this time that the greateſt families in *Britain* were ſeverely feeling the dreadful effects of the *South-Sea* ſcheme; and the miniſtry, perhaps with no ſound policy, ſought to indemnify ſome of the ſufferers by giving them *Weſt-India* governments. Of this number was the lord *Belhaven*, a *Scotch* nobleman, a favourite with the prince of *Wales*, who being at that time well received at court, had intereſt enough to procure him to be appointed to the government of *Barbados*; but his lordſhip was unfortunately caſt away near the *Lizard-Point*, in his voyage to that iſland. Lord *Irwin* was likewiſe appointed; but he alſo died before he reached *Barbados*, and then the government was given to *Henry Worſeley*, Eſq. Before that gentleman arrived in the iſland, the duke of *Portland*, who had been appointed to the government of *Jamaica*, with his dutcheſs, and a ſplendid retinue, landed at *Barbados*. Though the iſland was then in little leſs than a ſtate of civil commotion, yet both factions ſeemed to vie with one another in the honours and entertainments beſtowed upon his grace, but always in ſeparate parties; and the moſt noble viſitants departed from thence with the higheſt opinion of the *Barbadian* elegance and politeneſs.

Account of the intended ſettlement of St. Lucia.

WHEN the duke of *Portland* was in *Barbados*, the ineffectual attempt made by the *Engliſh* under the duke of *Montague*, to ſettle the iſlands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, took place. We ſhall not here enter into any diſcuſſion of the equitable claim the crown of *England* had to ſettle thoſe iſlands, and which ſeems to be eſtabliſhed beyond all diſpute; but we ſhall recount how far the government of *Barbados* was concerned in thoſe ſettlements. Mr. *Vring*, who had been appointed deputy-governor of both iſlands, found the affairs of both in a very different ſituation from what he expected; and to ſay the truth, it is not a little ſurpriſing that the *Engliſh* miniſtry ſhould ſuffer the duke of *Montague* to expend the vaſt ſums he did on this expedition, without knowing the diſpoſitions of the *French* court; not to mention the diſgrace it brought upon his majeſty's government and the honour of the nation. The governments of *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, and *St. Dominica*, had till then been included in the commiſſion of the government of *Barbados*, even after that of the *Leeward Iſlands* was ſeparated from it. The inſidious conduct of the *French* had amuſed the *Engliſh* gover-

nors

nors into too great a neglect of thoſe iſlands; though *William* lord *Willoughby*, while he was governor of *Barbados*, had always paid great attention to them; and in 1668, he ſent to *St. Vincent* a force which the *French* hiſtorian, *P. du Tetre*, acknowledges obliged the *Indian* natives of that iſland, as well as thoſe of *Dominica*, to ſubmit to the *Engliſh* government. Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, who ſucceeded the younger lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Richard Dutton*, who ſucceeded him, ſeem to have paid but little regard to thoſe iſlands; but colonel *Stede*, *Dutton*'s lieutenant-governor, hearing that the *French* uſed to wood and water upon them, ſent captain *Temple* thither with a force to interrupt them. This happened about the time that king *James* the IId entered into a kind of a treaty of neutrality with the court of *France*; by which all matters of debate, both in *America* and the *Weſt-Indies*, were to be amicably adjuſted by commiſſioners, and the conqueſts on both ſides were to be reſtored. Even this treaty preſerved entire to the crown of *England* its rights upon *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, and they ſtill continue to be named in the commiſſions of the governors of *Barbados*; but it muſt be acknowledged, that effectual care had not been taken ſufficiently to aſcertain that right by poſſeſſion; and the *French* government, which never fails to turn the ſmalleſt omiſſion to their own advantage, pretended, for that reaſon, that they belonged to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty,

In 1719, M. *D'Eſtrées* obtained from the regent of *France* a grant of *St. Lucia*, and he accordingly ſent a colony to poſſeſs and ſettle it. Though the *Engliſh* miniſtry at that time were but too intimately connected with that of *France*, yet the inſolence of this grant became ſo much a national concern, that the *Britiſh* ambaſſador at *Paris* had orders to preſent very ſpirited memorials againſt the intended colony; and ſo far had the *Engliſh* government been from giving up their right to the iſlands in queſtion, that the following article always made part of the inſtructions given to the governors of *Barbados*, viz. "If any of the ſubjects of a foreign prince or ſtate have already planted themſelves upon any of the iſlands of *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, *St. Vincent*, *Tobago*, or ſhall hereafter attempt to do the ſame, you are to aſſert our right to the ſaid iſlands excluſive of others; and in order to hinder the ſettlement of any colony there, you are to give notice to ſuch foreigners that ſhall pretend to make ſuch ſettlements, that unleſs they ſhall remove within ſuch time as you in your diſcretion ſhall aſſign, you ſhall be obliged by force to diſpoſſeſs, and ſend them off the iſlands."

Aſſiſtance given to it by the Barbadians.

IT is remarkable, that in the grant made by the regent of *France* to the marſhal *D'Eſtrées*, nothing was reſerved to the crown of *France* but the faith and homage of the ſettlers, "and a tenth of the free profits of the mines which ſhall be wrought there by the marſhal or his aſſigns." This extraordinary grant being remonſtrated againſt (as we have already ſeen) by the *Britiſh* ambaſſador at *Paris*, *D'Eſtrées* had orders from his court to diſcontinue his ſettlement, and to withdraw his people from the iſland. This compliance, together with the perpetual interruptions which the governors of *Barbados* had given to the *French*, when they pretended to wood and water upon thoſe iſlands without their leave, was conſidered by the court of *England* as an acquieſcence in their right to the iſlands in queſtion; and it was upon that preſumption that the duke of *Montague* had obtained his grant. The new colony was under the convoy of the *Winchelſea* man of war, captain *Orme* commander, which brought Mr. *Vring* to *Barbados*. From hence he proceeded to *St. Lucia*, where they arrived the 17th of *December*, 1722. The reſiſtance and danger which *Vring* underwent in attempting a ſettlement on *St. Lucia*, belong to another part of this work. Perceiving by all accounts that M. *de Feuquieres*, the governor of *Martinico*, had orders from his court, at all events, to oppoſe the ſettlement, *Vring* ſent to the preſident of *Barbados* the letter he had received from *Feuquieres* on that head. The preſident, upon this, diſpatched *William Beteler*, Eſq; with a letter to *Martinico* for the *French* governor there, remonſtrating againſt the oppoſition which *Vring* had met with upon the iſland, mixed with ſome menaces: but all was to no purpoſe. *Feuquieres* perſiſted in his reſolution to act according to the letter of his inſtructions, and the commanders of the *Engliſh* men of war that were then in the *Weſt-Indies*, heſitated to give *Vring* any aſſiſtance. This pacific conduct is not eaſily to be accounted for, but by either ſuppoſing that thoſe commanders did not think themſelves warranted in commencing hoſtilities with the *French*, or that they had received ſecret inſtructions from the *Engliſh* admiralty to act as they did; but, indeed, the whole management of this expedition is dark and unaccountable. Nothing, however, was wanting on the part of the *Barbadians* to render the ſettlement ſucceſsful. The preſident aſſembled the council, and underſtanding that captain *Brown*, of the *Feverſham* man of war, had returned a very doubtful anſwer to *Vring*'s requeſt of aſſiſtance, *Cox* ſent him a letter, in purſuance of his inſtructions, offering him, on the part of the iſland, all the aid he could require for making the duke of *Montague*'s ſettlement good.

good. This letter proved to be of no ſervice, for the *French* puſhed *Vring* ſo briſkly, that they drove him off *St. Lucia*; nor did he ſucceed better at *St. Vincent*, which he afterwards endeavoured to ſettle. Upon the arrival of Mr. *Worſeley* at *Barbados*, he was congratulated by *de Feuquieres* in a letter which contained ſome reflecting expreſſions upon *Vring*'s attempt. Mr. *Worſeley*, in one paragraph of his letter, in anſwer to *Feuquieres*, dated the 12th of *February*, 1722-3, tells him, that "ſince you are pleaſed to communicate to me your conduct in the affair of *St. Lucia*, I muſt ſay I have a very great eſteem for every officer that punctually obeys his maſter's orders; and had I been in my government when this affair happened, I ſhould have uſed my utmoſt endeavours to have maintained the duke of *Montague* in the poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands, to which the king my maſter has an inconteſtable right."

MR. *Worſeley* appears to have carried with him to *Barbados* ſtrong prepoſſeſſions againſt Mr. *Cox*, the preſident, and the gentlemen who had oppoſed Mr. *Lowther*; but he conducted himſelf with ſo much addreſs, that neither party thought him their enemy, and therefore both courted him for their friend. Add to this, that many gentlemen of great conſequence in the iſland blamed both parties, and ſincerely wiſhed to ſee an end put to their civil diſſentions. All this operated favourably for the governor, who was well ſupported at home, and the aſſembly was brought to agree to grant him the enormous revenue of 6000 *l.* a year. Their reaſons, as afterwards appeared, for this liberality were, an expectation that all their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and their depending upon the governor's promiſe, "that he would be ſatisfied with that ſettlement, and make no other demand upon the public during his government." This great point being gained by the governor, and half a crown a head being laid on each negro for defraying it, he proceeded to his enquiries into the ſtate of the iſland before his acceſſion. A ſtrong charge was urged againſt the conduct of Mr. *Cox*, who was accuſed, among other things, of inſolent language in the council; but he recriminated upon his opponents, by pleading that their behaviour had been undutiful and unwarrantable. He was likewiſe accuſed of having called too many councils, to the great moleſtation of the members; but he ſhewed that this was owing to their own non-attendance, by their factiouſly abſenting themſelves when any buſineſs of importance was to be done. Laſtly, he was charged with the like miſbehaviour for which Mr. *Lowther* had been cenſured, in his arbitrary commitments to priſon, particularly of one *Mac-*

Mr. Worſeley, governor.

mahone,

mahone, a lawyer, and one of his keeneſt opponents. Mr. *Cox*'s anſwer to this was, that *Macmahone*, by his outrageous diſreſpectful behaviour, for which he was afterwards convicted before a jury, had drawn the commitment upon himſelf, and that he had ſuffered very juſtly.

He cenſures Cox.

BUT the very able defence which Mr. *Cox* and his lawyers urged, had no effect upon the governor; who, having cloſed the proceſs, reſerved the deciſion of it to himſelf; and Mr. *Cox* petitioning him to know his fate, received from Mr. *Hammond*, his excellency's ſecretary, the following declaration. "His excellency commands me to acquaint you, in anſwer to your petition in which you have prayed a copy of the judgment his excellency had given in your affair, that upon his hearing the evidences on both ſides, he did determine, that you had acted corruptly, arbitrarily, and illegally; and, therefore, he not only removed you from being of his majeſty's council here, but alſo declared you incapable of ever being one. And that it was his farther opinion, you ought to be proſecuted in the manner that the nature of the crimes proved againſt you required. I am, with very great reſpect, Sir, your moſt humble ſervant." This cenſure did Mr. *Worſeley* very little ſervice. It exaſperated all the friends of Mr. *Cox* againſt him, and the tax which had been laid upon negroes for the payment of his ſalary, was now ſo cruelly felt by all ranks and degrees upon that iſland, that there was a kind of general coalition of parties againſt paying it.

THIS was in a great meaſure owing to the indolence of the *Engliſh* government, which had ſuffered the *French* and the *Dutch* plantations in the *Weſt-Indies* to cut the *Engliſh*, and the people of *Barbados* particularly, out of the ſugar and rum trade, which was almoſt the ſole means of their ſubſiſtence. The great impoſts which the *Barbados* trade lay under, diſabled the planters there from ſending their ſugars, rum, and molaſſes, ſo cheap to market as their rivals could afford to do; ſo that the latter carried on a prodigious trade with the *Engliſh* colonies in *North America*, who ſupplied them with great quantities of proviſions, without which their iſlands could not have ſubſiſted. The *French* likewiſe underſold the *Engliſh* in all the *European* markets; for they ſent their commodities not only to *France*, *Germany*, *Holland*, the *Streights*, and other countries on the continent of *Europe*, but to *Ireland* itſelf, and all this, by means of the ſmall duties they paid; while the *Engliſh* planters were bound down by the navigation and other acts to ſend their ſugars firſt to *England*, which created an immenſe additional charge by their loſs of time and enhancing their freights. But this grievance was in ſome meaſure

Diſadvantages of the Barbadians.

ſure remedied (though the trade, even after that, lay under great clogs) by a *Britiſh* act of parliament enabling them to ſend their ſugars to other ports as well as to *England*. The advantage the *French* had over them in this reſpect was ſo great, that the planters themſelves and merchants in *Barbados* brought ſugars cheaper from *Martinico* than they could expect them from their own iſlands. Thoſe hardſhips were too ſevere to be longer endured, and at laſt the *Barbadians* laid their complaints before the *Britiſh* government, but without effect; though they proved, at the ſame time, that their iſland paid 10,000 *l.* a year to the unappropriated revenue, and 50,000 *l.* in cuſtoms.

THE council, the aſſembly, and the people of *Barbados*, repreſented their diſappointment in not obtaining their redreſs of grievances; but they could not get rid of the exorbitant ſalary which they had voted to their governor. The complaints they tranſmitted to *England* on this occaſion, have ſomething in them very ſtriking, and ſerve to ſhew the deplorable ſtate of the iſland at this period. They repreſented, that when his excellency *Henry Worſely*, Eſq; took his adminiſtration of this government upon him, the gentlemen of this iſland, having for many years before been harraſſed with parties and diviſions, in hopes to put an end to the ſame, and to obtain the redreſs of ſeveral grievances, were wrought upon to ſubmit to a ſettlement of 6000 *l.* ſterling *per annum* on the ſaid governor during his reſidence here; yet, notwithſtanding this extravagant ſettlement, the iſland was ſo far from reaping any advantage from their indiſcreet generoſity, that, on the contrary, the public good had been entirely neglected, and no meaſures taken to redreſs the grievances of the iſland; but his excellency and his creatures had thereby been the better enabled, and more at leiſure to oppreſs the inhabitants; the militia had been entirely neglected; the forts, breaſt-works, and batteries were gone to ruin; the public ſtores were embezzled and waſted; and all perſons in office under his excellency buſied in nothing but how to raiſe fortunes from the ruins of the people. To complete this dreadful view of the hardſhips they ſuffered under their governor, they added, that the ſaid grievances, and many others tending to the impoveriſhing and ruin of the iſland, were ſtill the more inſupportable, from the diſmal apprehenſions his majeſty's ſubjects here lie under in caſe of a war, the forts and fortifications of the iſland having gone to ruin, warlike ſtores of all kinds neceſſary for the defence of the iſland being wholly wanted, and no poſſibility of purchaſing a ſufficient quantity of powder and other ſtores, and the inhabitants not in a

who are diſappointed of redreſs.

condition of bearing the neceſſary charges, either of buying powder ſufficient were the ſame to be purchaſed, or repairing the forts and fortifications, while the heavy tax which they had for ſo many years paid, chiefly for his excellency's uſe, was continued; by which tax almoſt all the current caſh of this iſland was annually brought together, and hoarded in his excellency's coffers, trade was ſtagnated, and the value of the produce of the iſland was very conſiderably lowered, to the vaſt damage of the diſtreſſed inhabitants, who were forced to part with their goods at any price, to raiſe their quota of a tax, not only heavy in itſelf, but much more ſo in regard of the ill effects it had upon trade and the markets in the colony.

Complaints againſt the governor.

BESIDES this general repreſentation, a great many private complaints againſt the governor were ſent over by particular merchants, repreſenting their grievances, of which they could get no redreſs upon the iſland, becauſe of the ſervility of the council towards the governor, which rendered it hazardous even to petition him for relief. Among other matters it was aſſerted, that he had demanded and received at one time 2000 *l.* for the repairs of his houſe, notwithſtanding his engagement to bring no farther burden upon the iſland than the payment of his ſalary. The governor, on the other hand, made a vigorous defence to all thoſe charges; and his agents baffled them all before the Board of Trade. In this he was greatly aſſiſted not only by the council, but by the grand-jury, which is ſuppoſed to be the mouth of the common people of the iſland, and who preſented an addreſs applauding his conduct, and condemning that of his opponents. About the ſame time, the council had ordered ſome amendments to be made to the exciſe-bill, as prepared by the aſſembly. The council had loaded it with many gratifications to particular perſons, for ſervices performed in *England* not ſpecified; a compliance with which the aſſembly thought to be unreaſonable and unjuſt to their conſtituents; and therefore demanded, that the merits of the ſeveral parties ſhould be enquired into before the money was granted; but the government intereſt in *England* got the better of this and all other objections to the liberality of the council, though not without conſiderable difficulty. In ſhort, the abuſes of patent places granted to thoſe who never had been in the iſland, were acknowledged and univerſally condemned, but never redreſſed. The complaints, however, that were ſent over upon thoſe occaſions were ſo frequent, and ſo well ſupported, that the government of *Great-Britain* became ſenſible of the neceſſity, on its own account, of looking more narrowly

rowly than ever into the affairs of *Barbados*. Mr. *Worſeley*, the governor, found ſuch difficulty in receiving his ſalary, that the iſland was near 20,000 *l.* in debt to him, and he was obliged to employ legal methods to recover it. Upon his return to *England* in 1732, the government devolved upon *Samuel Berwick*, Eſq; preſident of the council. It was under this gentleman's wiſe and moderate adminiſtration that the *Britiſh* miniſtry firſt applied in earneſt to the relief of *Barbados*. Hardſhips and oppreſſion had reconciled all parties upon the iſland, ſo that the *Engliſh* government was no longer under any doubt as to the preference of claſhing repreſentations; for all concurred in their ſentiments as to the intereſt and diſtreſſes of the iſland; and a petition to the throne, entitled, "The humble petition of the planters, traders, and other inhabitants, of your majeſty's iſland of *Barbados*," was ſent over to *England*; repreſenting, "That within theſe few years, great improvements have been made by the *Dutch* and *French* in their ſugar colonies, and great and extraordinary encouragements have been given to them, not only from their mother-countries, but alſo from a pernicious trade carried on by them to and from *Ireland*, and the northern *Britiſh* colonies; and the *French* do now, from the produce of their own ſugar-colonies, effectually ſupply with ſugar not only *France* itſelf, but *Spain* alſo, and a great part of *Ireland*, and the *Britiſh* northern colonies; and have to ſpare for *Holland*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and other parts of *Europe*: and the *French* and *Dutch* colonies have lately ſupplied the northern *Britiſh* colonies with very large quantities of molaſſes, for the making of rum and other uſes, to the vaſt prejudice of your majeſty's ſugar-colonies. As rum is a commodity, and which, next to ſugar, they moſtly depend upon, and they have in return for ſuch ſugar, rum, and molaſſes, ſhipping, horſes, boards, ſtaves, hoops, lumber, timber for building, fiſh, bread, bacon, corn, flour, and other plantation neceſſaries, at eaſier rates than your majeſty's ſubjects of the ſugar-colonies have. For the continual ſupplies received by the *Dutch* and *French* from the *Britiſh* northern colonies, have enabled them to put on and maintain a great number of ſlaves on their plantations, and to enlarge their ſugar-works, and make new ſettlements in new fertile ſoils; and, at the ſame time, coſt little, being now purchaſed chiefly with molaſſes, which, before this late intercourſe between the foreign colonies and the northern *Britiſh* colonies, were flung away as of no value."

Petition of the Barbadians.

THOSE allegations were all of them ſelf-evident, and too notorious to be contradicted. Add to this, that the *French* and

and *Dutch* colonies paid but one per cent. of duty for the ſugars they exported to foreign parts. To remedy the hardſhips ariſing to the *Barbadians* from ſo many different cauſes, they propoſed, that no foreign ſugar, rum, or molaſſes, ſhould be imported into any of the *Britiſh* northern colonies, or into *Ireland*, without being firſt imported into *Great-Britain*; that thus the *Britiſh* ſugar-colonies might be at leaſt on a footing with their neighbours. This petition was taken into very ſerious conſideration; foreign rum, ſugar, and molaſſes, were entirely prohibited from being imported into *Ireland*, without being firſt landed in *Great-Britain*. Foreign ſugars, rum, and molaſſes, imported into any of our northern or ſouthern colonies, were ſubjected to heavy duties, and certain reſtrictions were eſtabliſhed, under which no ſugar-colonies were at liberty to carry ſugars to all the foreign parts of *Europe*. Other encouragements were likewiſe given to the petitioners. We are not to forget that this revival of unanimity and public ſpirit among the *Barbadians*, was, in a great meaſure, owing to a printing-preſs, which, at that time, was ſet up at *Bridge-Town*, and every week publiſhed a paper, in which the moſt underſtanding inhabitants of the iſland had an opportunity of inſerting eſſays and letters concerning the moſt important intereſts of their commerce.

who obtain ſome redreſs.

Lord Howe, *governor.*

BUT the *Britiſh* miniſtry, who conſulted the good of *Barbados*, chiefly, perhaps, on account of the benefits they themſelves received from it, by the patent, and other, places it furniſhed, and which it was at this time no longer able to ſupport, did not think it ſufficient to give that iſland the relief above-mentioned, without putting it, in the mean while, under a mild, diſintereſted, and generous adminiſtration. For this purpoſe, the lord *Howe* was appointed to this government; and he arrived there with his lady in the *Rye* man of war on the 11th of *April*, 1733. A few days after, he met the aſſembly, and his ſpeeches and behaviour to them were of ſo very different a caſt from thoſe of their late governors, that the *Barbadians* formed the higheſt opinion of his preſent and future adminiſtration, in which their moſt ſanguine expectations were exceeded. The only diſcontent that appeared on the iſland, was among a few practiſing lawyers, who apprehended their exorbitant fees would be reduced under ſo equitable an adminiſtration. So pacific a period affords but little matter for hiſtory to tranſmit. The *Barbadians*, unable to furniſh his lordſhip with the ſame exorbitant ſalary that had been ſettled on his predeceſſor, gave him to the utmoſt of what their circumſtances could afford, which was 4000 *l.* a year; and which he generouſly ſpent upon the iſland,

iſland, with a large addition of his own revenue. But all his lordſhip's virtues could not extinguiſh certain private animoſities which ſtill ſubſiſted there, and in a quarrel that happened at *Bridge-Town*, in which ſeveral gentlemen on both ſides were engaged, one of them, *Keeling*, happened to be killed; upon which, ſome of the others, among whom was *Macmahone*, the turbulent lawyer, left the iſland, a bill of indictment being prepared againſt them. The parties afterwards ſurrendered themſelves, and *Macmahone* alone was found guilty of manſlaughter.

His death.

On the 27th of *March*, 1735, the lord *Howe*, who had been for ſome days ill of a fever, died, to the inexpreſſible grief of all the iſland. Their ſorrow for this loſs was expreſſed in the moſt affecting manner, and never was there an experiment made with ſo much ſucceſs, of what importance the right choice of a governor is to the proſperity of that or any other of our ſugar-iſlands. The good underſtanding between the governor, the council, and the aſſembly, produced the very beſt effects for the mother-country, as well as the colony. As he had not reſided as governor in the iſland above two years, he had rather ſuffered than gained in his private fortune by his commiſſion. The council, and the aſſembly, therefore, took an early opportunity, after his death, to make an acknowledgment of the great benefits they had received during his ſhort adminiſtration; for Mr. *Dottin*, who acted as preſident of the council, ſucceeding him in the government, called the aſſembly together, and having, in a very pathetic ſpeech, repreſented the vaſt loſs they had ſuſtained by his lordſhip's death, he propoſed the making a handſome preſent to his widow, who had of herſelf acquired a moſt amiable character in the iſland. A bill was accordingly brought in, and being paſſed unanimouſly, was entitled, "An act the better to manifeſt the gratitude of the people in this iſland, for the benefits they received from the juſt and prudent adminiſtration of his late excellency." By this act, 2500 *l.* was granted to her ladyſhip, for her uſe, and for the payment of ſuch debts as his lordſhip might have contracted upon the iſland. Soon after, her ladyſhip ſailed for *England*, with the corps of her lord. The remaining part of Mr. *Dottin*'s adminiſtration was employed in ſettling the fees for the ſeveral officers of the iſland, a meaſure of the utmoſt importance to the inhabitants, and in other acts of the ſame ſalutary public nature. Though his adminiſtration was active and irreproachable, yet he was contented with a ſettlement of 600 *l. per annum*, during its continuance; a

proof at what an eaſy expence the buſineſs of government may be carried on.

Dottin, preſident. MR. *Dottin*'s adminiſtration continued in a calm, equitable ſtrain, from the death of lord *Howe* to the year 1739, when the honourable *Robert Byng*, Eſq; ſon to the lord *Torrington*, and elder brother to the late unfortunate admiral of the ſame name, was appointed governor of *Barbados*. The war having broke out, at that time, between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, the new-governor's equipages were unfortunately taken at ſea by the enemy, and the aſſembly generouſly made him a preſent of 2500 *l.* as an indemnification for his loſs. It does not appear that the *Barbadians* held Mr. *Byng* in the ſame degree of eſteem and affection as they had done his predeceſſor the lord *Howe*; and ſome altercation happened between him and the aſſembly on account of his ſalary, which at laſt was fixed at no more than 2000 *l.* a year. The ſhort time of his adminiſtration was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by the ſpirit which the *Barbadians* diſcovered and exerted againſt the enemies of *Great-Britain*, and in the large ſums they expended in putting their forts in order, and making the neceſſary diſpoſitions againſt them and the *French* in caſe of invaſion. In the month of *July*, the *Shoreham* man of war arrived at *Barbados*, with orders for repriſals upon the *Spaniards*, which were received by the *Barbadians* with the utmoſt joy; but it was thought they would have been more effectual, had they not been publiſhed with ſo much oſtentation, that the *Spaniards* were put upon their guard. As the war was not yet proclaimed with *France*, it was common for the *Barbadians*, as uſual, to viſit *Martinico*; and a miſunderſtanding happening between captain *Reddiſh*, commander of the *Angleſey* man of war, and the captain of a *French* man of war, ſome of the principal *Barbadians* were taken by the *Frenchman*'s boat; but, by the firmneſs of the *Engliſh* commander, they were ſoon ſet at liberty, and the offenders obliged to aſk pardon. Notwithſtanding this, it is certain, that beſides the loſs of the ſhip *Dolphin*, captain *Rhimes* commander, which carried governor *Byng*'s baggage, and a very valuable cargo beſides, the *Barbadians* ſuſtained great loſs by the *Spaniſh* privateers: but, in a ſhort time, they made themſelves ample amends, by covering the ſeas with a number of their own privateers, who carried into the iſland great numbers of rich *Spaniſh* prizes.

Mr. Byng, governor.

His death. GOVERNOR *Byng* died at *Barbados* in 1740, before he had been quite a year in his office. His adminiſtration was allowed to have been inoffenſive, and he ſhewed no mean talents for government. Two days after his death, the aſ-

ſembly

ſembly met, and came to a reſolution not to make any ſettlement whatever upon a future governor. By this reſolution, we are given to underſtand, that the *Barbadians* thought they had been ill-treated by their former governors, on account of their independency; and that they were reſolved from thenceforth to proportion their rewards to their behaviour. Mr. *Byng* was ſucceeded in his government by Sir *Thomas Robinſon*, 1743. This gentleman, upon his arrival at *Barbados*, had likewiſe ſome diſputes concerning his ſalary; but they were ſoon compromiſed. His behaviour, during his adminiſtration, was univerſally allowed to have been affable and unexceptionable; but the miniſtry of *England* being altered, he was in the year 1746 recalled, and ſucceeded by *Henry Grenville*, Eſq; nephew to the lord *Cobham*, and brother to the preſent earl *Temple*. This gentleman, after his arrival in the iſland, had little or no diſpute about his ſalary, which is ſaid to have amounted to 3000 *l.* a year; and he is reported to have underſtood the commercial intereſt of the iſland better than any of its former governors.

Mr. Grenville, *governor.*

THE iſland of *Tobago*, which, as we have already ſeen, had been always named in the commiſſion of the governor of *Barbados*, was, by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, in 1748, ſtipulated to be neutral. The *French*, by an incredible effort of aſſurance and perfidy, privately ſent orders to the marquis *de Caylus*, their then governor of *Martinico*, to ſettle this iſland, which they accordingly had begun to do, when their deſign was made known to Mr. *Grenville* the governor of *Barbados*. He immediately ordered captain *Tyrrel* to viſit that iſland in a frigate, and to learn the truth of the report. The captain, on his arrival at *Tobago*, found, that three hundred men had already landed there, under the protection of two men of war, and two batteries, and every hour expecting farther reinforcements for carrying their deſign into execution. Mr. *Grenville*, not to be wanting in the duties of his commiſſion, had ſent a proclamation, which had been ſtuck up in the chief poſts of the iſland of *Tobago*, commanding the *French* to evacuate the ſame, upon the pain of military diſcipline in thirty days time. *De Caylus*, on the other hand, publiſhed an ordonnance, authorizing his maſter's ſubjects to continue in, and ſettle on, the ſame, and promiſed them aſſiſtance and protection againſt all who ſhould attempt to diſpoſſeſs them. As *Tobago* is, of itſelf, about the largeneſs of *Barbados*, beſides a leſſer iſland lying near it, and admitted of prodigious improvements, through the richneſs of its ſoil, the *French* would have carried a great point had they completed their ſettlement. Captain *Tyrrel* informed their

Oppoſes the ſettlement of Tobago *by the* French.

officers, that their attempt was a direct breach of treaties, eſpecially that of *Aix la Chapelle*; and that, if they did not deſiſt from their intended ſettlement, he would employ force to oblige them. It is a little ſurpriſing on this occaſion, when we conſider how poſitive the ſtipulation for the neutrality of this iſland was by the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, that a ſufficient force was not fitted out to act offenſively, eſpecially as the *French* did not offer to juſtify their procedure. So far from that, the commanders of their two ſhips of war, when night came on, made the beſt of their way to *Martinico*; and the *Engliſh* captain having executed all that he had in charge, returned to *Barbados*.

It was not long after this, before Mr. *Grenville* had an opportunity of tranſmitting a full account of this tranſaction to *England*, where it no ſooner became public, than a vaſt indignation appeared among all ranks of ſubjects. The peace of *Aix la Chapelle* itſelf had not been univerſally approved of by the nation, and this daring violation of it was reſented by all parties. Inſtructions were ſent to the *Engliſh* envoy at *Paris* to make the proper repreſentations on that head. The *French* miniſtry were prepared for this, and endeavoured to ſhew that Mr. *Grenville*'s proceeding had been too haſty, and was unwarrantable. *Puyſieux*, one of their miniſters, had even the inſolence to hint, that the *French* having been in poſſeſſion of *Tobago* towards the middle of the laſt century, it could not be properly conſidered as a neutral iſland. Being driven from this argument, he pretended that all that *de Caylus* deſigned, was to ſecure to the *French* a liberty of wooding and watering upon the iſland; but a copy of the original order of *Caylus* being produced, a diſpatch was immediately ſent off, commanding him to diſcontinue the ſettlement, and to evacuate *Tobago* of its new inhabitants. The plan of the *Engliſh* miniſtry, at that time, undoubtedly, was to keep well with *France*, of whoſe power, as we ſince have ſeen by experience, they had conceived too high an idea. The oppoſition in the houſe of commons believing that the *French* would not have attempted ſo flagrant a breach of the peace without ſome tacit encouragement from the *Britiſh* miniſtry, and receiving daily intimations that the *French* intended to ſettle the other neutral iſlands, as well as *Tobago*; an addreſs to his majeſty was moved for in the houſe of commons, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions for laying before the houſe copies of the inſtructions given to the governors of *Barbados* for ten years laſt paſt, ſo far as they related to thoſe neutral iſlands. This motion was oppoſed by the then miniſter Mr. *Pelham*, as having an undutiful

dutiful tendency againſt the prerogative; and the motion was over-ruled.

THE people of *Barbados*, all this while, continued in great tranquillity. The publication of the *French* orders, revoking their ſettlement of *Tobago*, gave them infinite ſatisfaction; and the daily encreaſe of their trade perfectly reconciled them to their government both there and in *Great-Britain*; not to mention, that the vaſt number of prizes brought to their iſland encreaſed their riches and importance. The time for Mr. *Grenville*'s government being expired, he was, at the recommendation of the firſt lord of trade in *England*, ſucceeded by Dr. *Pinfold*, an eminent civilian, who ſtill holds that government. During this gentleman's adminiſtration, the inhabitants of *Barbados* bore no mean ſhare in the glorious events which diſtinguiſhed the *Britiſh* arms during the latter part of the laſt, and the beginning of the preſent reign. A reſolution having been formed to reduce the iſland of *Martinico*, which had been at all times ſo formidable to the *Barbadians*, the ſame was communicated to their governor, and they entered into it with a ſpirit and ardor hardly to be paralleled in the *Engliſh Weſt-Indies*; for they immediately ordered a large body of volunteers to be raiſed and diſciplined at their own expence. They were greatly encouraged in this by a memorial preſented to the *French* king by the chief inhabitants of *Martinico*, in which they repreſented their iſland as being in the moſt diſtreſsful circumſtances, and as having been abandoned by its mother-country. Captain *Hughes* had ſailed from St. *Helen's* on the 12th of *November* 1758, to join commodore *Moore*, who was then lying at *Carliſle-Bay* in *Barbados*. *Hughes* carried with him eight ſail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, with ſix regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery in ſixty tranſports, beſides 800 mariners diſtributed through the ſhips of war. The land forces were commanded by major-general *Hopſon*, an officer of judgment and experience, but thought not to be of ſufficient activity for the command of ſuch an expedition. He had under him major-general *Barrington*, the colonels *Armiger* and *Haldane*, with the lieutenant-colonels *Trapaud* and *Clavering*, who acted as brigadiers. This ſquadron, in ſeven weeks and three days, arrived at *Barbados*; where Mr. *Hughes* reſigned his command to commodore *Moore*. The governor, council, and aſſembly of *Barbados*, immediately before this junction, had given directions for the inhabitants to furniſh every thing that was in their power to render the expedition ſucceſsful. Proclamations for that purpoſe were iſſued, the number of the volunteers augmented, and

The Barbadians *aſſiſt in the expedition againſt* Martinico.

Pinfold, *governor.*

Account of the unſucceſsful expedition againſt Martinico.

to ſave the labour as much as poſſible of the regulars, the *Barbadians* preſented every ſhip with forty negroes for drawing the artillery. The whole of the troops did not exceed 5000 men; but before they left *Barbados*, they were joined by 200 highlanders of lord *John Murray*'s regiment, under the convoy of the *Ludlow-Caſtle* man of war. The whole armament ſailed on the 30th of *January*; but the men were in a ſickly condition, through diſeaſes occaſioned by the heat of the climate.

THOUGH *Martinico* was the firſt and chief object of this expedition, yet it was intended for the reduction of all the *Caribbee Iſlands*. *Martinico* itſelf lies in the latitude of 14 degrees and 30 minutes north; and through the natural indentments, which the *French* call *Cul de ſacs*, that run along its ſhores, and are extremely dangerous, on account of their ſands, diſcernible only at low-water-mark, is very difficult of acceſs, and the more ſo, as all the approachable poſts of its coaſts were ſtrongly fortified. Though it does not extend above fourteen leagues in length, and ſeven in breadth, yet it is by far the moſt conſiderable of all the *French Caribbees*; and the chief reaſon why their government had neglected it ſo much as it did, was, becauſe they thought that nature and art had rendered it impregnable. Beſides the difficulties we have already mentioned the *Engliſh* were to overcome, a ridge of almoſt impaſſable mountains runs quite through the iſland north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, and all the ſpace on both ſides thoſe mountains are interſected with deep gullies, which are very difficult to be paſſed, through the impetuoſity of the water which poured through them in the rainy ſeaſons. The chief fortifications of the iſland were the citadel of *Port-Royal*, and the town of *St. Pierre*, both which, eſpecially the firſt, were regularly fortified. *Port-Royal* is the capital of the iſland, and is ſituated at the bottom of a bay of that name. As to the other defences of the iſland, they conſiſted of a body of regulars, then upon it, and a numerous well-diſciplined militia, which the *French* had always accounted to be invincible by all the force the *Engliſh* could bring againſt them; and, indeed, their government had ſpared no pains to render the iſland populous. They likewiſe could bring into the field a very conſiderable body of negroes, the beſt of any in the *Weſt-Indies*, becauſe well-affected to their maſters, moſt of them having been born upon the iſland; but, to the reproach of the *French* government, the place in all other reſpects was unprovided with neceſſaries, even to its wanting water and ammunition. At a place called *Caſenavire*, they had thrown up ſome intrenchments, thinking the deſcent would be attempted there. On the 15th of *January*, the *Britiſh*

Britiſh ſquadron entered the bay of *Port-Royal*, and was ſomewhat annoyed by a battery about half-way up the bay, from the little iſland of *Ranieres*. Upon the advance of the *Engliſh*, a *French* ſhip of 74 guns, and two frigates, put themſelves under the protection of the citadel; but the two frigates eſcaped in the night. The firſt operation of the *Engliſh* was to attack the battery of *Fort Negro*, which they ſoon maſtered, and then they deſtroyed the other battery at *Caſenavire*; upon which, the *French* troops, which had been drawn up to oppoſe the debarkation, retired to the citadel, and the *Engliſh* landed without any moleſtation, and took poſt in the iſland.

It happened fortunately for them, that the *French* general of the iſland had neither experience nor courage anſwerable to ſuch a command; and it was as fortunate for the iſlanders, that the *Britiſh* officers either had no good underſtanding among themſelves, or had formed no ſettled plan of operations; at leaſt it appears that they were entirely ignorant of the nature of the iſland they were attempting to reduce. The vivacity of the iſlanders ſupplied the defects of their general. They plied the *Engliſh* as they lay under arms all night from their muſketry, under the ſhelter of their woods. They had broken up all the roads, and next day, as the *Engliſh* advanced to an eminence called *Morne Tortneſon*, which overlooked the town and citadel of *Port-Royal*, they loſt abundance of men from the fire of the *French*, without being able to perceive from whence it came. Though this eminence was the moſt conſiderable poſt of the iſland, yet the *French* general had neglected to fortify it, and was preparing to blow up the fortifications of the citadel, when general *Hopſon* drew off from the attack, and all the *Britiſh* troops were reimbarked within leſs than four and twenty hours after their landing. The reaſon given for this unaccountable reſolution, was, that the troops could not advance regularly; and that the naval officers could not undertake to land the heavy artillery ſo near to the fort as the general required. It is ſaid, that when this reſolution was taken, the principal inhabitants found themſelves in ſo miſerable a ſituation, through their want of cannon and ammunition, and the cowardice of their general, that they were deliberating in the town-houſe of *Port-Royal* about ſending to the *Engliſh* terms of capitulation.

When the *Britiſh* troops were reimbarked, it was propoſed in a council of war to attack *St. Pierre*, where about forty ſail of merchant-ſhips lay at anchor in the bay. This propoſal was oppoſed by the *Britiſh* commodore for reaſons which operate equally againſt any enterprize of danger; and

he gave it as his opinion, that the armament ſhould proceed immediately to the reduction of *Guadalupe*; in the mean time, that no charge of backwardneſs might lie againſt him, he gave directions for ſounding the bay of *St. Pierre*. Captain *Jekyl*, in the *Rippon*, was at the ſame time ordered to ſilence a battery, about a mile and a half to the northward of *St. Pierre*, which he did very gallantly; but his ſhip received ſuch damage from two other batteries, and was in ſuch danger of running aground, that orders were given for towing her off. All thoughts of any operation being effectual againſt *Martinico* being now at an end, the armament directed its courſe towards the iſland of *Guadalupe*; an object not ſo ſplendid, but more important than *Martinico* itſelf. It is one of the *Caribbee Iſlands*, lying about thirty leagues to the weſtward of *Martinico*, and is about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; or, to ſpeak more exactly, the whole forms two iſlands, divided from one another by a ſalt water river, which is about 300 feet over where it is wideſt.

Expedition of the Engliſh *againſt* Guadaloupe.

THOUGH *Guadalupe* was one of the oldeſt ſettlements the *French* had in the *Weſt-Indies*, and its intrinſic value even exceeding that of *Martinico*, yet its importance was little known to the *French* themſelves till after the treaty of *Utrecht*, or to us till after we had conquered it. The expence which the *French* government had been at in ſettling and fortifying *Martinico*, and the private intereſts of their governors and creatures in the *Weſt-Indies*, rendered *Guadalupe* of little public conſideration compared to *Martinico*; and the people there could only trade with *Europe* but by the way of *Martinico*; ſo that the *Engliſh* in general imagined that all the rich produce of *Guadalupe*, in ſugars and other commodities that came to *Europe*, belonged to *Martinico*. The weſtern diviſion of *Guadalupe*, which is known by the name of *Baſſe Terre*, but commonly called *Guadalupe*, is its principal, and contains the metropolis, with a citadel and other fortifications. The eaſtern diviſion, which is called *Grand Terre*, has in it little or no freſh water; but it is defended by a fort and redoubt, called *Fort Lewis*, which commands the road of *Goſier*. No place in the world is better furniſhed with freſh water or rivers than the weſtern diviſion. *Guadalupe* abounds in high hills; of which one is a volcano, but preſents one of the moſt beautiful landſcapes to the eye that nature exhibits. The plains are fertile to profuſion in ſugar, cotton, coffee, indigo, and ginger. The air is remarkably ſalubrious for an iſland that lies between the tropics, and it is ſeldom mentioned but as being one of the moſt deſirable ſpots in the *Weſt-Indies*. Two ſmall iſlands, called *All Saints* and *Deſeada*, on

on the eaſtern ſide of *Guadalupe*, belong to its government; and beſides all the advantages we have already mentioned, the woods of the iſland produce great plenty of game, and the plains all kinds of roots and vegetables for the common uſes of life.

Conqueſt of Baſſe Terre.

IT was the 23d of *January* when the *Engliſh* fleet came before the town of *Baſſe Terre* (for ſo the capital of *Guadalupe* is called); and it was reſolved to attack the citadel, town, and other batteries, which all together compoſed a moſt formidable fortification, from the ſhips. Four large men of war were brought to bear upon the citadel, while the reſt were diſpoſed of ſo as to act againſt the town, and the batteries which oppoſed the landing. Captain *Trelawney*, in the *Lion*, began the engagement by attacking a battery of nine guns. It was not long before the firing became general and dreadful. It was inceſſant from nine in the morning till night; but, in the mean while, the continual ſhowers of bombs which ſeconded the cannonade, and which fell into the town, ſet it on fire; and the flames being encreaſed by the rich but combuſtible materials they met with in the warehouſes, nothing could be more dreadful than the proſpect it preſented all along the ſhore. Never did the commanders of an *Engliſh* fleet exert themſelves with more intrepidity, and at the ſame time with more judgment, than they did on this occaſion. The captains *Leſſie*, *Burnet*, *Gayton*, *Jekyl*, *Trelawney*, and *Shuldam*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in an extraordinary degree. The *Burford* and *Berwick* being driven to ſea, captain *Shuldam* in the *Panther* was for ſome time unſupported; and the ſhip of captain *Jekyl*, after ſilencing the guns of one of the forts, running aground, was for ſome time expoſed to a ſevere fire of muſketry from a numerous and reſolute militia, which lined the ſhore, and who, bringing up an eighteen-pound cannon, muſt have deſtroyed the ſhip, had not captain *Leſſie*, in the *Briſtol*, ran between it and the battery, and thereby ſaved her. Towards night, all the guns of the citadel and batteries were ſilenced; and at five in the afternoon next day, the *Britiſh* troops, after their ſhips had taken many of thoſe of their enemies, who endeavoured to make their eſcape, landed and took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. It is ſaid, that this ſucceſs was not a little owing to the wiſdom of the *Britiſh* commodore, who, by ſhifting his flag into the *Woolwich* frigate, and by keeping aloof without gun-ſhot, that he might give directions with the greater coolneſs, taught the officers under him that prudence ought to unite with courage in the character of a commander in chief.

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A *GENOESE* deſerter, who fell into the hands of the *Britiſh* troops, informed them, that the regulars upon the iſland did not exceed 100 men, who had retired with ſo much precipitation, that they could not execute a deſign they had of blowing up the powder-magazine in the citadel, which was accordingly ſaved, and moſt of the enemy's great guns were rendered ſerviceable by the matroſſes, who drilled out the nails with which they had been ſpiked. But the taking of *Baſſe Terre* was far from reducing the iſland, the nature of which was ſuch, that it might have been defended foot by foot. When *Baſſe Terre* was no longer tenable, the governor, *Nadau D'Etreil*, retired with about 2000 of the inhabitants and the armed negroes to the ſtrong paſſes, particularly one in the mountains, called *Dos d'Ane*, the *Aſs's Back*, which was deemed impregnable, and the moſt important in the iſland, as it opened a communication with *Capeſterre*, the principal and moſt beautiful diſtrict of all *Guadalupe*. Here they aſſembled, and the governor gave out that he would defend it to extremity. The *Britiſh* commanders, being informed of the enemy's ſituation, ſent a flag of truce with offers of capitulation to the governor. His anſwer was, that they were not to form a judgment of the ſtrength of the iſland from the facility with which they had reduced *Baſſe Terre* and its citadel; and that if they proceeded to unwarrantable extremities, he had a maſter powerful enough to revenge them.

Cowardice of the French governor,

THIS behaviour of *D'Etreil* carried with it a ſhew of reſolution; but his cowardly retiring from the defence of *Baſſe Terre*, and his ſubſequent conduct, ſufficiently evinced the ſmall attention the *French* court had paid to the choice of their *Weſt-Indian* governors. His cowardice was partly ſupplied by the ſpirit and reſolution of the inhabitants and militia. Both they and their armed negroes kept up from their woods a conſtant fire upon the ſcouting parties of the *Engliſh*, even while their habitations were all on fire round them, and were not afraid of even encountering them upon an equality. A lady of fortune, one *Ducharmey*, ſignalized herſelf in perſon, at the head of her negroes, and obliged the *Engliſh*, who loſt twelve ſoldiers, beſides thirty who were wounded in the attack, to ſtorm the intrenchments ſhe had thrown up in defence of her eſtate. It was now the 6th of *February*, and the reduction of the iſland ſeemed ſtill to be at a great diſtance. The iſlanders had formed a moſt ſenſible plan of defence, which was, to take every advantage of the ſtrength and knowledge they had of the ground, by cutting off their enemies whenever they ſaw an opportunity. They knew, at the ſame time, that the *Britiſh* army was ſickly,

and courage of a lady.

and but indifferently furniſhed with proviſions; ſo that above 500 were obliged to be ſent ſick from their hoſpitals, which were too crouded to contain them, to the iſland of *Antigua*; and they ſhewed ſo much reſolution in all encounters, that the *Engliſh* officers reſolved to ſhift their ſcene of action to *Grand Terre*, to which their great ſhips were accordingly ſent round; and a body of their marines and highlanders, after a ſevere cannonading and driving the *French* ſword in hand from their intrenchments, took poſſeſſion of *Fort Lewis*.

SOME days after this, *viz.* on the 27th of *February*, major-general *Hopſon* died at *Baſſe Terre*, and was ſucceeded in the chief command of the army by general *Barrington*, an officer of far greater enterprize and activity. The commodore had ordered two ſhips of war to cruize off the *Dutch* iſland of *St. Euſtatia*, and to intercept all the ſupplies and proviſions with which thoſe mercenary republicans had hitherto furniſhed the inhabitants of *Guadalupe*. *Barrington*, on the firſt day of his command, ordered the *Britiſh* troops to ſtrike their tents, the better to amuſe the enemy; and, in a few days after, he recalled his detachments from their advanced poſts, and ordered the batteries in and about *Baſſe Terre* to be blown up. The army was then reimbarked; but colonel *Debriſay* was left with a regiment and a detachment of artillery in the citadel of *Baſſe Terre*. This diſpoſition had all the effects which the *Britiſh* general had foreſeen. The enemy, deceived by the reimbarkation of the troops, attacked the citadel, and were preparing to beſiege it in form, when the brave colonel *Debriſay*, major *Trollop*, a lieutenant, with ſome bombardiers and ſoldiers, were unfortunately blown up by the exploſion of a powder-magazine, which damaged the ſouth-eaſt baſtion of the citadel. Upon this accident, the enemy redoubled their attacks upon the fortifications, but were conſtantly repulſed; and general *Barrington*, underſtanding what had happened, ſent major *Melvil*, an officer of great merit, to ſucceed *Debriſay* in the command of the citadel, and the chief engineer to repair the damage that had been done to its works.

CERTAIN intelligence by this time was come, that M. *de Bompart*, a *French* admiral, with eight ſail of the line, and three frigates, and a large body of land-forces, were arrived at *Martinico*, where they lay at anchor in the bay of *Port-Royal*. Upon this, Mr. *Moore* called in his cruizers, and ſet ſail for the bay of *Dominica*, an iſland about nine leagues diſtant to the windward from *Guadalupe*, leaving general *Barrington* with the tranſports, and no more than one forty-gun ſhip for their protection, while he reſumed his operations againſt

againſt *Guadalupe*. Mr. *Moore*'s taking his ſtation at *Dominica*, inſtead of ſailing directly to *Martinico*, where he might either have fought the enemy's ſquadron, or blocked it up, occaſioned many ſpeculations, eſpecially as he left the ſeas open to the *French* privateers, who, on that occaſion, carried prizes into *Martinico* above fourſcore *Britiſh* ſhips.

Gradual conqueſt of all Guadalupe.

GENERAL *Barrington*, in the mean while, knew what his country expected from the armament under his command, and ordered 600 men to make a new deſcent upon *Grand Terre*, under colonel *Crump*, who landed between the towns of *St. Anne* and *St. Francis*. Another detachment of 300 men landed, and, after a vigorous reſiſtance, deſtroyed the battery and entrenchment that defended the town of *Goſier*, and drove its garriſon into the woods. The detachments then forced their way to *Fort Lewis*, where an *Engliſh* garriſon ſtill continued, and which was ordered to ſally out to favour their attempt; in which they ſucceeded with ſome loſs and difficulty. Thus far the way was cleared towards a final reduction of the iſland, which ſtill ſeemed to be at a great diſtance; and the general ordered the colonels *Crump* and *Clavering* to attempt ſurpriſing all at once the three towns of *Petitbourg*, *Gonoyave*, and *St. Mary*'s, ſituated on the *Baſſe-Terre* ſide of the iſland. This deſign, though well laid, miſcarried, partly through the tempeſtuouſneſs of a dark night, and partly through a panic which ſeized their negroe conductors, who ran their flat-bottom boats upon ſhoals. This diſappointment was far from daunting the ardour of the *Britiſh* general and officers, who ſhewed an alacrity hardly to be paralleled under ſuch difficulties and diſcouragements as they had to encounter. Some freſh volunteers had, by this time, landed from *Barbados* and the other *Engliſh* iſlands, and general *Barrington* detached the ſame, two colonels with them, and about 1300 more men, to land in a bay under the protection of the *Woolwich* man of war, near the town of *Arnonville*, which lies at the bottom of the little *Cul de Sac*.

THE abſence of the *Britiſh* fleet at *Dominica*, was, at this time, ſenſibly felt by our troops, as the communication between *Guadaloupe* and *St. Euſtatia* was again open, and furniſhed the iſlanders with ſupplies of all kinds. They had foreſeen the deſcent near *Arnonville*, but had thrown up a very ſtrong entrenchment at a poſt behind the river *Le Corne*, which covered the bay *Mahaut*, where their ſuccours from *St. Euſtatia* landed. The enemy had neglected nothing that could improve by art the natural ſtrength of this poſt, upon which, indeed, the defence of their iſland chiefly depended, and which, perhaps, no troops in the world but *Britiſh* could

ould have maſtered with ſo inconſiderable a force. *Duroure's* ciment and the highlanders advanced with the greateſt ntrepidity and coolneſs to attack it, under the fire of four ield-pieces and two howitzers. The enemy had no idea of uch reſolution, and the aſſailants drove them from their enrenchments on the left, with vaſt rapidity, into the redoubt, which they became maſters of. The *French* made a better ſtand within their entrenchments on the right, where they were well provided with cannon and muſketry; but the *Engliſh* paſſing the river on that ſide upon an occaſional bridge, they were driven from that poſt likewiſe, and about ſeventy of them, among whom were ſome of their chief planters, were made priſoners; while the *Engliſh* had two officers and thirteen men killed, and about fifty wounded: and the truth is, when we conſider the difficulties of the ſervice, and the reſolution of the enemy, the loſs of our troops on this expedition was but very inconſiderable.

PETITBOURG was next to be attacked; and though the banks of the river *Lizard* were ſtrongly fortified by entrenchments and cannon, colonel *Clavering* forced them, and purſued the enemy to *Petitbourg*, from whence he likewiſe drove them by the aſſiſtance of captain *Uvedale* of the *Granada* bomb-ketch. So many dreadful blows ſeemed to have ſtunned the *French*, who, on the 15th of *April*, abandoned the ſtrong poſt of *Gonoyave*, which, had it been well defended, was next to inacceſſible. This important poſt being gained, colonel *Crump* proceeded with 700 men to the town of *Mahaut*, lying upon the bay of that name. A magazine of ſtores from *St. Euſtatia* lay there; all which he ſeized, and burnt the place. On the 20th of the ſame month, colonel *Clavering* made two diſpoſitions of the detachment under his command, one under colonel *Barlow* to attack the enemy, who were aſſembled at *St. Mary*, in the rear; and another under himſelf for forcing their entrenchments, within which, it was given out, they were to make their laſt ſtand for the iſland. The *French* every where gave way to colonel *Barlow*, and retiring into their lines at St. *Mary*, when they ſaw the *Engliſh* endeavouring to turn them, abandoned them likewiſe to oppoſe their enemy upon equal terms; but they were ſoon defeated by a galling fire from the *Britiſh* muſketry, whoſe commanders beat them out of all their works, obliged them to abandon their artillery, and took up their quarters for the ſame night within the lines of St. *Mary*. Nothing was now left to the inhabitants but to obtain as good a capitulation as they could; and, while they were drawing up the terms,

terms, the *Engliſh* troops entered without reſiſtance the country of *Capeſterre*, the principal diviſion of the iſland, where one planter ſurrendered himſelf with no fewer than 870 negroes that belonged to his own eſtate; and his example was followed by many other chief inhabitants.

Terms of the capitulation it obtained.

Two *French* gentlemen *Clainvilliers* and *Duqueruy*, were choſen by the latter as their deputies, for ſettling the terms of the capitulation for the inhabitants, and were conducted by colonel *Clavering* to general *Barrington*, who then was at *Petitbourg*. The general, and the chief *Britiſh* officers, were not at this time, as the event ſhewed, without ſome well-grounded apprehenſions of the iſlanders receiving ſuccours from the *French* armament that had lately arrived at *Martinico*. Every hour was diminiſhing the ſmall number of *Britiſh* troops, who continued ſtill unprotected by their ſquadron; and, conſidering the natural ſtrength of the iſland, it was hard to ſay what the event might be, if the inhabitants were driven to deſpair. The two deputies were authorized to treat by *D'Etreil*, whoſe commiſſion, as governor, included *Guadaloupe*, *Grand Terre*, *Deſeada*, and the *Saintes*. Very little difficulty attended the ſettling the capitulation: the honours of war were granted to the governor, who with the other regular officers, the commiſſary-general, and the officers of the admiralty, were to be ſent to *Martinico*; and ſuch of them as had eſtates upon the iſland, were at liberty to appoint attornies to act for them; and in caſe the iſland ſhould be left to *Great-Britain* by a peace, they had leave to ſell their eſtates, and to carry off the produce; that all the armed negroes ſhould be ſent off the iſland, with all privateers-men, deſerters, and the like; and that the iſland, with all magazines of proviſion, ammunition, and implements of war, with the papers relating to the revenue, ſhould be immediately delivered up to the *Engliſh*.

BESIDES thoſe articles, which related only to the military and royal eſtabliſhment of the iſland, another capitulation was drawn up for the inhabitants of the iſland, repreſented by Meſſ. *Debourg*, *De Clainvilliers* and *Duqueruy*, and authorized by *D'Etreil*. This capitulation was of more importance than the former; and the inhabitants, in conſideration of the brave defence they had made, during an attack of three months, had the moſt honourable terms granted them. They were allowed the free and public exerciſe of their religion; and the prieſts and religious were to be preſerved in their pariſhes, convents, and all other poſſeſſions. The inhabitants were not to be obliged to ſerve in arms againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and were to be indulged in the

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continuance of their own civil government, and in the poſſeſſion of all their properties and privileges. They were to be ſubject to no impoſts but thoſe they had paid under the *French* government, unleſs the iſland was finally ceded to his *Britannic* majeſty; in which caſe, they were to pay the ſame taxes and impoſts as were paid by the *Engliſh Leeward-Iſlands*. All their priſoners were to be exchanged, and their free mulattoes and negroes were to be conſidered as priſoners of war. None but the inhabitants, actually reſident upon the iſland, were to poſſeſs any lands or houſes, by purchaſe, grant, or otherwiſe, before a peace; but if at the peace the iſland ſhould be ceded to the king of *Great-Britain*, then ſuch of the inhabitants as do not chuſe to live under the *Engliſh* government, ſhall be permitted to ſell their poſſeſſions, moveable and immoveable, to whom they will, and retire wherever they pleaſe; for which purpoſe there ſhall be a reaſonable time allowed. This article, which was the eleventh of the capitulation, was granted; but the abſentees were at liberty to ſell only to *Britiſh* ſubjects. By the 14th article, however, they were to have all the profits of their eſtates, which they were left at freedom to manage by their attornies. By the 20th article it was provided, that the *Engliſh* government ſhall procure for the inhabitants an exportation for ſuch commodities as the iſland produces, and are not permitted to be imported into *England*. The 21ſt article, which was of the moſt importance, ran as follows: "The inhabitants and merchants of this iſland, included in the preſent capitulation, ſhall enjoy all the privileges of trade, and upon the ſame conditions as are granted to his *Britannic* majeſty's ſubjects throughout the extent of his dominions". This article was granted, with an exception to the privileges of particular companies in *England*, and to the laws there, which prohibit the carrying on trade in any other than *Engliſh* bottoms.

SUCH are the material articles which were complained of by the people of *Barbados*, and their correſpondents in *England*, as being too favourable to the *French* ſugar-trade. But the wiſdom of granting the capitulation was evinced in a few minutes after it was ſigned, when a meſſenger came into the camp of the iſlanders, informing them, that M. *de Beauharnois*, general of the *French* iſlands, had landed under convoy of *Bompart*'s ſquadron, with a reinforcement of 600 regular troops, about 2000 buccaneers, or rather free-booters, and a vaſt quantity of arms and ammunition, for the relief of the iſland. The ſame hour, however, brought advice, that the *French* officers, hearing of the capitulation being ſigned, inſtantly reimbarked their men and their ſtores, and ſailed back

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to *Martinico*. Few hiſtories afford inſtances of ſo critical a tranſaction as this capitulation proved to be. The inhabitants were far from being diminiſhed in their numbers, and would have ſtill found reſources in their courage and the natural ſtrength of their iſland, had they not been diſpirited by the cowardice and miſconduct of their governor and military officers. If the ſuccours from *Martinico* had arrived but one hour ſooner, it is probable they would have baffled all the power of the *Britiſh* troops that were upon the iſland, notwithſtanding the incredible efforts of courage and military conduct they had exerted. As to the diſappointment the people of *Barbados* met with, however great it was, after their ſervices in promoting the expedition, it did not weigh againſt the vaſt national advantages which attended the conqueſt.

Merits of the Barbadians.

IT is certain, that many thought the public ſpirit they diſcovered on this occaſion, was not a little influenced by inſular conſiderations. They had long felt the vaſt progreſs which *Guadalupe* had made in the ſugar-trade, and which, when compared to that of their own iſland, might be conſidered as only in its infancy. The ſoil of *Barbados* in many places was worn out; it no where retained its original fertility, and required great expences to keep it in good condition. Many of their planters were in hopes of being able to make advantageous ſettlements under the government in *Guadalupe*, and were in a condition to have purchaſed them; in which caſe, their eſtates in *Barbados* would have acquired time for reſt, and for recovering their fertility (T). They were diſappointed in all thoſe views by the critical capitulation of *Guadalupe*, which at that time was ſaid to produce as much ſugar as *Barbados* and all the other *Engliſh* ſugar-iſlands.

Farther conqueſts.

No ſooner was the return of *Bompart*'s ſquadron to *Martinico* known, when the inhabitants of *Guadalupe* left the *Dos d'Ane*, and the *Engliſh* generouſly aſſiſted them in the repairing the devaſtations of *Baſſe Terre*, and in erecting huts for their ſhelter, till their houſes could be rebuilt. After this, the iſlands of *Saintes* and *Deſeada*, with *Petitterre*, accepted of the ſame capitulation which had been granted to *Guadalupe*. The inhabitants of *Marigalante*, an iſland lying about three

(T) The whole of this reaſoning, though very plauſible at the time, is extremely queſtionable, when we conſider the vaſt quantities of ſugar-grounds which the *French* had in *St. Domingo* and other iſlands, which would be eaſily employed for that culture.

leagues

leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of *Grand Terre*, refuſing to accept of the ſame terms, the general ſent thither a body of troops, with three ſhips of war and two bomb-veſſels, which took them under convoy at *Prince Rupert's Bay*, where commodore *Moore* then was; and the appearance of this armament ſoon reduced the inhabitants to reaſon. All this while, the operations of the *Britiſh* fleet under commodore *Moore* were not a little unaccountable; for though he had undoubted intelligence, while he lay in *Prince Rupert's Bay*, of *Bompart's* having ſailed to the relief of *Guadalupe*, and though, upon that, he returned to the windward, yet he afterwards fell to the leeward; by which the two ſquadrons never met, and Mr. *Moore*, at laſt, receiving advice of *Bompart's* ſafe return to *Martinico*, repaired to his former ſtation in the bay. The conqueſt of *Guadalupe* being finiſhed, colonel *Crumpe*, who had greatly contributed to it, was left governor of the iſland, colonel *Melvil* had the government of the citadel of *Baſſe Terre*, and colonel *Delgarno* commanded at *Grand Terre*. Three regiments were left upon the iſland, and the reſt of the troops were reimbarked, ſome for *North America*, and others for *England*.

Examination of Mr. Moore's conduct.

HAVING thus finiſhed our hiſtory of the reduction of *Guadalupe*, upon the authorities of the *London Gazette* and other accounts, which were, at that time, looked upon as unqueſtionable, we ſhall, in juſtice to commodore *Moore*, inſert ſome of his obſervations, tending to clear up his conduct, which he thought had been too virulently attacked by the people of *Barbados*; becauſe he had been active in preventing the pernicious trade which many of them had carried on, by ſupplying with ſtores and proviſions[r], the privateers of *Martinico*, without which they could not have fitted out their ſhips; eſpecially as Mr. *Moore*, by the diſpoſition of his cruizers, had cut off all communication between *St. Euſtatia* and *Martinico*. Mr. *Moore* alledges, that had his advice been taken, the iſland of *Guadalupe* muſt have been much ſooner reduced than it was; and he endeavours not only to clear himſelf from every charge of being backward in the ſervice, but affirms, that the expedition againſt *Guadalupe* was owing to his advice, which was founded on the thorough knowledge he had of the (till then concealed) importance of that iſland. We ſhall omit ſome other obſervations of leſs conſequence, which Mr. *Moore* has made upon the publiſhed narratives of this expedition. He juſtifies himſelf for ſhifting

[r] Continuation of SMOLLETT's Hiſtory of England, Vol. IV. p. 451, &c.

his flag on board the *Woolwich* frigate, by the requeſt of the general, who was in the ſame frigate, and deſired him to be preſent, that they might adviſe together; and in the papers he communicated on that head, he ſeems to have had a very mean opinion of the courage of the inhabitants of *Guadalupe*. But as there appears in the papers and obſervations that have been publiſhed in his name, an evident tendency towards depreciating the merits of the land-ſervice, we can ſay nothing as to that, and ſeveral other allegations. As to his ſailing to the bay of *Dominica* upon receiving intelligence of M. *Bompart*'s arrival at *Martinico*[a], though we are no judges of naval operations, yet conſidering the vaſt importance of deſtroying *Bompart*'s ſquadron, we can by no means think them ſatisfactory, unleſs the commodore had advanced ſome other arguments beſides his bare opinion, that *Bompart* could not have been attacked in the bay of *Port-Royal*. The conſequence diſcovered, that the not attacking him there, or the ſhutting him up behind the careenage, hazarded the ſucceſs of the whole expedition, becauſe if *Bompart* had ſailed an hour or two before he did, in all probability it had been ruined; an event of a too dreadful importance to be left to chance, or to the precarious foreſight of an officer. The commodore denies, that when colonel *Crumpe* burned the town of *Mahaut*, that any proviſions had been landed there ſince the firſt invaſion of the iſland, which was owing to the good look-out of his cruizers, and which, he ſays, obliged a trader of *St. Euſtatia* to offer to ſell him 10,000 barrels of beef, which he intended for the *French* market. We apprehend there is little force in this argument, excepting what is due to, the credibility of the commodore's own information; becauſe the ſtores ſaid to be found there by colonel *Crumpe* might have been amaſſed before the attack of the iſland. He pretends, that the troops who were landed by *Beauharnois* did not exceed 600 blacks and whites, and thoſe in a wretched condition, and that by landing his marines on the back of them, they might all of them have been taken priſoners; adding, that the buccaneers exiſted no where but in imagination, as the date of thoſe adventurers expired above fifty years before this period. All this depends likewiſe upon the commodore's ſingle aſſertion. He takes no notice of the arms and ammunition that were landed at the ſame time, and we have ſubſtituted the word free-booters, inſtead of buccaneers, which entirely removes his objection to their real exiſtence. That ſuch a landing was effected is undoubted; and when we reflect

[a] Ibid p. 458.

upon

upon the ſpirit ſhewn by the inhabitants, and that they were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the *Dos d'Ane*, and ſeveral other ſtrong poſts of the iſland, neither the commodore nor any other man can ſay what the conſequence might have been, had not the capitulation been ſigned. With regard to the other parts of the commodore's defence of his conduct, they do not come under our cognizance, as we do not pretend to pronounce upon the prudence of an officer, nor the operations of a ſailor.

Hiſtory of the conqueſt of Martinico.

THE next great expedition which ſailed from *Barbados*, and to which the inhabitants of that iſland contributed in a moſt eminent degree, was that to *Martinico*. No attempt had been made by the *Engliſh* government from the time that *Guadalupe* and its neighbouring iſlands had been reduced, to the period when it was more than ſuſpected that a family compact had been entered into between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, with a view principally of diſtreſſing *Great Britain*. It was then foreſeen that a rupture between her and *Spain* was unavoidable, and that ſhe was conſequently under the neceſſity of reducing *Martinico*, before ſhe could be in condition to attack *Spain* in her *Weſt-Indies*, in caſe a war with that nation ſhould ſucceed. From this conſideration, the court of *Great Britain* came to a reſolution of ſending to the *Weſt-Indies* an armament ſuperior to any that had ever been ſeen in thoſe ſeas, and that it ſhould rendezvous at *Barbados*; and the government and adminiſtration of that iſland having received proper notice of this intention, exerted themſelves as they had done before in the expedition againſt *Guadalupe*, in contributing all they could to the ſucceſs of the undertaking. The war againſt the *French* in *North America*, having in the year 1761, been deciſively finiſhed in favour of *Great Britain*, it was reſolved to employ all the troops that could be ſpared, after the reduction of *Canada*, upon the expedition againſt *Martinico*, which the *French* affected to ſay was impregnable to the *Britiſh* arms, and had already repelled their utmoſt efforts. Eleven battalions were drawn from *New York*; a conſiderable draught was made from the garriſon of *Belleiſle*, and all the troops that had been cantoned in the *Leeward Iſlands* were ordered to the rendezvous at *Barbados*; and general *Monckton*, who had ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the conqueſt of *Quebec*, was appointed to the command of the land-forces, while rear-admiral *Rodney* was to command the marine.

MR. *Rodney* ſailed in 1761 from *England*; but ſoon after his departure he was ſeparated from the reſt of his ſquadron in a hard gale of wind. After his arrival at *Barbados*

on the 22d of *November*, he was by degrees rejoined by them, and by the 9th of *December*, all his ſhips were reaſſembled. By the 14th of *December*, all the troops arrived from *Belleiſle*; and by the 24th, general *Monckton* landed with all the *North American* forces. Some days were ſpent in watering the ſhips and recruiting the men, in which the inhabitants of *Barbados* contributed all that was in their power. On the 7th of *January*, the whole armament arrived off *Martinico* at *St. Anne's Bay*, where Sir *James Douglas*, a captain under Mr. *Rodney*, ſilenced ſome batteries that were raiſed on the ſhore. In this ſervice, the *Engliſh* loſt the *Raiſonable*; but all her men, guns, and ſtores, were ſaved. After beating about for ſome time for a ſafe landing-place, *Cas de Navires* was pitched upon, and the ſhips having ſilenced all the batteries there, the troops landed without oppoſition, and without the loſs of a man, on the 16th. Several ſkirmiſhes paſſed after their landing, but to the diſadvantage of the *French*, ſome of whom were killed. The *Engliſh* encamped upon the heights above the *Cas de Navires*; but upon examining the country, they found it ſtronger, and more inacceſſible than *Guadalupe*. The grounds were interſected with gullies and ravines, with rivulets between them at certain diſtances; and wherever they were paſſable, the *French* had erected batteries to defend them. Though the regulars upon the iſland were not very formidable, yet the militia, as alſo their mulattoes and negroes, were numerous, brave, and well-diſciplined, and all of them in arms. The *Engliſh* happened to land at a place where thoſe obſtructions were greater than any where elſe in the iſland. The eyes of their army were bounded by two great eminences, *Morne Tortenſon*, and *Morne Garnier*, both of them fortified with the utmoſt care, though they ſeemed almoſt inacceſſible by nature. *Morne Tortenſon* was the firſt to be attacked, and batteries were raiſed to defend the *Britiſh* troops in their paſſing a very wide gully, lying between them and it. Three diſpoſitions were made for the attack. It was begun by the grenadiers under major *Grant*; brigadier *Rufane* with his diviſion, aſſiſted by 1000 ſeamen in flat-bottomed boats, fell upon the enemy's redoubts along the ſhore; and brigadier *Walſh* with his brigade and the light-infantry, under colonel *Scott*, after attacking the left of a plantation, were to endeavour to get round the enemy. All thoſe operations were performed with aſtoniſhing impetuoſity and ſucceſs. The attack began at break of day, and by nine in the morning, the enemy having been driven from poſt to poſt, were obliged to abandon *Morne Tortenſon* to the *Engliſh*, who were to the laſt degree amazed.

The vaſt difficulties attending it.

zed upon viewing its ſtrength and ſituation, at the dangers they had ſurmounted, and the numerous redoubts of the *French*, all of them mounted with cannon. The enemy, after ſuffering ſeverely, eſpecially from the grenadiers, fled, part of them to *Morne Garnier*, and part of them to *Fort Royal*, the *Britiſh* grenadiers purſuing them to the bridge of that place, where they even made ſome priſoners.

AFTER this, the general took poſſeſſion of certain poſts that were proper for carrying on the attack againſt *Morne Garnier*; and on the 25th, he began to erect batteries on *Morne Tortenſon* for carrying on that againſt *Fort Royale*: but here the troops were galled from *Morne Garnier*, and reduced the general to the neceſſity of erecting batteries to the left, to ſilence thoſe of the enemy, and to cover the paſſage of the troops over a ravine. It muſt be acknowledged, that had the *French* kept upon the defenſive, had they been commanded by brave and ſteady officers, under a reſolute and experienced general, it would have been extremely difficult for the *Britiſh* troops to have ſurmounted the dangers that now lay before them. But on the 27th, the *French* preſuming that their enemies were entirely diſcouraged and diſpirited, and that they wanted only a pretext to make the beſt of their way back to their ſhips, attacked the *Britiſh* light infantry, and colonel *Haviland*'s brigade. Here fortune moſt ſurprizingly ſeconded the ardour and intrepidity of our troops, to whom nothing could have happened of ſuch advantage as this attack. They repelled their enemies, they improved their own defenſive ſituation into a moſt vigorous charge, and being well ſupported, purſued the enemy acroſs the ravine, where they ſeized their batteries, and took poſt even in the enemy's redoubts; and this rout was ſo happily improved, that by nine at night, *Morne Garnier*, with all its works, was in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*.

NOTHING but the want of proper officers could have induced the *French* to make ſo ill-judged an attack, and ſo diſaſtrous a retreat; for they left a mortar loaded, and their guns unſpiked, beſides ammunition and proviſion in the hands of the *Engliſh*. But general *Monckton* was now preparing to batter the citadel of *Fort Royal* from the eminences he had gained; which the enemy perceiving, their deſpondency became as great as their preſumption had been before. On the evening of the 3d of *February*, they beat the chamade, and accepted of a capitulation, by which the garriſon was ſent to *Rochfort* in *France*; but the militia and freeholders, with all others in arms upon the iſland, were to remain priſoners of war, till the fate of the iſland was determined. *Account of its capitulations,*

mined. In conſequence of this capitulation, which was not more fortunate than unexpected, the *Britiſh* troops took immediate poſſeſſion of the citadel. The conduct of M. *De la Touche*, the governor-general of the iſland, was equally abſurd and unaccountable. He had abandoned the citadel of *Fort-Royal*, at a time when it was very defenſible; and retired with his remaining regulars to *St. Pierre*, the principal town upon the iſland, with a ſullen kind of defiance both to the *French* and the *Engliſh*; and he ſeemed to diſdain having any correſpondence with the latter ſo much, that he did not ſend to enquire about his priſoners, or his dead or wounded. The iſlanders perceiving the amazing progreſs of the *Britiſh* arms, and that they were, in a manner, abandoned by their governor, ſent deputations from all quarters of the iſland to capitulate againſt his expreſs order; and a capitulation was accordingly ſettled between their excellencies Meſſ. *Monckton* and *Rodney*, generals by land and ſea of his *Britannic* majeſty, and the inhabitants of the iſland of *Martinico*; repreſented by Meſſieurs *D'Aleſſo*, Seig. *Defragny la Pierre*, captain of horſe, and *Fereyre*, captain of infantry of militia, furniſhed with full powers from nine quarters of the iſland. By this capitulation, the inhabitants were to march out of their poſts with the honours of war, but afterwards were to give up their arms. They were to have the free exerciſe of their religion, nor were they to be obliged to take arms againſt the *French* king; and they were to live as *Britiſh* ſubjects, under their own civil government, till his *Britannic* majeſty's pleaſure was known. They were, the religious as well as laity, to be ſecured in all their property, and to be put on the footing of the other *Engliſh* ſubjects in the *Leward Iſlands*. If the iſland was ceded to *Great-Britain*, the inhabitants, who choſe it, were at liberty to diſpoſe of their eſtates to *Britiſh* ſubjects; their trade was to be continued; and, upon very moderate conditions, they were allowed to make white and clayed ſugars.

By this time *Pidgeon-Iſland* ſurrendered, which, according to Mr. *Rodney* (U), gave the *Engliſh* forces poſſeſſion of the nobleſt and beſt harbour in theſe parts of the *Weſt-Indies*. *De la Touche* ſtill continued to make a ſhew as if he would defend *St. Pierre*; and diſapproved of the capitulation made by the other inhabitants. Mr. *Rodney* was juſt about to embark to reduce this ſtubborn governor-general, when the prin-

(U) See copy of a letter from rear-admiral *Rodney* to Mr. *Clevland*, dated in *Fort Royal Bay, Martinico, February* 20, 1762.

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cipal inhabitants of the iſland, ſeeing how irreſiſtible the *Britiſh* arms were, and reaſonably apprehending that if matters came to extremity, they might loſe the benefits of the capitulations which had been granted to the reſt of the iſland, forced him, in a manner, to ſend two deputies to *Fort Royal*, where the *Britiſh* general was, and where they arrived on the 12th of *February*, with an offer of a capitulation for the whole iſland on the part of the governor-general. Mr. *Monckton* ſent back his anſwer to theſe propoſals, and on the 14th, the capitulation arrived ſigned. The *French* governor-general ſtruggled hard for a ſuſpenſion of arms for fourteen days; and after that, if no *French* ſuccours arrived in the iſland, the capitulation was to take place: but this was denied him, and he was obliged to put the whole iſland, with all its forts and poſts, into the immediate poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* troops. In other reſpects, this capitulation did not much differ from that already granted. The governor-general deſired with all his garriſon, ſome cannon, and arms, to be ſent to the *Grenades*; but they were ſent to *France*. *De la Touche*, in this capitulation, employed much art and chicanery to obtain ſome articles, by which the *Engliſh* government might have been loaded with the *French* king's debts to private perſons; and a road might have been opened to ſuch colluſive practices as might have greatly diminiſhed the value of the conqueſt; but all thoſe artifices were ſeen through, and rejected in the capitulation. *La Touche*, it ſeems, had a ſuſpicion of a ſecret correſpondence being carried on between the *Engliſh* and ſome of the inhabitants of the place, and therefore he demanded five of the latter to be delivered up to him; but his requeſt was refuſed, becauſe they had, by the former capitulations, been taken under the *Britiſh* protection. *and final conqueſt.*

THUS the whole iſland of *Martinico*, the capital of the *French* trade and dominions in the *Weſt-Indies*, was reduced to the ſubjection of *Great-Britain*. It is not to be denied, that during the whole of this expedition, the people of *Barbados* had great merit in diligently ſupplying the fleet and army with all the proviſions which their iſland afforded. The officers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt in this glorious reduction, were the brigadiers *Haviland*, *Grant*, *Rufane*, lord *Rollo*, and *Walſh*; the lieutenant colonels *Fletcher*, *Maſſey*, *Vaughan*, and *Scot*; major *Leland*, and captain *Kennedy*. The entire reduction of this iſland coſt the *French* above 5000 of their beſt men, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. The loſs of the *Britiſh* troops, conſidering the nature of the ſervice, was ſurpriſingly ſmall. No more than ſeven

officers were killed, and about 100 common men, and about 350 upon the whole were wounded. This expedition was diſtinguiſhed above all that ever had gone from *Great-Britain*, by the unanimity which prevailed between the officers and men of the ſea and land-ſervice.

The other French Caribbees reduced.

DURING the reduction of *Martinico*, Mr. *Rodney* had made proper diſpoſitions for reducing all the reſt of the *French Caribbee-Iſlands*. That of *St. Lucia* ſurrendered to captain *Harvey*, with a very conſiderable quantity of ordnance, powder, and military ſtores. The iſland of St. *Vincent*, at the ſame time, was very cloſely blocked up, and commodore *Swanton* was detached with a ſquadron, which had on board a detachment of land-forces under major-general *Walch*, to reduce *Granada*. All thoſe undertakings ſucceeded without any effuſion of blood. The iſland of *Grenada*, and the fort upon it, which was very ſtrong, ſurrendered upon the ſame terms that had been granted to the inhabitants of *Martinico*; and to this deſirable event, the fame of the *Britiſh* clemency did not a little contribute. The *Grenadillas*, with the iſland of *St. Vincent*, underwent the ſame fate. Thoſe conqueſts were the more important, on account of the period at which they were obtained; for the very day of the ſurrender of *Granada*, which was the 5th of *March*, the moſt powerful armament that ever went from *England* to the *Weſt-Indies*, ſailed from *Portſmouth*, to reduce the *Havannah*, which muſt have been next to impracticable, had the *French* remained in poſſeſſion of *Martinico*, and their other *Caribbee-Iſlands*. The people of *Barbados* had undoubtedly formed to themſelves very ſanguine hopes of wealth and commerce upon their mother-country becoming miſtreſs of all the *French Caribbees*. A number of adventurers, ſome of them with very conſiderable ſtocks, had of late offered to ſettle on their iſland; but they could neither get employment, nor lands to cultivate, the ſoil being improved to the utmoſt, and therefore they were obliged to remove to other *Britiſh* iſlands or ſettlements, and many of them, particularly thoſe from *Ireland*, are ſaid to have ſettled upon the *French* part of *Hiſpaniola*. It was on the other hand eaſily to be foreſeen, that had the *Engliſh* kept poſſeſſion of *Guadaloupe*, *Martinico*, and the other iſlands they conquered, great numbers of the *French*, from their attachment to their religion and government, would gladly have diſpoſed of their eſtates to *Britiſh* ſubjects, the *Barbadians* eſpecially, which would have given the latter an opportunity of extending their commerce to an inconceivable degree. But the peace of *Fontainbleau*, in the beginning of the year 1763, deſtroyed all their expectations. It long remained

mained a doubt with the government of *England*, whether they ought to give up the conqueſts they had made over the *French* on the continent of *America*, or thoſe in the *Weſt-Indies*. Many reaſons determined them to part with the latter: for though their keeping poſſeſſion of *Martinico*, *Guadaloupe*, and the other *French Caribbees*, might have greatly extended their ſugar-trade, yet it could not have ſecured the whole of it to *Great-Britain*; as both the *French* and the *Spaniards* were ſtill poſſeſſed of vaſt tracts of land in the *Weſt-Indies*, proper for that culture; and even the *Dutch* and *Danes* had ſettlements there, which they could have improved in raiſing ſugars. In ſhort, the monopolizing of that trade to *Great-Britain*, by maintaining thoſe iſlands, was found to be a mere chimera; and, as the primary object of the war was to ſecure the *Britiſh* ſettlements in *North America*, which they did by the conqueſt of *Canada*, and the ceſſion of *Louiſiana* and *Florida*, the retention of the latter was thought to be by far the preferable alternative. We are now to give ſome deſcription of the produce and commerce of *Barbados*.

Deſcription of Barbados.

OUR beſt geographers have laid down the iſland to lie between long. 59. 50. and 60. 2. weſt from *London*; and betwixt north lat. 12. 56. and 13. 16. As to its extent, it is very difficult to aſcertain it. The moſt general opinion is that it is twenty-five miles from north to ſouth, and fifteen from eaſt to weſt; but thoſe menſurations are ſubject to ſo many difficulties and uncertainties, that the reader, perhaps, will form a more adequate idea of the extent of this iſland, when he is told, that in reality it does not contain above a hundred and ſeven thouſand acres. *Barbados* is the moſt windwardly of all the *Caribbee Iſlands*, excepting *Tobago*. The whole of the iſland may be conſidered as one continued garden, every foot of which is ſo precious, that it is improved to the utmoſt, and preſents to the eye, wherever it is turned, the moſt delightful proſpects. The climate is hot, but not unwholſome, becauſe of the ſea-breezes; and a temperate regimen renders it as ſafe to live in as any climate in *Europe* [South of *Great*] *Britain*, and, according to the opinion of many, as *Great Britain* itſelf.

THE chief town of *Barbados* is *Bridge-Town*, which lies in the inmoſt part of *Carliſle-Bay*. This originally was a moſt unwholſome ſituation, and choſen entirely on account of its conveniency for trade; but it is now deemed to be as healthy as any place in the iſland. The town itſelf would make a figure in any *European* kingdom. It is ſaid now to contain about 1500 houſes, and ſome contend that it is the largeſt the *Engliſh* poſſeſs in *America*. The rents of the houſes, which

which in general are ſpacious, well-built and finiſhed, are as high as ſuch houſes would let for in *London*. The wharfs and quays are well defended from the ſea, and very convenient. The harbour is ſecure from the north-eaſt wind, which is the conſtant trade-wind there, and *Carliſle-Bay* is capable of containing 500 ſail of ſhips, and is formed by *Needham* and *Pelican* points. But that which renders *Bridge-Town* the fineſt and moſt deſirable town in the *Weſt-Indies*, is its ſecurity againſt any attacks from foreign enemies. It is defended on the weſtward by *James-Fort*, which mounts 18 guns. Near this is *Willoughby's-Fort*, which is built upon a tongue of land running into the ſea, and mounts 12 guns. *Needham's-Fort* has three batteries, and is mounted with 20 guns; and *St. Anne's-Fort*, which is the ſtrongeſt in the iſland, ſtands more within land. In ſhort, according to Mr. *Douglas*[t], there is all along the lee-ſhore a breaſt-work and trench, in which, at proper places, were 29 forts and batteries, having 308 cannon mounted, while the windward ſhore is ſecured by high rocks, ſteep cliffs, and foul ground. Such was the ſtate of the fortifications of the iſland in 1717: but ſince that time it has admitted of ſuch additions, that though the plunder of this ſmall, but rich iſland, is the moſt alluring object our enemies can have; yet it does not appear, that during the two late wars, while we were conquering all their *Weſt-Indies*, that they ever thought in earneſt of an attack upon *Barbados*. The powder and ſtores of the iſland are kept under a ſtrong guard in a ſtone magazine, within a ſmall fort of eight guns, on the eaſt ſide of the town. The church of *St. Michael* exceeds in beauty, largeneſs, and conveniency, many *Engliſh* cathedrals, and has a fine organ, bells, and clock. In ſhort, *Bridge-Town* is deſtitute of few elegancies or conveniencies of life that any city in *Europe* affords. It has a free-ſchool for the inſtruction of poor boys, an hoſpital, and a college. The latter was erected by the ſociety for propagating the Chriſtian religion, in purſuance of the will of colonel *Chriſtopher Codrington*, who left about 2000 *l.* a year for its endowment, for maintaining profeſſors and ſcholars to ſtudy and practice divinity, ſurgery, and phyſic.

Its fortifications.

Attempts of the French *againſt it.*

IT is certain, that ſixty years ago, at the beginning of queen *Anne's* reign, and war with *France*, the *French* had an eye upon *Barbados*; and *Labat*, one of their moſt judicious miſſionaries and voyagers, who was upon the iſland, was of opinion, that the plate and furniture of *Bridge-Town*, if plundered, was equal in value to the capture of the *Spaniſh* gal-

[t] DOUGLAS's Summary, Vol. I. p. 133.

leans; and that *Chatteaurenauld*, in 1702, might have made himſelf maſter of the iſland, had he not proceeded to convoy the plate-fleet to *Vigo*. But the miſſionary, at the ſame time confeſſes, that the conqueſt of *Barbados* could not have been effected by a leſs number than that of 5000 men, and thoſe creoles and buccaneers, and twelve men of war to prevent any ſuccours from coming to the iſlanders. But he ſuppoſes, at the ſame time, the *Iriſh* Roman catholics, who were then very numerous upon the iſland, would join the *French* againſt their maſters. The opinion of this judicious miſſionary has in it ſome weight, even at this time; for though the iſland is now incomparably better fortified than it was ſixty years ago, yet there is ſome reaſon for doubting, whether it is equally populous. Thirty thouſand ſouls are ſuppoſed to be the utmoſt extent of the white inhabitants; ſo that the whites upon the iſland, capable of bearing arms, cannot be very numerous. According to a report of the military ſtate of this iſland in 1736[u], it had 22 caſtles and forts, 26 batteries, mounted with 463 pieces of ordnance, many of which were honeycombed, and near 100 wanting to complete the fortifications; which, with the military ſtores and arms, were much decayed. The militia conſiſted then of one troop only, two regiments of horſe and foot, making in all, 4326 men; but the militia is now computed at 1500 horſe, and 3000 foot. It is to be noted, that all freemen here are obliged to enter themſelves in the regiment of their own diſtrict; and that there is a law obliging all perſons, who deſign to go off the iſland, to leave notice thereof at the ſecretary's office three weeks before their departure. The reader in the note (X) will find

[u] Syſtem of Geography, Vol. II. p. 751.

(X) The government of this iſland as it is now conſtituted, reſembles that of the other iſlands. It conſiſts of the governor, a council of twelve men, who are, as it were, of his own nomination, being appointed by letters of *mandamus*; and an aſſembly of twenty-two, choſen yearly out of the ſeveral pariſhes; *viz.* two for each, by a majority of votes. The members of the council ſit in the court of chancery with the governor, and are, by virtue of their poſts, ſtiled honourable. The governor has the ſole power of appointing and diſplacing all military officers; but judges and juſtices of the peace, (though removeable by him for ſufficient reaſons) are to be appointed by conſent of the council, of whom no member can be diſplaced, without conſent of the reſt, unleſs on an extraordinary occaſion not fit to be divulged to the whole body; and then the governor's reaſons for ſuch ſuſpenſion are immediately tranſmitted home. The governor, beſides his ſalary.

Its government and towns.

a very full and accurate account of the government of the iſland, which comes from ſo good an authority, that we

lary of 2000 *l.* ſterling, payable out of the four and a half per cent. is intitled to no perquiſite, except a third of ſeizures; and reſtrained from receiving any gift or preſent from the aſſembly, or others, unleſs it be granted as a ſettlement by the firſt aſſembly he meets after his arrival. Tho' the ſenior counſel is to adminiſter affairs in his abſence, or after his death, till the arrival of another, he cannot paſs any acts but what are immediately neceſſary for the peace and welfare of the iſland, nor diſſolve the aſſembly then in being, nor remove or ſuſpend any officer, civil or military, without the conſent of at leaſt ſeven of the council. The preſident is allowed for his trouble one half of the ſalary and emoluments allotted to the governor for the time being; and five members of council make a quorum, to tranſact all public buſineſs, and to conſtitute a court of chancery, and court of errors; which courts are held monthly. The members of a new aſſembly are choſen on the expiration or diſſolution of a former, on the *Monday* after the third publication of a writ directed to the pariſh-churches throughout the iſland for that purpoſe; and where they are returned to the governor in council, they take all the ſtate-oaths, ſubſcribe the teſt, and then chuſe a ſpeaker, who cannot act as ſuch before he is preſented to, and approved by, the governor. The ſpeaker, and eleven other members, conſtitute a houſe for tranſaction of buſineſs. They may make what rules they think proper, which are binding on themſelves. They may expel any of their members, and may give leave to two of them to go off the iſland for ſix months, for recovery of their health. They have a right to try and determine all controverted elections, but can only adjourn themſelves from day to day; all longer adjournments being to be made by the commander in chief. The aſſembly annually nominates the treaſurer, the ſtorekeeper of the magazine, the agent, and the comptroller of the exciſe; as alſo, an inſpector of health, and the gaugers of casks; but all thoſe officers are to be approved of by the commander in chief and council, which the clerk and marſhal of the aſſembly, of their own appointment, are not. The aſſembly, likewiſe, aſcertain all the publick levies, which cannot be raiſed without their conſent; and they preſcribe the uſes to which the money muſt be applied. Four of the council, and ſix of the aſſembly, or any ſix of them, are a committee for ſettling the publick accompts of the iſland. The governor has a negative in the paſſing of all laws agreed to by the council and aſſembly. Three of the council and three of the aſſembly, or any four of them, are appointed as a committee, to correſpond with the agency in *Great-Britain*. The treaſurer can pay no publick

to give it in the words of the writer. The governor rectors to the pariſhes of the iſland, which are in

ney, nor make any par- appropriation of money, : an act, or an order he governor, with the of the council. The ſtice of the pleas of the and chief baron of the f exchequer, are ap- by the governor, and r other barons named m; and any three of make a court for de- g all matters. The ing divided into five , there is a judge in o holds a court of -pleas for trial of all nce every month, till of *September*, and then to the laſt *Monday* in From theſe courts an appeal in all cauſes *l.* value, to the go- d council, and from all above 500 *l.* value, vereign and council of *itain*. The five judges mmon-pleas courts are by the governor, h of them four aſſiſ- med with him, and e of the five make a determining all ſuits eight pound. The ges of thoſe courts probate of all deeds, the greateſt profit of The ſole judge of of vice-admiralty is officer, though, for rs paſt, he has acted commiſſion from the who alſo appoints maſters in chancery, or, and the eſchea- l; but the attorney- ppointed by patent; as are, alſo, the chief clerk, regiſter, and ſole examiner in chancery, clerk of the crown, and clerk of the peace; the ſecretary, and the clerk of the council; the provoſt-marſhal, ſerjeant at arms, and marſhal of the ſeveral courts; and the clerk of the market; all which officers are executed by deputies named by the patentees, or their attorneys. The caſual receiver has his commiſſion from *England*; the auditor-general is appointed by the lords of the treaſury, and executes his office here by a deputy. The ſurveyor-general of the cuſtoms, with the other officers, are appointed by the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, and, on any vacancy, the ſurveyor-general nominates till it is ſupplied from *England*. The naval office is granted by patent, and executed by a deputy; the ſurveyors of land are appointed by the commander in chief; the juſtices of the peace are appointed by a commiſſion, which generally iſſues ſoon after a governor's arrival; and one of the perſons named in that commiſſion is nominated every half year, by the commander in chief, with the conſent of the council, to preſide as chief-juſtice of the court of grand ſeſſion, which is appointed by law to be held in *June* and *December*, beſides the quarter-ſeſſions held by the juſtices in every pariſh. The chief juſtice, with five other juſtices, are impowered to hold the court, to which are returned, from every pariſh, ſix of its in-

number eleven. The perquiſites are very conſiderable; their ſtated income is about 150 or 200 *l.* a year each; but the rectory of *St. Michael*'s, in *Bridge-Town*, is ſuppoſed to be worth 7 or 800 *l.* a year. The biſhop of *London* is the ordinary of all the *Engliſh Weſt-Indies* and *America*, which makes his ſee the moſt extenſive of any in the world. Dr. *Sherlock*, while he held it, made an attempt, in the reign of *George* the ſecond, to introduce ſuffragans into *America*, for the more regular performance of the ſacerdotal duties. But the motion was diſcouraged at the council-board, and his lordſhip got no credit by it, becauſe it was conſidered as tending to the too great aggrandizement of his own authority. The church-affairs of *Barbados* are governed by a ſurrogate, of the biſhop's appointment. There are upon the iſland ſome jews and quakers, and but very few other diſſenters. The *Barbadians* formerly were remarkable for their unanimity, both in politics and religion; and their modern diſſentions regarded rather perſons than principles, and were occaſioned through parties formed by oppreſſive rapacious governors.

THE forts upon the iſland, and what we may call the military eſtabliſhment, are ſupported by a duty of four pounds of gunpowder for every ton of ſhipping that unlades there; and the amount of the duty is about 600 *l.* a year. Every pipe of *Madeira* wine pays a duty of 4 *l.* 10 *s.* and this amounts to about 9000 *l.* a year, and the duties upon other liquors, to about 2000 *l.* a year. Beſides thoſe duties, the

inhabitants, who are freeholders, to ſerve on the grand inqueſt, and petty-juries. The coroners for the ſeveral pariſhes are appointed by the commander in chief, and ſo are the gunners and mattroſſes belonging to each of the five diviſions, tho' they are under the command of the colonels of the foot, to which each diviſion reſpectively belongs.

The commiſſioners for taking care of the fortifications are, the members of council and aſſembly reſident in each pariſh or diſtrict, together with the field officers of the iſland in the precincts where the regiments are to which they belong. The governor, as captain-general, uſually preſides at the councils of war, but ſometimes he grants the commiſſion of preſident to another officer. There are ſix regiments of foot here, and two of horſe, beſides a troop belonging to the iſland, called the troop of horſe-guards, the royal regiment of foot-guards, the *Windward* regiments of horſe and foot, the flying regiment of foot, *St. James's*, or the *Holt* regiment of foot; *Scotland* regiment of foot, and the *Leeward* regiments of horſe and foot. Here is alſo a good train of artillery. Ibid.

aſſembly

aſſembly impoſes occaſional ones for public uſes, which ſometimes amount to about 2000 *l.* a year more. All thoſe are excluſive of the four and a half per cent. duty paid to the crown, which of late years has amounted to a large ſum. The negroes, mulattoes, and miſtive ſlaves, upon the iſland, are computed at an hundred thouſand, and form great part of the wealth of the planters; but *Barbados* is not ſo ſubject now, as formerly, to the inſurrections of negroes, becauſe many of them are born upon the iſland, and entirely reconciled to their ſtate, which their maſters, for their own intereſt, make as agreeable to them as poſſible. They are not even without ſome property, having little indulgences granted them, and particular times allowed them, in which what they earn, becomes their own.

Its trade.

THE trade of *Barbados* is very extenſive; they bring their lumber, that is, timber of all kinds, their bread, flour, *Indian*-corn, rice, tobacco, ſome ſalt-beef and pork, fiſh, pulſe, and other proviſions from *New-England*, *Carolina*, *Penſylvania*, *New-York* and *Virginia*. They import their ſlaves from the coaſt of *Guinea*; but ſince the acquiſition of *Senegal* to the crown of *Great-Britain*, great improvements may be introduced into that trade in favour of the *Engliſh* colonies. They import their wine from *Madeira*, *Tercera*, and *Fayal*; and likewiſe ſome brandy. *Ireland* furniſhes them with beef and pork, and the *Dutch* iſland of *Curaſſao*, with ſalt. The great value, however, of *Barbados* to the mother-country, is beſt known from its vaſt conſumption of *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* manufactures and commodities. Of theſe they import *Oſnaburghs*, ſo called from a town in *Germany*, famous for manufacturing this coarſe linnen-cloth, which clothe their ſlaves [x], linnen of all ſorts, with broad cloth and kerſeys, for the planters, their overſeers and their families; ſilks and ſtuffs, for their ladies and houſhold ſervants; red-caps, for their ſlaves, male and female; ſtockings and ſhoes, of all ſorts; gloves and hats; millinery-ware and perriwigs; laces for linnen, woollen, and ſilks; peas, beans, and oats, from our weſtern counties; and biſcuit from *London*; wine, of all ſorts; ſtrong beer, (which they have alſo from *New England*,) and pale ale, pickles, candles, butter and cheeſe; iron-ware for their ſugar-works, ſuch as ſaws, files, axes, hatchets, chiſſels, adzes, hoes, mattocks, planes, gouges, drawers, hand-hills, drawing-knives, nails, and all ſorts of ſmaller iron-ware; powder and ſhot; and braſs and copper-wares: but *Birmingham*-wares, though good commodities, ſoon ruſt

[x] Ibid. p. 751.

and

and canker, by the evening damps of this climate; and therefore ſtand in need of continual repair, or new tools in their room; and to this moiſture of the air it is imputed, that clocks and watches ſeldom go right in this iſland. The *Barbadians* take off likewiſe large quantities of *Eaſt-India* goods from *England*; and in ſhort, there is nothing that ſells in an *Engliſh*, or even *European* ſhop or market, that does not find a ready vent in *Barbados*, if agreeable to the climate. The ſold of *Barbados* being too precious for common culture, renders it of infinite advantage to thoſe parts of the *Britiſh* dominions, where the ground is beſt employed in producing the neceſſaries of life. Even coals, pantiles, hearth-ſtones, and the like commodities and manufactures, are profitable branches of imports into this iſland. But beſides what the *Barbadians* conſume themſelves, they are very conſiderable exporters of *Britiſh* goods to *Africa*; and they even pay for their ſlaves in our manufactures; ſuch as guns, powder, and arms, ſtuffs, hats, and wearing-apparel of all kinds. Some authors, who are acquainted with the iſland, pretend, that formerly [y] *Barbados* required a ſupply of 100,000 ſlaves every thirty years; and when the *African* trade was under a parliamentary enquiry in 1728, it appeared, that in three years only, the number of negroes imported at *Barbados*, *Jamaica*, and *Antigua*, amounted to 42,000, excluſive of thoſe carried to *St. Chriſtopher's*, *Nevis*, and *Montſerrat*. Thus much for the imports of *Barbados*.

Its negroes.

Exports. As to its exports, ſugar is its ſtaple commodity. In the courſe of the hiſtory of the iſland, we have introduced that of the ſugar trade; and have obſerved, that both the population and commerce of *Barbados*, were in former times ſuperior to what they are now; nay, if we are to believe ſome writers, in the year 1676, this iſland employed 400 ſail of ſhips, each at an average, of 150 tons, and the current caſh of the iſland was about 200,000 *l.* while its exports to *Great Britain* in ſugar, ginger, indigo, and other commodities, amounted to about 350,000 *l.* yearly. It is even ſaid, that *England*, the aforeſaid year, by exporting the goods imported from *Barbados*, got 200,000 *l.* and that ſhe had the like profit for many years before. But even thoſe were not the golden times of *Barbados*, whoſe trade, before the Reſtoration, was ſtill more conſiderable, though far from being ſo profitable, to the mother-country; or indeed, to the planters themſelves, as great part of it was engroſſed by the *Dutch*, and entered in *Holland*: nor did it ſettle in *England* till after

[y] Ibid. ibid.

he navigation-act, and ſeveral other others of the ſame kind were paſſed by the legiſlature, both here and at *Barbados*. Thoſe acts rendered *London* the great mart all over *Europe* for ſugar, which commerce had formerly been in the hands of the *Portugueſe*, by their being maſters of *Braſil*. It was calculated, that from the year 1636 to 1656, *England* acquired by *Barbados* two millions of money, and double that ſum the twenty years following. The ſettling and improvement of the *French* ſugar-iſlands, with the decay of population in *Barbados*, from the cauſes already mentioned, no doubt, in after-times hurt the *Barbados* ſugar-trade; but[z] an accurate calculator ſays, that in the ſpace of an hundred years, the people of *England* have received twelve millions of ſilver by means of this plantation; and had 50,000 of her inhabitants maintained all at that time, by the people of this colony. It appears, from the remarks on the preſent ſtate of the ſugar-colonies, that the *Barbadians* in 1730, exported hither 22,769 hogſheads of ſugar, each weighing thirteen hundred weight; of which, near 18,000 hogſheads came into the port of *London* only: and that they made 340391 *l.* clear profit of the whole; becauſe it was proved, that the rum and molaſſes paid all the charges of a plantation. *Barbados* has now loſt all its indigo-trade, that culture being much more proper for the northern colonies; but it ſhips off a great deal of ginger, of which the inhabitants cure large quantities for *England*; as alſo lignum vitæ, ſweet-meats, citron, and other ſtrong waters, molaſſes, rum, and lime juice.

Inhabitants.

THE inhabitants of *Barbados* are reducible to three claſſes, *viz.* the maſters, the white ſervants, and the black ſervants. The former are either *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, or *Iriſh*; but the great encouragement which the *Britiſh* legiſlature has given to the peopling of that and our other iſlands, has induced ſome *Dutch*, *French*, *Portugueſe*, and Jews, to ſettle among them with their eſtates; by which, after a certain time, they acquire the rights of naturalization in *Great Britain*. The white ſervants, whether by covenant or by purchaſe, lead more eaſy lives than common day-labourers in *England*, and when they come to be overſeers, their wages and other allowances are conſiderable. As to the black ſervants, the notions which generally prevail in *Europe* concerning them are very erroneous, it being, as we have already hinted, the intereſt of every planter to be even more careful of his black than of his white ſervants; the former with all his poſterity, unleſs they ſhould happen to be ſet free, being his perpetual property.

[z] Ibid. p. 752.

Moſt of the negroes are employed in the field; but ſome of them work in the ſugar-mills and ſtore-houſes, while thoſe of both ſexes, who are moſt likely and handy, are employed as houſe maids and menial ſervants. The original price of a negroe, when he comes from *Guinea*, is from twenty to forty pounds, according to his likelihood; but when they improve in any mechanic, or other trade, their price riſes greatly: ſo that 400 *l.* has been refuſed for a good ſugar-boiler. The men are indulged in a plurality of wives. But it is ridiculous to imagine, that their being converted to Chriſtianity introduces any alteration into their ſtate of ſervitude. All the difference is, that a planter of any humanity may ſhew ſome indulgences to a negroe who diſcovers ſentiment or reflection enough to deſire to be baptized. But the truth is, the negroes in general are of ſuch diſpoſitions as call for the utmoſt vigilance, and the moſt ſevere diſcipline. They are obſtinate, ſullen, treacherous and vindictive; and many of them ſhew but few faculties that entitle them to be conſidered as rational creatures. Plantains, being a fruit ſo called, is the chief ſupport of the negroes, who have various ways of dreſſing it; but they have every week, at ſtated times, an allowance of *Indian* corn bread, ſalt fiſh, or ſalt-pork. Every negroe family has a cabin, and adjoining to it, a ſmall piece of ground by way of garden, in which the more induſtrious ſort plant potatoes, yams, and other roots, and rear live ſtock, which they are at liberty to eat or to convert into money for their own uſe, and it is incredible what ſavings of this kind ſome of them make. They are fond of rum and tobacco, and they generally lay out their earnings in fine cloaths, and ornaments for themſelves and their wives. In all other reſpects, the manner of gentlemen and their families living at *Barbados*, is the ſame as in the moſt polite towns and countries in *Europe*; only the nature and narrowneſs of their country diſable them from hunting and other out-door exerciſes.

Diviſion of Barbadoes.

As to the particular pariſhes, ſettlements, and towns in other parts of *Barbados*, beſides *Bridge-Town*, there is but little either variety or improvement in deſcribing them. It is ſufficient to ſay here, that no article, either of conveniency or luxury, is wanting to the inhabitants, according to their different ranks, and that the iſland is divided into precincts and pariſhes as follows. In the ſouth part of the iſland, in *St. Michael's*, or *Bridge* precinct, are the pariſhes of *St. Michael*, *St. George*, and *St. John*. In *St. James's*, or the *Hole* precinct, are the pariſhes of *St. James*, and *St. Thomas*. In *St. Peter's*, or *Speight's* precinct, is the pariſh of *St. Peter*, with

with *All-Saints* chapel. In the weſt is the pariſh of *St. Lucy*. In the north, in *St. Andrew's Overhill*, or *Scotland* precinct, are the pariſhes of *St. Andrew*, and *St. Joſeph*. In the eaſt, in *Oſtine's* precinct, are the pariſhes of *Chriſt-church* and *St. Philip*. We are now to conſider the ſoil, and other productions of *Barbados*.

Its ſoil and product.

THIS iſland has two ſtreams that are called rivers on its eaſt-ſide, and in its center it is ſaid to have a bituminous ſpring, which ſends forth a liquor like tar, and ſerves for the ſame uſes as pitch or lamp-oil. The iſland abounds in wells of good water, and contains reſervoirs for rain-water. Some parts of the ſoil are ſaid to be hollowed into caves, ſeveral of them capable of containing 300 people. Theſe are imagined to have been the lurking-holes of run-away negroes, but they are probably natural excavations. The woods that formerly grew upon the iſland have been all cut down, and for the moſt part converted into ſugar-plantations. When thoſe plantations were firſt formed, the ſoil was infinitely more fertile than it is now; for the land, in ſome places, about thirty years ago, was ſo worn out, that the planters were obliged to raiſe cattle for the ſake of their manure, which reduced their profits to leſs than one tenth of their uſual value. Notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of *Barbados*, its ſoil is different, being in ſome places ſandy and light, in others rich, and in others ſpungy; but all of it cultivated according to its ſeveral natures: ſo that the iſland preſents to the eye, the moſt beautiful appearance of ſpring, ſummer, and autumn. The ſugar-cane is cultivated from *Auguſt* till the latter end of *January*. The inhabitants have few orchards or gardens, becauſe they employ their lands in a more profitable culture, and they can bring *Indian* corn from *North America* cheaper than it can be ſold for when growing upon the iſland. Oranges and lemons grow in *Barbados* in great plenty, and to great perfection, and the lemon juice made here has a particular fragrancy.

THE citrons of *Barbados* afford the fineſt drams and ſweetmeats of any in the world; the *Barbados* ladies excelling in the art of preſerving the rhind of the citron fruit. The citron-tree is ſmall, but its fruit is ſo large, that it often pulls it to the ground; its ſtalk is darkiſh, and its leaf dark green; but indeed, *Barbados*, of all ſpots in the world, is by nature the beſt fitted for furniſhing thoſe exquiſite luxuries, many of which are equally ſalutary as delicious. The lime-tree is prickly, like the *Engliſh* holly, ſo that, formerly, hedges were made of it. It grows about ſeven or eight feet high, and ſo much reſembles the lemon-tree, that the difference is

ſcarcely to be diſcerned at a little diſtance. The juice of the limes, or dwarf-lemons, (for ſuch they are) is the moſt agreeable ſouring we know of, and great quantities of it begin now to be imported from *Barbados* to *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. The tamarinds of *Barbados* is an agreeable, yet wholſome, ſweet-meat, and has many medicinal virtues. The anana, or the pine-apple, is common at *Barbados*, and its flavour much more exalted than in *Europe*, with all the modern improvements of gardening and hot-houſes. The aloe, mangrove, calabaſh, cotton, cedar, maſtic, and bulley-trees, grow here in great plenty, as does the cocoa, and the cacao-tree, the latter yielding a fruit of which chocolate is made. The other trees of this iſland are the fig-tree, the fibres of which, ſhooting out of its trunk, take root again, and if ſuffered to grow, would produce a continued grove. The caſſia fiſtula-tree is ſaid ſometimes to grow eight feet in twelve months. It would here be improper to enter into a deſcription of the numerous fruits and trees, all of them unknown in *Europe*, that grow upon this iſland; ſuch as the prickled-apple, pomegranate, papa, guava, cuſtard-apple, macow-tree, palmetto, locuſt-tree, and iron-wood. The plaintain-tree, or ſhrub, deſerves a more particular deſcription, becauſe it is of the greateſt utility, by its being the moſt wholſome nouriſhment which the negroes of the iſland have. Its growth is very quick, one ſprout keeps its aſcendency over ſeveral that come out of the ſame root, and is ſurrounded with leaves, which rotting, are ſucceeded by freſh ones; and theſe laſt expand as the ſun riſes and grows intenſe. The plantain-tree is full grown, when it is eight or ten feet high, and then it no longer ſheds its leaves. The negroes love the fruit when green, the *Engliſh* when ripe, and think it both nouriſhing and pleaſant. *Barbados* likewiſe produces ſome ſenſitive plants, with a good deal of garden-ſtuff that is common in other places. The yam, which grows there, is a root reſembling potatoes, and the cabbage-tree grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet, being ſo called by its bearing a flower or fruit reſembling our cabbages in form and taſte. In ſhort, a native of the fineſt, the richeſt, and moſt diverſified country in *Europe* can ſcarcely form an idea of the variety of delicious, and, at the ſame time, nutritive, vegetable, productions with which *Barbados* abounds, and for which we refer to the natural hiſtories of that iſland.

Its cattle. WHEN *Barbados* was firſt diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, few or no quadrupeds but hogs were found upon it. For convenience of carriage to the ſea-ſide, ſome of the planters at firſt procured camels; which, undoubtedly, in all reſpects,

would have been preferable to horſes for their ſugar and other works, but the nature of the animal diſagreeing with the climate, their breed could not be preſerved. They then applied for horſes to *Old* and *New England*, from the former they had thoſe that were fit for ſhew and draughts; from the latter thoſe that were proper for mounting their militia, and for the ſaddle. They had, likewiſe, ſome of a coarſe kind from *Curaſſao*, and other ſettlements. They are reported to have had their firſt breed of bulls and cows from *Bonaviſta*, and the iſle of *May*, and they now breed upon the iſland, and often do the work of horſes and negroes. Their aſſes are the moſt ſerviceable in carrying burdens to and from the plantations. The hogs of *Barbados* are finer eating than thoſe of *England*, but the few ſheep they have are not near ſo good. They, likewiſe, have goats, which when young, are excellent food, and plenty of raccoons and monkeys are found in the iſland.

BARBADOS produces a variety of birds, the moſt famous of which is the humming-bird, the deſcription and beauty of which is now well known in *Europe*; it being, according to the general report, the ſmalleſt and moſt beautiful bird that is known. The *Barbadians* have not often wild fowl. Teal are ſometimes found near their ponds. A bird, which they call the man of war, is ſaid to meet ſhips twenty leagues from land, and their return, is, to the inhabitants, a ſure prognoſtic of their arrival. When the wind changes to ſouth, and ſouthweſt, they have flocks of curlews, plovers, ſnipes, wild pigeons, and wild ducks. The wild pigeons are very fat, and plentiful at ſuch ſeaſons, and rather larger than thoſe in *England*. The tame pigeons, pullets, ducks, and poultry of all kinds, that are bred in *Barbados*, have a fine flavour; and are accounted more delicious than thoſe of *Europe*. Their rabbits are ſcarce; they have no hares, and if they have deer of any kind, they are kept as curioſities. The inſects of *Barbados* are not venomous, nor do either their ſnakes or ſcorpions ever ſting. Their muſketoes, a kind of gnats, are troubleſome and bite, but are more tolerable at *Barbados* than they are upon the continent. They have various other inſects upon the iſland, ſome of which are troubleſome, but not in a greater degree than thoſe produced by every warm ſummer in *England*. *Barbados* is well ſupplied with fiſh, and ſome caught in the ſea ſurrounding it almoſt peculiar to itſelf, ſuch as the parrot-fiſh, ſnappers, and grey cavallos, terbums, and coney-fiſh. Their mullets, lobſters, and crabs caught here are excellent; and the green turtle is, perhaps, the greateſt delicacy that ancient or modern luxury

Birds.

And fiſhes.

can boaſt of. Beſides the variety of eating found in it, it is at once, ſo light and ſo nutritive, that no bad conſequences are known to attend it from indigeſtion or ſurfeit, be the quantity devoured ever ſo great. At *Barbados* this delicious ſhell-fiſh ſeldom ſells for leſs than a ſhilling a pound, and often for more. There is found in *Barbados* a kind of a land crab, which eats herbs wherever it can find them, and ſhelters itſelf in houſes and hollows of trees. According to report, they are a ſhell-fiſh of paſſage, for in *March* they travel to the ſea in vaſt numbers. As to other parts of the natural hiſtory of *Barbados*, ſuch as the cultivation of ſugar-canes, rum, and molaſſes, they do not come under the plan of this hiſtory; neither ſhall we undertake to trace the commerce and intereſts of the iſland through all their various labyrinths, eſpecially as their channels are changed according to the different views, circumſtances, and ſyſtems of the *European* nations, and particularly of *Great Britain*.

SAINT LUCIA.

Deſcription of St. Lucia.

THIS iſland may be conſidered as lying next to *Barbados*, from whence it is diſtant only twenty-one leagues. It lies ſix leagues ſouth from *Martinico*, and the ſame diſtance north from *St. Vincent*. The iſland, which takes its name from its being diſcovered on the day of the popiſh martyr *St. Lucia*, is fifteen miles in length, and eleven in breadth. It has upon it, beſides ſeveral other hills, two that are remarkably round and high, and are ſaid to be of the volcano kind. At the bottom of thoſe hills are plains, finely watered with rivers, and very fertile. The air, by the diſpoſition of the hills, which admit the trade-winds into the iſland, is found to be very healthy. The ſoil produces trees, which are fit for building houſes and windmills, and have often been employed for that purpoſe by both the *French* and the *Engliſh* planters. It likewiſe produces cocoa and fuſtic. As to the bays and harbours of the iſland, the *French* had ſo great an opinion of thoſe of *St. Lucia*, that during the negotiations for peace in 1761 and 1762, they preferred it to any two of the other neutral iſlands, and made their acquiſition of this iſland an indiſpenſable condition of their continuing the negotiation. The chief harbour of the iſland is called the *Little Careenage*; and it is, in the opinion of our neighbours, and of many among ourſelves, the fineſt harbour in all the *Caribbees*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that it was thought of ſo great importance, both by the *French* and *Engliſh*,

Engliſh, that both poſſeſſed it by turns, though neither of them ever fully ſettled it. The *Engliſh* have an undiſputed right to the prior occupancy of *St. Lucia*, which was always included, as we have already mentioned, in the commiſſion of the *Engliſh* governor of *Barbados*.

Settled by the Engliſh.

IT appears from the beſt accounts, both *French* and *Engliſh*, that the *Caribbees*, who were the original inhabitants of *St. Lucia*, and gave name to thoſe iſlands, were a fierce, intractable race of ſavages, and equally irreclaimable by good uſage as ſeverity. In the year 1637, the *Engliſh* were ſettled upon *St. Lucia*, where they had lived for ſome time before; but the year after, the *Caribbeans*, inſtigated, as the *Engliſh* alledged, by the *French*, either killed, or drove off from the iſland, all the *Engliſh* ſettlers, with their governor, for ſo the chief man among them was called. We do not, however, find that the *French* at this time laid any formal claim to the property of the iſland. The reaſon of the enmity of the barbarians to the *Engliſh*, was as follows. An *Engliſh* veſſel, lying at *Dominica* under a *French* flag, the *Caribbeans* taking her for a ſhip of that nation, came on board to traffic, as uſual; but becoming drunk by brandy, the captain ſet ſail with them. The ſavages, perceiving his treachery, all leapt overboard, and got to their iſland, excepting two, whom the *Engliſh* captain put in irons, and ſold for ſlaves. The ſavages, who eſcaped, inſtigated all the *Caribbeans* who were diſperſed through the *Windward Iſlands*, both *French* and *Engliſh*, to revenge this treachery, which they did to the full; for they landed upon all the *Engliſh* ſettlements that were acceſſible to their canoes, and maſſacred as many of them as they poſſibly could. They ſurpriſed in the night-time thoſe of *St. Lucia*, killed the governor, and moſt of the inhabitants, in their beds; a few only of them eſcaping to *Montſerrat*. The *Engliſh*, who ſurvived, carried their complaints to M. *de Poincy*, then governor of all the *French Caribbee Iſlands*, againſt M. *Parquet*, who was then governor of *Martinico*, and whom the *Engliſh* accuſed of being the inſtigator of the maſſacre. *De Poincy* acquitted *Parquet* of the charge, as the latter endeavoured to prove, that he had ſent intelligence of the deſign of the ſavages to the *Engliſh*, as ſoon as he knew it. Notwithſtanding this, the *Engliſh* ſtill continued to ſuſpect both thoſe governors of having been at the bottom of the maſſacre.

who are maſſacred by the ſavages.

Settled by the French.

THIS dreadful cataſtrophe diſcouraged the *Engliſh* from inhabiting *St. Lucia*; nor could the *Engliſh* governors of *Barbados* prevail with any of their countrymen to live in an iſland, where they were ſubject to ſuch tragical viſits, and

was at ſuch a diſtance from all relief from their other ſettlements. *St. Lucia* thus lying uninhabited, when the civil wars broke out in *England*, *Parquet*, in 1644, ſent thither forty men, under one *Rouſſelan*, who was well provided with ſtores and ammunition. This proceeding revived the ſuſpicions of the *Engliſh*, and the rather, as the firſt thing which *Rouſſelan* did, was to build a ſtrong palliſadoed fort upon the iſland, ſurrounded by good ditches, and defended by cannon and patteraroes; after which, his people proceeded to cure tobacco, and raiſe proviſions of all kinds, and likewiſe to build dwelling-houſes, under the protection of the fort. This little ſettlement throve exceſſively, becauſe *Rouſſelan* having married a *Caribbee* woman, was very agreeable to the ſavages, who not only left him and his colony unmoleſted, but traded with them. But all the good fortune of the *French* upon this iſland, ended with the life of *Rouſſelan*, who died in 1654, and was ſucceeded by one *la Riviere*. This gentleman had ſo good an opinion of the friendly diſpoſition of the ſavages, that he built a dwelling-houſe for himſelf and his family, without the protection of the fort. The ſavages, by this time, had loſt all affection for the *French*, and ſecretly conſpired to cut them off. Barbarous as they were, they concealed and carried on this deſign in a moſt artful manner. They viſited *la Riviere* as uſual, and trafficked the ſame as before. At laſt, towards the end of the year, a large number of them came to his houſe, and after being entertained with liquor, one of them gave a ſignal, which they had concerted among themſelves, and all of them falling upon the *French*, they murdered *la Rivierie*, with ten others, plundered his houſe, and carried off his wife, two of his children, and a negro ſlave. *La Riviere* was ſucceeded by *Haquet*. This gentleman being fully appriſed of the ſavage treachery of the *Caribbeans*, uſed all imaginable precautions to avoid it; but, as the event proved, all was without ſucceſs. They repaired to his fort with the moſt friendly appearances, and traded fairly with him for turtle and their other commodities. In the year 1656, pretending that they had left a large quantity of turtle on a neighbouring hill, he was prevailed upon, attended with no more than three of his ſoldiers, to repair thither, and the ſavages ſpying their opportunity, threw him from the hill into the ſea. *Haquet* was ſtunned, but not hurt, by the fall. He recovered himſelf, and made the beſt of his way to the fort; but before he could reach it, he was mortally wounded in the ſide by one of the ſavages arrows, and died in three days after. *Haquet* was ſucceeded by one *Breton*, who being of low extraction, and

who are maſſacred likewiſe.

uſing

uſing the garriſon ill, they conſpired to aſſaſſinate him; but he eſcaped into the woods, and eluded all the ſearch they could make for him. The garriſon, upon this, ſtript the fort; and ſeizing a ſhip in the road, eſcaped to the *Spaniards*, who protected them.

ABOUT ten days after, a *French* ſhip paſſing by from *Grenada*, her captain perceived, that though the conſpirators had carried off all the furniture and moveables they could tranſport, yet that the fort itſelf and its artillery were in good condition. He therefore left it in cuſtody of four of his ſeamen, whom he furniſhed with neceſſaries and proviſions. As this captain was preparing to ſail, *Breton* made him a ſignal, and he was received on board the ſhip. *Parquet*, underſtanding what had happened, ſent to *St. Lucia* one *Coulis*, with twenty-five ſoldiers, and thirteen others, to reſide there till M. *Aygremont*, the governor, ſhould arrive. In *Aygremont*'s time, the *Engliſh* attacked the fort of *St. Lucia*, but the *French* pretend that they were beaten off. Be this as it will, it is certain that the ſavages held the *French* in ſuch deteſtation, that in 1660, *Aygremont* was aſſaſſinated as he went a hunting with them. Two years after, Mr. *Warner*, an *Engliſhman*, whoſe mother was a *Caribbean*, and his father, the *Engliſh* governor of *St. Chriſtopher's*, having received a commiſſion to be governor of *Dominica* for the *Engliſh*, purchaſed for his countrymen the iſle of *St. Lucia* from the *Caribbeans*. In conſequence of this acquiſition, the *Engliſh* ſent five men of war, with 14 or 1500 men on board, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland, and were joined by about 700 of the *Caribbeans* in their canoes. One *Bonnart* was then the *French* governor of the fort, and having not a dozen of ſoldiers under him, he ſurrendered it upon the firſt ſummons, upon condition, according to the *French* author *Labat*, that he and his men, with their baggage, cannon, and ammunition, ſhould be carried to *Martinico*. The ſame writer pretends, that the governor and ſoldiers only were ſent thither; but it is extremely improbable, that ſuch a capitulation ſhould be granted to a dozen of men, ſhut up in a weak palliſadoed fort, beſieged by 1500.

The French repoſſeſs the iſland; but give way to the Engliſh.

THE *Engliſh* having got poſſeſſion of the iſland, under ſo fair a title as that of a bargain with the natives, one Mr. *Cook* was made governor of it; but no care had been taken by the *Engliſh*, the bulk of whom we may ſuppoſe to have been men of deſperate circumſtances, and not very regular in their manner of living, to keep poſſeſſion of the iſland. Their proviſions fell ſhort, and epidemical diſeaſes made ſuch havock of them, that in a ſhort time, the poor ſettlement

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was reduced to eighty-nine perſons. In ſuch a diſmal ſituation, it is no wonder that the few ſurvivors, having before their eyes nothing but death by famine or diſeaſes, ſet fire to the fort in 1666, and abandoning the ſettlement, diſperſed themſelves through the other *Engliſh* iſlands. Father *la Tetre*, another *French* writer, pretends on this occaſion, that the *Engliſh* made an offer to the *French* of yielding up the iſland to them, which was accepted of; but that the *Engliſh* were perſuaded by lord *Willoughby*, then governor of *Barbados*, to retract their offer, on his promiſing to relieve them. His ſuccours, however, were ſo long in coming, that they were obliged, in the manner we have mentioned, to abandon the ſettlement. Two days after, lord *Willoughby*, who perfectly well underſtood the commerce of the *Weſt-Indies*, and the importance of *St. Lucia*, arrived, as ſome ſay, in perſon, with reinforcements, and took a new poſſeſſion of the iſland. This poſſeſſion was from year to year renewed with all requiſite ſolemnities, by ſucceeding governors of *Barbados*, within whoſe commiſſion *St. Lucia* lay; but the inattention of the adminiſtration under *Charles* the ſecond, and his cloſe connections with *France*, prevented any material progreſs being made for its proſperity. By the treaty of *Breda*, in that reign, and that for the neutrality of the *Weſt-Indies* and *America*, in the ſucceeding, the *Britiſh* claim to *St. Lucia* was in ſome meaſure ſuſpended by the arts of *France*, though *St. Lucia* was certainly among the iſlands that by thoſe treaties, as well as by that of *Reſwick*, were ſtipulated to be reſtored to the crown of *Great Britain*.

and at laſt it becomes neutral.

SAINT LUCIA continued, after this, to be reſorted to, equally by *French* as *Engliſh*; but the only conſtant inhabitants of it were ſhip-carpenters, hewers of wood, and other labourers for felling and preparing timber for ſhip-building, from the ſize of the largeſt veſſel, down to that of the ſmalleſt canoe. In proceſs of time, runaway ſoldiers and ſailors found *St. Lucia*, on account of its rocks and faſtneſſes, to be a moſt excellent receptacle for them; and in the year 1689, when Sir *Hans Sloane* was there, a ſmall colony of *Barbadians* reſided on *St. Lucia*, and lived by furniſhing their own iſland with timber. Even the treaty of *Utrecht* did not reſtore *St. Lucia* to the *Engliſh*, the *French* pleading, that it was not comprehended in the iſlands to be reſtored by the peace of *Ryſwick*, becauſe it was not conquered from the *Engliſh*, but abandoned by them; and, therefore the *French* entered upon it as an unoccupied iſland. We have, in the hiſtory of *Barbados*, mentioned the remonſtrances made by the *French* court on the part of *Great Britain*, on account of the marſhal

D'Eſtrées

D'Eſtrées' grant and ſettlement of *St. Lucia*; and it is certain, that the court of *England* always conſidered *St. Lucia* as an iſland belonging to *Great Britain*, and which might be planted by her ſubjects as ſoon as conveniency ſhould offer. In conſequence of this claim, about the year 1715, while the iſland lay in a ſtate of ſeeming neutrality, captain *St. Loe*, commander of his *Britannic* majeſty's ſhip *Valour*, had orders to interrupt the *French* cutting logwood upon *St. Lucia*, which produced a heavy complaint from *du Queſne*, general of the *French* iſlands, who ſent one of his officers with a letter to the preſident of *Barbados* on that head. The preſident, in his anſwer, juſtified what had been done by captain *St. Loe*, and aſſerted the *Britiſh* right not only to *St. Lucia*, but to *Tobago*, deſiring the *French* forthwith to remove their ſettlements from the former iſland, and aſſerting, that the reſort of the *French* to both had only been occaſionally winked at on the part of *Great Britain*. The ſettlement and evacuation of M. *D'Eſtrées'* colony at *St. Lucia* followed this tranſaction; and king *George* the firſt, on the 22d of *June*, 1722, granted to *John* duke of *Montague*, his letters-patent, conſtituting his grace captain-general of *St. Lucia* aud *St. Vincent*, with liberty to ſettle the ſame with *Britiſh* ſubjects.

Dated Fort Royal, Martinique, Feb. 24, 1715, *N. S.*

Dated Pilgrim, *in* Barbados, Feb. 21, 1714, *O. S.*

In conſequence of this grant, the following veſſels were fitted out for thoſe ſettlements, *viz.* the *Elizabeth*, of 130 tons, four guns, three officers, and nine ſervants; the *Charles* and *Freemaſon*, of 200 tons, ten guns, thirteen officers, and 108 ſervants; the *Griffin* ſloop, of 90 tons, twelve guns, three officers, and forty-eight ſervants; the *Little George*, of 100 tons, four guns, eight officers, and thirty ſervants; the *Adventure*, of 200 tons, twelve guns, 13 officers, and 141 ſervants; the *Hopewell*, of 250 tons, ſix guns, eleven officers, and eighty-nine ſervants. In all, 520 tons, 48 guns, 51 officers, and 425 ſervants. This ſquadron was furniſhed with 56 pieces of cannon, 1163 muſkets and bayonets, 500 cutlaſhes, 1000 grenado-ſhells, fixed with fuzees; 4 braſs cohorn-mortars, 100 barrels of muſket-ball, 20 barrels of bird and drop-ſhot, 100 barrels of gunpowder, 200 barrels of all ſorts of nails, a great quantity of tools for carpenters, bricklayers, ſmiths, and maſons; 20 tons of bar-iron, 10 tons of cordage; all ſorts of working-tools, houſhold-furniture, wearing-apparel, and, in fine, of every thing fitting for the ſecure and commodious being of a new ſettlement. Beſides the above ſtores, were 30 houſe-frames, one large houſe-frame for the governor, 50,000 feet of board, 95,000 ſhingles, 40 live ſheep, and 2 breeding ſows. We mention thoſe particulars, that the reader may have ſome notion of the vaſt expence to which the

noble duke was put in this ſettlement, and for which he never had any conſideration allowed to him or his family. All his ſquadron was put under the convoy of the *Winchelſea* man of war, captain *Orme* commander; and after taking in additional ſupplies at *Madeira* and *Barbados*, they arrived at *St. Lucia* on the 17th of *December*, 1722; only the *Adventure* and the *Hopewell* came too late to be of any ſervice to the infancy of the ſettlement.

Miſcarriage of the duke of Montague's *ſettlement;*

THE duke of *Montague* had appointed captain *Nathaniel Vring*, late commander of the *Weſt-India* packet-boat, to be deputy-governor of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*; captain *John Braithwaite*, to be lieutenant-governor, and Mr. *William Falkener*, to be ſecretary. The ſquadron arriving at *Pilgrim-Bay*, off *St. Lucia*, ſailed from thence three leagues farther to the ſouthward, and arrived at *Petit Careenage*, where they found a good harbour, at the entrance of which, Mr. *Vring* landed fifty men, to raiſe a battery at a place which he called *Montague's-Point*, intending afterwards to fortify a hill within muſket-ſhot of the point. Soon after, a ſloop arrived from *Martinico*, with a copy of a mandate by the *French* king, dated *September* 21, 1722, at *Verſailles*, and which had been publiſhed by beat of drum through all the towns of *Martinico*, importing, "that neither *St. Vincent*, nor *St. Lucia* belonged to the king of *England:* that the firſt of them ought to remain to the *Caribbeans*, according to conventions made with that people: that the ſecond belonged to the king of *France*, who had been willing, however, to ſuſpend the ſettlement of that iſland, at the requeſt of the king of *England:* that the duke of *Montague*'s undertaking to ſend and take poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands, and to tranſport families to them, being contrary to the rights of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, his intention is, that, in caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould take poſſeſſion of *St. Lucia*, and ſettle there, the chevalier *de Fouquiere* (governor-general of the iſlands) ſhall ſummon them to retire in fifteen days; and, if they do not depart, he ſhall compel them to it by force of arms."

THE propriety of the *Britiſh* court's conduct on this occaſion is extremely queſtionable. As their miniſtry was not only in peace with *France* at that time, but intimately connected with its adminiſtration, we cannot account for the reaſon why the duke of *Montague* was put to ſo prodigious an expence, in attempting to make this ſettlement, before the *Britiſh* court knew the ſentiments of that of *France*; or why he was not ſupported in the attempt. Even the captains of *Britiſh* men of war refuſed to aſſiſt him, though lying in the neighbourhood. Mr. *Vring* found all this out, when it was too late; and

and all he could do was to ſend a letter to the governor of *Martinico*, propoſing a ſuſpenſion of all hoſtilities, till ſuch time as they could hear from their reſpective principals. The ſequel is ſcarcely credible. Mr. *Vring* perceived, that not only the captains of all *Britiſh* ſhips of war, but all the *Engliſh* intereſt in *America*, the government of *Barbados* excepted, were averſe from granting him any aſſiſtance, either by land or ſea. Notwithſtanding this, he landed his cannon and ſtores, and was in hopes of raiſing a defenſible fortification upon the hill, before the time limited by the *French* mandate was expired. On the 29th of *December*, ſeveral *French* ſloops ſtood into *Shoque-Bay*, with an intention, as afterwards appeared, to diſpoſſeſs the *Engliſh* ſettlement; and it is reported, that their force amounted to between 2 and 3000 men. As *Shoque-Bay* is but an hour's march from the fort, which Mr. *Vring* was then attempting to build, he drew up a proclamation, requiring all ſtrangers and foreigners, then within the iſlands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, or either of them, to ſubmit and conform to the government therein eſtabliſhed, or to depart thereout. *which is oppoſed by the* French.

THIS proclamation was ſent to the *French* at *Shoque*, who treated it with infinite contempt, and their numbers were every day encreaſing, both from *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*. Mr. *Vring*, on the other hand, had not with him above eighty perſons capable of bearing arms, and received a letter from the marquis *de Champigny*, the commander of the *French* troops, commanding his evacuation of the iſland, and flatly refuſing to give the *Engliſh* the ſmalleſt reſpite, nor even time to receive advice from *Europe*. *Vring* conſulted thoſe who were about him, and all of them agreed to leave the iſland, on condition that all their deſerters ſhould be reſtored, and ſufficient time be allowed for reimbarking the cannon, arms, ammunition, proviſions, ſtores of all ſorts, and whatever had by them been diſembarked in that iſland, which the *French* were alſo to evacuate at the ſame time. Thoſe demands were agreed to; but the *French*, to make every thing ſure, continued advancing againſt the *Engliſh*, who every day expected the *Adventure* and *Hopewell*, with 240 men on board.

Thoſe not arriving, and the *French* every day pouring freſh reinforcements from their iſlands, Mr. *Vring* reſolved all his company, demoliſhed his fort and barricado, and on the 14th of *January*, ſet ſail for the iſland of *Antigua*.

It muſt be acknowledged, that *Vring*, before his departure had ſome regard for the honour of his nation; for the following is part of one of his memorials: "The *French* at firſt oppoſed the *Engliſh* ſettlement, but by article 7th of the

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the treaty, concluded on the part of the *Engliſh*, by Mr. *Braithwaite*, empowered by Mr. *Vring*, the duke of *Montague*'s deputy-governor, and on the part of the *French*, by M. *de Champigny*, for the evacuation of *St. Lucia*, *Jan.* 8th, O. S. 1722-3, it is agreed, that immediately after the evacuation of the ſaid colony of M. the duke of *Montague*, the ſieur marquis *de Champigny* obliges himſelf alſo to make an evacuation of the *French* forces, and leave the iſland of *St. Lucia* in its former ſtate and condition, till there ſhall be a deciſion of it by the two crowns. To the rights and pretenſions of which, the ſaid ſieurs de *Champigny* and *Braithwaite* declare, they have neither inclination or power to bring any prejudice to the preſent treaty."

THE evacution of *St. Lucia* by Mr *Vring* did no prejudice to the *Britiſh* right to that iſland; for Mr. *Worſeley*, who was then governor of *Barbados*, had *St. Lucia* ſtill continued in his commiſſion, but received inſtructions for its evacuation, in conſequence of an agreement between the courts of *France* and *Great Britain* for that purpoſe, the *French* being tied down to the ſame condition. From that time to the concluſion of the definitive treaty, concluded at *Paris*, *February* the 10th, 1763, the iſland of *St. Lucia* was always conſidered as neutral; but by the 9th article of the ſaid treaty, it is ſtipulated, to be delivered to *France*, and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty is to enjoy the ſame in full right.

SAINT VINCENT.

St. Vincent, *a neutral iſland.*

THIS iſland is about twenty-four miles in length and eighteen in breadth, and lies about fifty miles north-weſt of *Barbados*. The original inhabitants of it were *Caribbeans*, but by a ſtrange intermixture of ſhipwrecked, or runaway negroes, the negroe complexion and ſpecies has the predominancy. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of St. *Vincent*, before the ceſſion of it to the crown of *Great-Britain* by the treaty of *Paris*, 1763, were extremely tenacious of their independency, but far from being ſo ferocious as many of the other ſavages, becauſe they often traded with the *European* nations, and gave them refreſhments for hatchets, ſciſſars, knives, and other hardware toys. It is obſervable, that *St. Vincent* was more populous than the other *Caribbee-Iſlands* of the ſame dimenſions, becauſe it was the general rendezvous of thoſe ſavages when they carried on war with the people of the neighbouring continent, with whom they ſeldom were at peace. By all accounts, the *Caribbeans* conſulted their own intereſts very improperly when they admitted the negroes into a partnerſhip of their ſoil; for the latter

latter tyrannized over them to ſuch a degree, that they made ſeveral attempts to introduce the *French* and *Engliſh* into the iſland, that they might diſpoſſeſs the negroes. We do not, however, perceive that thoſe attempts ſucceeded; for many of the negroes having ſome knowledge of the *European* diſcipline and manners, they baffled all the attempts made to diſpoſſeſs them, and are ſaid to have lived on the iſland plentifully and comfortably.

In 1719, the *French* from *Martinico* endeavoured to diſlodge them, but loſt many of their men, and were obliged to return. It is generally allowed, that *St. Vincent* is one of the beſt of all the *Antilles* iſlands. The ſoil is excellent, as likewiſe the water and the wood. Tobacco may be cultivated here to great perfection, and had the *Europeans* ſucceeded in making a ſettlement upon it, it muſt have ſoon become a kind of ſtorehouſe for *Martinico* and the other *Caribbee* iſlands, as every thing neceſſary for life is here eaſily raiſed. The negroes aſſimulate themſelves as much as poſſible to the *Caribbeans* in their dreſs and manner of living; but they are eaſily diſtinguiſhable by their woolly heads and flat features. Both of them have ſeparate chiefs, but no one claims to be ſovereign; their government approaching more to the republican than any other form. When the duke of *Montague*'s attempt to people this iſland, and that of *St. Lucia* took place, the *French*, from *Martinico* and their other iſlands repaired hither, and prepoſſeſſed the inhabitants, both negroes and *Indians*, againſt the *Engliſh*, who, they ſaid, intended to make them ſlaves. All the endeavours of Mr. *Egerton*, who was ſent thither by captain *Vring*, to perſuade the natives to ſubmit to the duke of *Montague*'s proprietary power, could not get the better of this prepoſſeſſion; nor could the natives form any idea of the right which a king of *England*, or any other potentate, had to diſpoſe of their iſland. Their numbers, which amounted in the whole to about 14,000, made them the more ſecure.

Mr. *Egerton* thus failing in his ſolicitations, Mr. *Braithwaite*, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor under Mr. *Vring*, was ſent from *Antigua*, to which iſland the ſettlement deſigned for *St. Lucia* had retired, in the *Griffin* ſloop, attended by the *Winchelſea* man of war, to make a freſh attempt upon the inhabitants. This became the more neceſſary, on account of the orders lately arrived from *England*, which were peremptory, that a ſettlement ſhould be made on *St. Vincent*. Mr. *Braithwaite*, coming to an anchor off the iſland, was viſited by a perſon who pretended to be a chief, with twenty-two other inhabitants, but he ſoon had reaſon to believe, that this chief was an impoſtor, and had no other

The Engliſh *attempt to ſettle it, but miſcarry.*

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view than to get from him ſome preſents. The currents ſoon drove Mr. *Braithwaite*'s ſhip off from this ſtation, and he anchored in a ſpacious bay to the leeward of the iſland, which then preſented a place very proper for making a ſettlement. Here he landed, but found the ſhore covered with *Indians*, headed by a *Frenchman*, and all of them furniſhed with fire-arms. They immediately ſeized *Braithwaite*, carried him a mile up the country, where he was introduced to their general, who was ſurrounded by a guard of about 100 *Indians*, ſome with fire-arms, and others with bows and arrows. A *Frenchman* ſerved as interpreter between the chief and *Braithwaite*, who found himſelf under a neceſſity to conceal his real errand, by pretending that he had come upon the iſland only to wood and water; and he offered to leave hoſtages in caſe the chief could be perſuaded to truſt himſelf on board the *Engliſh* ſhip. This offer was rejected, and *Braithwaite* was given to underſtand, that his ſafeſt courſe would be to get under ſail, as information had been received, that he intended to force a ſettlement upon the iſland; nor was he permitted either to wood or water. Returning to the ſhore, he found an additional number of negroes with fire-arms; but when he got into his boat he ſent on ſhore a preſent of ſome refreſhments to the *Indian* chief. The ſcene was now changed. The *French* interpreter, who had been placed as tutor over the ſavage general, was withdrawn, and the preſent was not only received with great thankfulneſs, but the meſſenger was given to underſtand, that the *Engliſh* were welcome to whatever the iſland afforded. A preſent of bows and arrows attended this compliment, and ten of the *Indians*, who ſpoke very good *French*, going on board Mr. *Braithwaite*'s ſhip, offered to remain there as hoſtages, if he choſe again to go on ſhore. *Braithwaite* ſent them on board the man of war, and went on ſhore with captain *Watſon*; but he found that the negroes and the *Caribbeans* were united, and that the negro chief had with him 500 blacks, moſt of them armed with fire-arms. They offered to ſuffer *Braithwaite* to wood and water under a guard, and with difficulty he prevailed upon the *Indian* and negroe chiefs to go on board the *Winchelſea*, where they were very handſomely entertained, and had preſents made them by capt. *Orme*. Being plied with liquor, *Braithwaite* diſcovered that they were invincibly reſolved againſt the *Engliſh* making any ſettlement upon their iſland; and he was informed, that had he owned any ſuch deſign when on ſhore, they could not have protected him. He underſtood, at the ſame time, that the *Dutch* had made a like attempt, but without ſucceſs; that the *French* had furniſhed the inhabitants with fire-arms, and had promiſed to ſupport them with all the force of *Martinico*, againſt

GRENADA, and the *Grenadines* produced very fine timber, but the cocoa-tree is obſerved not to thrive ſo well there as in the other iſlands. The latin-tree, which grows here, has a tall body, and its leaves, when tied together, ſerve as thatch for houſes. A lake on a high mountain, about the middle of the iſland, ſupplies it with freſh-water ſtreams, which render its ſoil delightful. Several bays and harbours lie round the iſland, ſome of which might be fortified to great advantage; ſo that it is very convenient for ſhipping, not being ſubject to hurricanes. Experience has proved, that its ſoil is fit for producing, beſides tobacco, ſugar, indigo, peas, and millet; and, upon the whole, this iſland carries with it all the appearances of becoming as flouriſhing a colony as any in the *Weſt-Indies*, of its dimenſions. The chief port is called *Lewis*, and ſtands on the weſt ſide of the iſland, in the middle of a large bay, with a ſandy bottom. It is pretended that a thouſand barks from 300 to 400 tons, may ride ſecure from ſtorms, and that 100 ſhips of 1000 tons each may be moored in the harbour. A large round baſon, which is parted from it by a bank of ſand, if cut through, would contain a conſiderable number of ſhips, but at preſent large ſhips, on account of this ſand-bank, are obliged to paſs within eighty paces of one of the mountains lying at the mouth of the harbour; the oppoſite mountain lying at about half a mile diſtant. One of thoſe mountains, when the *Engliſh* reduced the iſland, was ſtrongly fortified, and might have made a good defence, but ſurrendered without firing a gun. The truth is, the inhabitants, who were not very numerous, and but very ill commanded, were amazed at the reduction of *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe*, and loſt all ſpirit. *Grenada*, however, at the time of its ſurrender, contained the face of a ſettlement, having a mean church, and ſome places of rendezvous, where the *French* aſſembled to defend themſelves from the attacks of the ſavages.

MARTINICO, GUADALOUPE, and the other French *Caribbees.*

WE have already had occaſion ſo often to mention the chief of the *French Caribbee-Iſlands*, when, treating of the conqueſt of them by the *Engliſh*, that our deſcription of them is in a great meaſure anticipated, and we ſhall, therefore, confine ourſelves to the hiſtorical facts before that period. *Martinico* is the largeſt of all the *Caribbee-Iſlands*. It lies betwixt 14 and 15 deg. of north lat. and between 60

deg. 33 min. and 61 deg. 10 min. weſt longitude; about twenty leagues north-weſt of *Barbados*. It is ſaid to be about ſixty miles in length from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt; but its breadth is unequal. The produce of the iſland, beſides tobacco, is much the ſame with that of *Barbados*, and its coaſts abounds with turtle; but the *French* are far from being ſo expert as the *Engliſh* are in that ſpecies of fiſhing.

Firſt ſettlement of Martinico.

In 1637, Monſ. *d' Enanbuc*, a famous *French* ſettler, brought from *St. Chriſtophers*, which then belonged to that crown, a hundred ſoldiers to *Martinico*, all of them well provided for forming a colony. He landed at *Baſſe-Terre*, which lies to the weſt, and ſouth parts of the iſland; and if we are to believe the *French*, the inhabitants yielded up to *d' Enanbuc* all that coaſt, on which he built a fort called *St. Peter*, at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, tho' by ſome it is called *Royal Anne*. Upon the ſavages retiring to *Cape-Terre*, the new coloniſts applied themſelves to rear whatever the iſland was capable of producing; eſpecially, mandioca, peas, potatoes, cotton, and tobacco; for, at this time, the culture of ſugar was but little known to the *French*. *D'Enanbuc* then returned to *St. Chriſtopher's*, but left one *du Pont* to be his lieutenant-governor in *Martinico*. It is in vain for the *French* to pretend, that the inhabitants formed plots againſt them, and murdered them whenever they had an opportunity. The *French*, by their own accounts, were the aggreſſors by invading the natives; and it was natural for the latter to endeavour to repoſſeſs their own country. Hoſtilities multiplying every day, the new ſettlers gave no quarter to the ſavages, who ſending for aſſiſtance to all the neighbouring iſlands, they were joined by other *Caribbeans*, to the number of 1500, in canoes, from which they landed under the fort. The *French* governor, on their approach, had removed all his men and proviſions within his entrenchments; ſo that the ſavages imagining the fort to be abandoned, advanced within piſtol ſhot of the walls, without any order. This was what *du Pont* had foreſeen; and, watching his time, he poured upon the ſavages a full diſcharge of his cannon and muſketry, which killing one half of them, the ſurvivors fled to their canoes. This diſcomfiture of the *Caribbeans* ſecured to the *French*, for ſome time, the quiet poſſeſſion of their ſettlements, which they not only enlarged, but ſupplied with freſh coloniſts drawn from *St. Chriſtophers*; ſo that, in a ſhort time, the natives were obliged to ſue to them for peace.

The *French* then proceeded to a regular ſettlement of the iſland, which they divided into five wards or pariſhes. Each pariſh contained a church or chapel, an armoury, ſtorehouſe

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dwelling-houſes, and other conveniencies. The governor took up his reſidence in *St. Peter's* ward, on account of the fort we have mentioned, but made a preſent of ſome fine buildings, raiſed at the expence of the colony, to the jeſuits, who were very powerful at *Martinico*, as well as in the other *French* ſettlements. *Martinico*, notwithſtanding all its natural advantages, ſuffered greatly at this time, by a report that its ſoil produced and harboured ſerpents and other venomous reptiles. This notion prevailed ſo ſtrongly, that the people of *St. Chriſtophers*, and the neighbouring iſlands, declined coming on ſhore at *Martinico*; and the inhabitants were obliged to carry their tobacco, which they now raiſed in great plenty, and of an excellent kind, on board the ſhips. In proceſs of time, they learned from Mr. *Poincy*, the ſame who attempted to ſettle *Grenada*, the art of cultivating the ſugar cane; and *Martinico* then maintained 800 men fit to bear arms, beſides covenanted ſervants.

ABOUT the year 1646, many of the inhabitants refuſed to pay their impoſts to the *French Weſt-India* company, within whoſe charter *Martinico* was included. This produced an inſurrection in the iſland, which was quelled by the death of the chief ringleaders. It was about this time, that the differences which we have mentioned in the hiſtory of *Barbados*, aroſe between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueſe* in *Braſil*; and the former retiring from that country, landed at *Martinico* with ſome rich Jews, who offered to ſettle there. The jeſuits made a ſtrong oppoſition to this propoſal, on pretence that the new gueſts would introduce judaiſm and hereſy into the iſland. The large ſums of ready money which they were poſſeſſed of, prevailed over the jeſuits remonſtrances with the governor, to allow them a ſettlement upon the iſland in a ſeparate quarter. The climate not agreeing with them, many of them died, while others moved off the iſland, and the few who remained ſet up public houſes, by which they acquired fortunes. But all this while, the poſſeſſion of the *French* themſelves in *Martinico* was very precarious, on account of a general revolt of all the *Caribbeans* from their government. Nothing but the moſt horrible maſſacres enſued. Many of the more diſſolute among the *French* ſpirited up the ſavages; and *Parquet*, who was then governor of the iſland, was beſieged in his own houſe, where he muſt have been murdered, had he not been relieved by the arrival of ſome *Dutch* ſhips, who ſeeing ſeveral parts of the iſland in flames, landed 300 men, and defeated the ſavages. This gave *Parquet* an opportunity of taking the field; and the natives, with the negroes who had joined them, were every where ſlaughtered,

Inſurrections there.

or obliged to fly to *Dominica* and *St. Vincent*. By their flight, the *French* became masters of *Capesterre*, and at last of the whole island, having clapped up a peace with the neighbouring *Caribbeans*. In 1650, the king granted the old *French West-India* company his licence to sell *Martinico*, *St. Lucia*, *Grenada*, and the *Grenadines*, to *Parquet*, who purchased them for 50,000 livres.

MARTINICO becoming thus *Parquet*'s private property, was of no great service to *Old France*. Its inhabitants being under little or no controul, traded with the *English*, *Dutch*, and other *European* nations; but at last, *Lewis* the XIVth, in 1664, redeemed the island from the proprietaries, and granted it to a new *West-India* company. Next year, this company being united with that of *Cayenne*, they purchased all the other *French Caribbee-Islands*, to which they appointed governors. This change of property made little or no alteration in the affairs of *Martinico*, where the same abuses continued, and the same illicit trade was carried on as before, to the vast prejudice of the *French* revenue; but at last, in 1674, the *French* king suppressed this new company likewise, and all the forementioned islands became part of his domain. After this, *Martinico* was attacked by the famous *Dutch* admiral *de Ruyter*; and we have, in the history of *Barbados*, already given an account of the expeditions undertaken by the *English* against this island. But though those expeditions were unsuccessful, they were of infinite prejudice to the *French*, the most wealthy of their planters retiring, with their effects, to places where they could live with more security, many of them moving to *Old France* itself. *Labat*, who was then upon the island, attributes the calamities which the natives suffered, to a kind of an epidemical frenzy, which broke out among them, and drove many of them to put an end to their own lives, while others were guilty of such extravagancies, as proved them to be totally void of all reason. The best cure for this madness was found to be darkness, a low diet, and severe bastinadings, which sometimes brought the patients to themselves.

Invaded by the English.

In the year 1700, the *French*, settled upon the island of *Martinico*, were computed to be 1500, besides the negroes, whom they employed, and great numbers of *Caribbeans*, who were readmitted into the island, but were obliged to work as slaves, and to live among the *French*, that they might have no opportunity to form conspiracies and plots with their countrymen, or to associate together. On the 29th of *October* 1727, *Martinico* was in danger of being destroyed by an earthquake, which lasted, with very short intervals, for eleven hours,

hours, and threw down *St. Peter's Fort.* Many loſt their lives in this calamity; and beſides churches, convents, and other public buildings, above 200 ſugar-works were ruined. One mountain was levelled, another cleft in two, and copious ſtreams of water iſſued from the fiſſure. A few years recovered the iſland, and the inhabitants having the *Guadalupe* ſugars ſhipped from thence, with many other advantages from their mother-country, grew rich and flouriſhing. Before it was ſubdued by the *Engliſh*, it could raiſe 10,000 white inhabitants, fit to carry arms, and above 40,000 negroes or ſlaves. Beſides this force, ſome companies of regulars were always quartered in the iſland; ſo that the *French* at laſt gave it out to be impregnable; and it is certain, that nothing but the moſt notorious miſconduct, as we have already obſerved in the hiſtory of *Barbados*, could have rendered the *Britiſh* troops maſters of it with ſo little loſs as they ſuffered in its conqueſt. *Its flouriſhing ſtate.*

MARTINICO is not only the chief of all the *French Caribbee* or *Antilles Iſlands*, but the reſidence of the governor-general, and the intendant of them. It is likewiſe the ſeat of a ſovereign council, which ſuperintends all their other iſlands, and even their ſettlements in *St. Domingo* and *Tortuga*. This council conſiſts of the governor-general, the intendant, the governor of the iſland, an attorney-general, the lieutenant-governor for the crown, and twelve counſellors. Its powers are very extenſive, for it judges in the laſt reſort upon all matters that come before its court by way of appeal. The governor-general, if upon the iſland, is preſident of the council, or in his abſence, the intendant. If both are abſent, the eldeſt counſellor then preſent collects the votes, and pronounces the ſentence of the court, the conſtitution of which is preferable to the like in *Old France*, as the members riſe to their ſeats by merit only. The other officers on the iſland are two lieutenant-governors, one for *Capeſterre*, and another for *Baſſe Terre*, with a ſecretary of the marine, whoſe commiſſion is very extenſive. But ſome of thoſe high-ſounding officers have more power and honour than profit attending them, their revenues conſiſting chiefly of ſome exemptions of their negroes from the capitation-tax, and a few caſual perquiſites, but thoſe not conſiderable. *and government.*

THE *French* governor-general is commonly a man of quality, and both he, the intendant, and the lieutenant-governor, are paid out of the finances of *Old France*. The governor of *Martinico*, as well as of *Guadalupe*, are paid in ſugar, as indeed are all the officers of the iſland, excepting ſome inconſiderable ſums, that iſſue from the treaſury of *Old France*.

The hundred weight of ſugar is rated at four livres ten ſols. The governors are allowed 60,000 pounds weight, with a penſion of 1000 crowns, paid in *Old France*. The lieutenant-governors have 20,000 pounds weight, and 5000 livres ſalary. The king's judges, attornies, and other officers, have each an allowance of 6000 weight; but the counſellors of the ſovereign council have no more than 1200 weight or twelve of their negroes, exempted from the capitation-tax. This is a tax paid by the white men and the free negroes, who are hired ſervants, and conſiſts of 100 weight of coarſe ſugar a year, for each domeſtic or negro, who is employed in manufacturing it; and of ſix livres for every other. All proviſions imported into the iſland are ſubject to a duty of one per cent. in ſpecie, and a third of all forfeitures and fines goes to the crown. *Martinico* owes its flouriſhing ſtate, in a great meaſure, to the *French* government having tranſported thither, by way of puniſhment, great numbers of its proteſtant ſubjects; ſome of whom voluntarily ſettled there.

Air of Martinico.

THOUGH *Martinico* is generally ſaid to be healthful for people ſettled upon it, yet it is certain, that the vaſt quantity of water which runs through it, creates a humidity, which is very noxious to the conſtitutions of the inhabitants. *Martinico* is likewiſe much ſubject to epidemical diſeaſes, but thoſe chiefly imported in ſhips from *Aſia* and *Africa*. *Labat*, who reſided upon the iſland, ſays, that a *French* ſhip from *Siam*, in bringing off the remains of two colonies they had there, landed at *Martinico*, where the crew and the paſſengers infected the inhabitants with a moſt horrible diſtemper, which corrupted the whole maſs of the blood; and, after producing the moſt ſhocking ſymptoms among thoſe affected with it, the patient generally died in four or five days. This was in the year 1705. As we know very little of *Martinico*, it having been too ſhort a time in our cuſtody after its conqueſt, for us to be perfectly acquainted with it, we are obliged to have recourſe to the *French* writers for our deſcription of the iſland.

Deſcription of St. Peter's, *and other parts of the iſland.*

SAINT PETERS, which we have already mentioned to have been the capital of *Martinico*, was built in 1665, in order to overawe the mutineers of the iſland againſt its proprietors, the ſecond *Weſt-India* company, who were at the ſame time the proprietors of all the *French Antilles*. The town itſelf extends along the ſhore; and a battery, which commands the road, is erected on the weſt ſide, which is waſhed by the river *Royolan*, or *St. Peter*. The principal entry to the fort is from the eaſt; and the fort itſelf, towards the

the ſea, is very ſtrong. Upon the high ground, which overlooks the town, is built a wall, which extends thirty-five fathom, and is well mounted with cannon, with a large town at each extremity. This fortification commands the parade and the town. The fort has no ditch, nor covered way, but the walls are four feet and a half thick, with a parapet and battlements of ſtone, and the gates are defended by ſtrong palliſadoes. The parade is a ſquare, of about 300 feet, ſurrounded on three ſides by houſes, from which five ſtreets run, and with the fort in its front. The town itſelf is divided into three wards; the middle, which is properly *St. Peters*, begins at the fort, and runs weſtward to the battery of *St. Nicholas*, which is mounted with eleven guns, and is ſituated on a mountain. Under the walls of the ſecond ward, ſhips ride at anchor more ſecurely than under the fort; for which reaſon, this ward is called the *Anchorage*, and extends from the battery of *St. Nicholas* to that of *St. Robert*, which bounds the town on the weſt ſide. The third ward, called the *Gallery*, extended along the ſea-ſide, from fort *St. Peter* to the *Jeſuits* river; but 200 houſes of it were deſtroyed by a hurricane in 1695. It was afterwards rebuilt, and became the moſt populous ward of the three. But thoſe fortifications, formidable as they appear upon paper, made a very inadequate defence againſt the *Engliſh*, when they reduced this iſland. The houſes of *St. Peter's*, particularly thoſe of the intendant, the governor of the iſland, and the other public officers, were found to be neat, commodious, and elegant. The pariſh church of *St. Peter* is built of ſtone, its front is of the Doric order, and every thing about it, ſhewed both the taſte and magnificence of the jeſuits, who officiated in it; the whole being 120 feet long by 36. The church of the *Anchorage*, which belongs to the Jacobine friars, is likewiſe of ſtone, and is 90 feet long by 30; two chapels belonging to each church. The building of this church was greatly forwarded by the officers of the marine, who ordered their crews to aſſiſt in it; and therefore they enjoy ſome particular marks of diſtinction, ſuch as pews and burying-grounds. Nothing can be more delightful than the walk from the yard, in which this church ſtands, to the Jacobine convent. It is formed by two rows of fine orange-trees, and croſſed by two others, half a mile in length. The kitchen-garden of the convent is furniſhed with all kinds of delicious fruits. The jeſuits-cloiſter is built of marble and free-ſtone, and commands a very fine proſpect over a great variety of gardens and vineyards.

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FORT-ROYAL is the next place of great conſequence in *Martinico*, and it lies by land at the diſtance of ſeven leagues, and nine by water from fort *St. Peter*; but the land-road is ſo very incommodious, that travellers generally chuſe to go by water. This fort is built on an eminence, fifteen or eighteen fathom above the ſurface of the ſea, by which it is ſurrounded, excepting a neck of land, of about fifteen fathom over; ſo that the fort may be ſaid to lie in an iſthmus. It is built of earth, and its chief defence conſiſts of the fortifications raiſed upon this iſthmus, which are two demy-baſtions and a half-moon, but all of them ſmall; a wet ditch, a glacis, and a covered-way palliſadoed. On the flank of one of the demy-baſtions lies the harbour, which has a communication with a fortified platform by a pair of ſtairs. On that ſide, the fort is ſhut in by a double wall; and a parapet, with ſome port-holes, lies towards the ſea. The ſoil, on which the town is built, is a kind of a quickſand; but though it contains regular ſtreets, and one large church belonging to the capuchins, it is ſaid not to be comparable to *St. Peters*. *Cul de Sac Robert*, which lies in this iſland, is a large bay, almoſt two leagues deep, with two little iſlands at its entrance, which, by breaking the force of the waves, renders the bay a fine, ſafe, natural harbour; for the largeſt ſhips, which may be admitted here, to a great number, may reach the ſhore by a plank in many places. *Fort Trinity* lies at the bottom of *Trinity-Bay*, and is formed by *Point de Caravel*, on the eaſt ſide, and on the weſt by an iſthmus, which is joined to the land by a neck, about 200 feet broad. It is ſaid, that the tide here flows to the height of fifteen or eighteen inches, and in new and full moons, to above two feet, which contradicts a common opinion that there is no reflux, or if any, only an impereeptible one, between the tropics. The lieutenant-governor of *Capeſterre* has his reſidence in *Trinity-Town*, which is likewiſe inhabited by a conſiderable number of merchants, and by its convenient ſituation for the *European* trade, and the ſafety of its port, during the hurricane-ſeaſon, is become one of the moſt thriving pariſhes in the iſland. The manufactures of cocoa, ſugar, cotton, and other commodities, carried on here, are very conſiderable. In former times, the *Caribbeans* or natives had their chief town at *Carbet*, (ſo called from them) near *Fort St. Peter*, in *Baſſe Terre*. The rivulets and gullies which abound in *Martinico*, render travelling upon the iſland very incommodious; but under the direction of a better government than that which *Martinico* had when it was conquered by the *Engliſh*, thoſe gullies might be made highly ſerviceable in defending the iſland.

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THE conqueſt of *Martinico*, in a manner, cloſed the operations between the *Engliſh* and *French* in *America* during the late war. It ſtruck the court of *Verſailles* with greater conſternation than even the loſs of *Canada* had done; and the rather, becauſe their miniſters at foreign courts had in no very decent terms reproached that of *London*, for want of judgment in fitting out an armament againſt an iſland that might ſecurely bid defiance to all their power, by its artificial as well as natural ſtrength, and the numbers, ſpirit, and martial diſpoſition of its inhabitants. This conqueſt, as we have already partly obſerved, facilitated the reduction of the other *French Caribbee-Iſlands*, as it in a manner annihilated all their power there. As to the inhabitants of *Martinico*, they remained with great tranquillity under the military government of the *Engliſh*, during the ſhort time they held it, and even ſeemed well-pleaſed at their change of maſters. This diſpoſition proved very favourable to the *Engliſh*, who having, by that time, reſolved upon an expedition againſt the *Havannah*, were obliged to draw off great part both of their land and ſea-forces from *Martinico*, to reinforce that expedition. During a negotiation for peace, that was managed between Mr. *Pitt* on the part of his *Britannic* majeſty, and M. *Buſſy* on that of the *French* court, the latter ſeemed from the beginning to have made no difficulty of putting the *Engliſh* in poſſeſſion of *Canada*, provided they could recover *Guadalupe*; but *Martinico* being conquered, they added to the *Engliſh* the poſſeſſion of *Louiſiana*, almoſt as far as *New Orleans*. *Reflections on its conqueſt by the* Engliſh.

THE ſubjects of *Great Britain*, however, not foreſeeing what turn thoſe negotiations might take, had availed themſelves of the conqueſt of *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*, by opening in both iſlands a very promiſing trade; and even numbers of them ſettled there. It was therefore neceſſary to prevent all loſs and inconveniency to private property, to ſpecify in the eigth article of the definitive treaty, that all *Britiſh* ſubjects, "who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſlands, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, or in the other places reſtored to *France* by the preſent treaty, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels, which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſlands, and other places reſtored as above; and which ſhall ſerve for this uſe only, without being retained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions; and for this purpoſe, the term of eighteen *Stipulation regarding* Martinico *in the treaty of* 1763.

months is allowed to his *Britannic* majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; but, as the liberty granted to his *Britannic* majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſly agreed between his *Britannic* majeſty and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, that the number of *Engliſh* veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to *France*, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the *Engliſh* being to be embarked at the ſame time. It has been further agreed, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two *French* clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing-places and poſts of the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to *France*; and that the merchandize which ſhall be found therein ſhall be confiſcated."

In conſequence of this article, on the 20th of *December*, 1763, public notice was given in the *London Gazette*, for all merchants and others concerned in the trade to *Martinico*, and the other reſtored iſlands, to ſend in to lord *Hallifax*'s office all the above ſpecified particulars, that his lordſhip knowing the numbers of the veſſels, might accordingly apply to the courts of *France* and *Spain* for paſſports. Upon the whole, the *French* ſhewed, during the whole courſe of the negociation, an eagerneſs for the reſtitution of the three iſlands *Martinico*, *Guadaloupe*, and *St. Lucia*, that was impolitic; and, probably, muſt be ineffectual. Their retaining the property of *St. Lucia* may be ſome advantage to them, but can be of no detriment to *Great-Britain*, as we ſhall farther remark in our account of *Dominica*. The *French*, by all accounts, are endeavouring to give this iſland all the additional ſtrength that it can admit of; but they are undoubtedly miſtaken in imagining as they do, that they ever ſhall be able to revive that gainful ſugar-trade which they carried on before the laſt war from *Martinico*. The acquiſition that has been made by the *Engliſh* of the other *Caribbee Iſlands*, where ſugar, indigo, cotton, and the like commodities may be raiſed in as great perfection, and with as much facility, as they can be in their iſlands, muſt ſoon convince them of their error; beſides the infinite loſſes they have ſuſtained in their *North American* poſſeſſions, which uſed to ſupply their iſlanders with many ne-

neceſſaries for their plantations and commerce, and likewiſe took off large quantities of their ſugar, rum, and molaſſes.

THE iſland of *Guadaloupe* was by the *Carribbeans* called *Carukera*, or *Carriceura*, and was diſcovered by *Columbus*, who gave it the name it now bears, from a diſtant reſemblance it has to a chain of mountains of the ſame name in *Old Spain*. When he landed here, it was peopled by a ſet of ſavages who knew the arts of life better than thoſe who inhabited the other *Caribbee-Iſlands*. His landing was oppoſed by the women of the iſland, who furiouſly attacked his men with their bows and arrows; but they were ſoon diſperſed by the fire-arms of the *Spaniards*, who thereby obtained an eaſy poſſeſſion of the iſland, where they found the houſes of the barbarians ſtored with large quantities of cotton, ſpun and unſpun, and looms for weaving it; mention is likewiſe made of iron, bows and arrows, and cotton hammocks. Thoſe particulars raiſe ſome ſuſpicion as to the veracity of the *Spaniſh* accounts; unleſs we can ſuppoſe the natives either to have deſcended from the inhabitants of the old world, or to have acquired ſome knowledge of manufactures after the two former voyages of *Columbus*. Honey, wax, pompions, (for ſo a baſtard kind of pine-apple is called) a ſort of cinnamon-tree, maſtic, aloes, ſandel-wood, ginger, and ſeveral other *Weſt-India* fruits, were found here in large quantities. The birds diſcovered on the iſland were parrots, partridges, turtle-doves, herons, falcons, to mention no others; becauſe the hiſtories of places, which come from the firſt diſcoverers of *America*, ought to be read with great caution. Whatever may be in this, *Columbus*, who, notwithſtanding his perſonal merits, and the obligations he has laid the public under by diſcovering *America*, was no other than a commiſſioned pirate, acting under the authority of two powers, the pope and the king of *Spain*, who had no right over the places he conquered. He behaved accordingly; for after landing his men, he plundered and burnt the houſes of the natives.

Guadaloupe.

Diſcovery and name of Guadaloupe.

GUADALUPE lies thirty leagues north-weſt from *Martinico*, and is ſuppoſed to be near an hundred leagues in compaſs. We know nothing of its hiſtory from the time of *Columbus* landing on and plundering it, till the inſtitution of the *French* general company of the *American* iſlands in 1635, within whoſe commiſſion *Guadaloupe* lay. This company being unable of themſelves to plant or cultivate their iſlands, empowered M. *St. Olive*, or, as he is called by *Labat*, *de Loline*, who was their lieutenant-general of *St. Chriſtophers*, which is then a flouriſhing plantation, and one *du Pleſſis*, to conſult with ſome merchants of *Dieppe*, for ſettling *Guadaloupe*.

Situation,

The

The religious differences in *France*, at that time, as well as in *England*, ſoon produced adventurers, who, beſides the inducement of enjoying liberty of conſcience, were ſtimulated by views of intereſt, which, in fact united all parties and religions in ſuch adventures. Thoſe merchants contracted with 400 men, who were obliged to ſerve them three years; but many of the adventurers, who were proteſtants, did not imagine that the new ſettlement was abſolutely under the direction of cardinal *Richelieu*, who ſent along with them four *Dominican* friars, provided with very full powers from pope *Urban* the VIIIth. The commiſſion of the adventurers from the general company of the *American* iſlands left it optional to them to ſettle either *Martinico*, *Dominica*, or *Guadaloupe*.

and firſt peopling.

MARTINICO, as being the moſt promiſing, was pitched on; but when the coloniſts landed on that iſland, nothing but mountains and precipices preſented to them, and they found it full of thoſe ſerpents and poiſonous animals we have already mentioned, which determined them, after erecting a croſs in ſign of poſſeſſion, to remove to *Guadaloupe*. The value of this iſland, by what has fallen from the *French* and *Spaniſh* writers, was, at this time, far from being unknown to the *Europeans*; for we are told that the *Dominicans* had obtained the miſſion of it, on the merit of eighteen of their order (*Spaniards* in all probability) having been put to death there in 1603 and 1604. The adventurers happened to make an unfortunate choice of the place on which they landed; for the ſoil, which was red, ſeemed to be proper only for making bricks. As an addition to this misfortune, their two conductors, *D'Olive* and *du Pleſſis*, diſagreed in the partition of their command, which afterwards proved very detrimental to the colony; and they had been guilty of an unpardonable overſight, in not carrying along with them proviſions ſufficient to ſubſiſt them for at leaſt twelvemonths, without the aſſiſtance of the natives. On examining their ſtores, they found no more left than could maintain them for two months, and the two chiefs dividing them between them, as well as their men and ammunition, agreed to ſeparate.

Diſtreſſes of the colony,

D'Olive built fort *St. Peter*, ſo called, becauſe he took poſſeſſion of it on that ſaint's eve. At firſt, the natives were far from ſhewing any diſguſt or diſlike towards them. On the contrary, they aſſiſted them in rearing their huts, and furniſhed them with caſſava-bread, with ſeed for raiſing tobacco, cotton and peas, and even taught them to catch turtle and other fiſh in canoes. It is probable, that the coloniſts made ungrateful returns for thoſe acts of friendſhip, for otherwiſe we can ſcarcely account for the dreadful famine, with which

which, in a ſhort time they were afflicted. This became ſo raging, after conſuming their bread, that many of them died of bloody fluxes, others retired to *St. Chriſtophers*, and thoſe who remained, were reduced to the horrible neceſſity of even devouring dead bodies, which they pulled from the graves. A ſhip arriving from *Dieppe*, with 140 men, landed a month's proviſion, but that being ſpent, the famine and mortality raged as much as ever. Notwithſtanding the horrors of this narrative, the miſeries of the ſettlers muſt have been partially alleviated, either by the commiſeration of the natives, or the produce of the grounds; as it is impoſſible to conceive they could ſubſiſt in ſuch miſery for near five years, which father *la Tetre* informs us they did. Their ſufferings, however, were very great, and famine had reduced their bodies to ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs, that they were unable to clear the ground, ſo as to raiſe other plants, roots, fruits, or corn.

through the miſmanagements of its directors.

In the courſe of thoſe calamities *du Pleſſis* died, by which the direction of the colony devolved upon *D'Olive*. The *French* writers themſelves obſerve, that the ſettlers were equally afflicted by the inſatiable avarice and cruelty of their commanders as by the hand of Providence. *D'Olive*, at laſt broke with the ſavages, numbers of whom he maſſacred, as being the readieſt way to procure ſubſiſtance. As uſual, they applied to the *Caribbeans* of the neighbouring iſlands, who attacked the *French* in ſuch numbers, that ſo many of them were cut off, as ſcarcely to leave to the remainder the name of a colony. And indeed, when we conſider the calamities they are ſaid to have ſtruggled with, it is ſurpriſing that any one among them was left alive. We are, therefore, reaſonably to preſume, that their ſufferings were over-rated by themſelves or their hiſtorians; eſpecially, as the war between them and the *Caribbeans* is ſaid to have been carried on with great ſlaughter and cruelty on both ſides, from *January* 1636 to 1639. During this period, it appears even from the *French* accounts, that ſeveral reinforcements were ſent them, both from *Europe* and *St. Chriſtopher's*; but they tell us, that all their convoys of proviſions miſcarried, as if the hand of God had been upon the colony to blaſt it. We need not, however, ſearch for extraordinary cauſes, when natural ones readily preſent themſelves; for it is generally allowed, that the tyranny and rapaciouſneſs of *D'Olive* were inſupportable, and that the coloniſts reſolved to undergo any extremity, rather than continue under it. When the ſettlement was brought to its loweſt ebb, *D'Olive* detached a party of his beſt men to bring proviſions from *St. Chriſtopher's*; but they either periſhed in the

the voyage, or carried away the ſhip, to rid themſelves of *D'Olive*'s tyranny; for they never were more heard of.

D'Olive, *one of them, put under arreſt.*

D'OLIVE's ambition for command was ſuch, that he could not bear the thoughts of reſigning even that of this miſerable colony; and he ſent over a *Dominican* to be his agent at the court of *France*, which he underſtood was filled with complaints againſt him, as well as to ſollicit ſpeedy ſupplies from the company. The *Dominican* managed ſo well, by repreſenting the coloniſts as heretics, and that all the outcries againſt *D'Olive*, were from his vigilance and ſtrict diſcipline, that the company received a meſſage, which was to them a law, from cardinal *Richelieu*, importing, that they ſhould renew *D'Olive*'s commiſſion, and conſtitute him ſole governor of the colony. The *Dominican* returned with this commiſſion, and the governor immediately aſſembled his officers to hear it read; but while this ceremony was performing, the *Dominican* church, with all its rich furniture and plate, was conſumed by fire; nor were the perpetrators ever diſcovered, a ſtrong proof of the deteſtation in which this commiſſion was held by the coloniſts. In the mean while, all *Richelieu*'s authority could not prevail with the merchants of *Dieppe* to make any addition to the expences of men and money they had laid out upon the colony; and even the company turned a deaf ear to all *D'Olive*'s repeated applications for freſh ſupplies; nor could ſuch of the coloniſts as had ſerved out their time, be prevailed upon, either by entreaties or threats, to remain longer in the iſland. The dreadful ſituation he found himſelf in, affected his brain, and becoming blind, he went to *St. Chriſtopher's*, where he was put under arreſt by M. *de Poincy*, governor-general of the *French* iſlands.

Guadalupe *new ſettled by* de Poincy.

DE POINCY knew the value of *Guadalupe*, and the reaſons why the colony had miſcarried. He immediately formed a plan for ſelling *St. Chriſtopher's* to the *Engliſh*, and for carrying over all its inhabitants to ſettle *Guadalupe*. The bad ſucceſs of the former colony probably prevented this propoſal from being executed; but *de Poincy* was ſo thoroughly convinced of its expediency, and the advantages that muſt attend it, that, at the requeſt of the company's agent, he ſent over men and ammunition to *Guadalupe*, where the *Caribbeans* had again come to a great head; and he publiſhed advertiſements or placarts through all the *French* part of *St. Chriſtopher's*, offering to ſuch of the inhabitants as inclined to remove to *Guadalupe*, their paſſage free, and to maintain them till their own plantations could ſubſiſt them. He even prohibited the *French* of *St. Chriſtopher's* to cultivate tobacco in their mountains or higher grounds; and thus they were put

put under a kind of neceſſity of complying with his propoſals. On the 14th of *January*, 1640, a hundred and thirty-two *French* of *St. Chriſtopher's* ſailed for *Guadalupe*; but being driven back, and their ſhip in bad condition, they did not reach it before the laſt of the month. *Poincy* hearing of their arrival at *Guadalupe*, raiſed as many more, and, to encreaſe their number, he releaſed all the civil debtors upon the iſland, whom he likewiſe ſent over to *Guadalupe*, where he ſaid the intereſt of the king and the company demanded their ſervices. Two officers, *Vernade* and *Sabouilly*, were appointed by *de Poincy* to manage the affairs of the new colony; and their firſt meaſure was to make a partition among their ſettlers of all the eſtates and effects that had belonged to *D'Olive's* planters, and which the few remains of his colony thought ought to be appropriated to them. The miſunderſtanding this occaſioned was of infinite diſſervice to the colony. The officers continued to exerciſe ſuch tyranny over their inferiors, that many of them ran into the woods, where ſome of them joined the *Caribbeans*, who carried on inceſſant war againſt the *French*, while others occaſionally plundered both parties. *Sabouilly* defeated the ſavages, and once more forced the greateſt part of them to leave the iſland; but upon their departure, the fugitive *French* uniting in a body, *de Poincy* was obliged to ſend over 500 men from *St. Chriſtopher's* to reduce them, and the colony thereby recovered ſome degree of tranquillity.

Freſh calamities of the coloniſts,

THE new ſettlers ſtill laboured under vaſt diſadvantages. The air of the iſland, which was not yet cleared, proved fatal to their conſtitutions, and carried numbers of them off. The ſurvivors found, that without the aſſiſtance of the ſavages, it was impoſſible for them to procure ſubſiſtence while they were clearing their plantations. The *Caribbeans*, therefore, were once more admitted to a communication with the *French*, who furniſhed them with knives, ſciſſars, nails, and the like articles, of ſmall value; and received in return, hogs, turtles, and a great variety of other fiſh, which ſubſiſted them while they were clearing their grounds. Before the end of the year 1640, M. *Aubert* was appointed by the *Weſt-India* company their governor of *Guadalupe*; and while he continued in that ſtation, he was, by his prudence, juſtice, and moderation, of vaſt ſervice to the colony. He re-eſtabliſhed a good underſtanding with the ſavages, and the terms being faithfully obſerved on both parts, ſufficiently proved, that all former misfortunes of the colony had been owing to the tyranny and rapaciouſneſs of its governors and officers. The advantages of the new ſettlement became every day more and

more evident, by the revival of tranquillity and plenty, and many eminent planters were encouraged thereby to ſettle in the iſland. This deſirable ſituation did not long continue. The members of the *Weſt-India* company in *France* had but a very ſlender ſtock of credit, and moſt of them were men of ruined fortunes, deſirous of repairing them by every practice of oppreſſion and rapaciouſneſs. The promiſing aſpect of their colony at *Guadalupe* was too tempting to be reſiſted, and M. *Houel*, one of their own number, being ſent over to inſpect the affairs of the iſland, upon his return in 1642, made ſo favourable a report of it, that *Aubert* was diſplaced, and *Houel* ſent over governor in his room. We know little of the hiſtory of this governor's adminiſtration, during his ten years reſidence upon the iſland, any farther than that diſſention and animoſity among the coloniſts again got footing under him; but, in the main, the colony acquired ſtrength and riches, though, perhaps, not in ſo great a degree as it might have done, had it continued under its former governor. *Houel*, going over to *France*, left the government of *Guadalupe* in the hands of his brother and nephew; and when major-general *Penn*, in his expedition againſt *Hiſpaniola*, appeared before it with an *Engliſh* ſquadron, he found it in ſo good a poſture of defence, that we are told [a], he did not think proper to attack it. This, however, is a ridiculous aſſertion, raiſed by the *French* themſelves; for it muſt have coſt *Penn* his head had he made any ſuch attempt, there being then the ſtricteſt intimacy between *Cromwell* and the court of *France*.

but at laſt begin to thrive.

Deſtructive hurricanes in the iſland.

ABOUT this time, the colony upon the iſland of *Guadalupe* was threatened with utter ruin by three moſt dreadful hurricanes, which happened in the ſpace of fifteen months, which deſtroyed moſt of their plantations, and almoſt all the live ſtock they had to ſubſiſt upon; ſo that a depopulation by famine muſt have enſued, had not the coloniſts been relieved from other iſlands. When the hurricanes ceaſed, the air was infected, and prodigious quantities of large caterpillars devoured the fruits of the ground: but thoſe natural calamities were not the only misfortunes the coloniſts had to ſtruggle with. *Houel*, who was naturally of a tyrannical and avaricious diſpoſition, by his oppreſſion often provoked the coloniſts into inſurrections; and to quell them, he had recourſe to the negroes and other ſlaves upon the iſland, into whoſe hands he put fire-arms. Fortunately for the coloniſts, theſe negroes were of two ſorts, thoſe from *Angola*, and thoſe from

[a] Syſtem of Geography, Vol. II. p. 734.

Cape

Cape Verde; but having been always at war with one another in *Africa*, they could not unite in *America*, ſo as to make their conſpiracy againſt the *French* a common cauſe. They carried it, however, as far as it could go; for though they could not agree about uniting together, yet they were unanimous as to a conſpiracy into which they entered againſt the *French*. Their plan was, to murder all their maſters, but to preſerve the females for a breed, and then to divide the iſland between them, under two kings, as they called themſelves, the one to reign over *Baſſe Terre*, and the other over *Capeſterre*, which was appointed for their general rendezvous. Before the day of execution arrived, the hearts of the *Cape Verde* negroes failed them, either though fear, or from the averſion they had to their brothers of *Angola*. The latter punctually obſerved their rendezvous, notwithſtanding their diſappointment. Having waited a whole day for their *Cape Verde* friends, they fell with great fury upon the *French* plantations at *Capeſterre*, many of whom they deſtroyed, killing the planters, and carrying off their arms. They then ſheltered themſelves in the woods, from whence, for fifteen days, they made excurſions, deſtroying all the *French* who fell into their hands. This obliging the *French* to unite, the ſavages were defeated; their two kings taken and put to death, as were many of their ringleaders, while the inferior ſort ſuffered different, but ſevere, puniſhments. The *Caribbeans* about *Capeſterre* were accuſed by the *French* of having fomented this and another conſpiracy, which was likewiſe defeated; and thoſe ſavages, to clear themſelves, entered into a compromiſe with the *French*, to renounce all farther connections with the negroes.

Oppreſſions of Houel, *its governor.*

THOSE diſturbances were not confined to ſlaves and ſavages; for *Houel*'s oppreſſions and exactions irritated the *French* themſelves into a revolt, which was appeaſed only by his promiſing to aboliſh their grievances. But his danger was no ſooner over, than they were renewed, and he was ſo rapacious as to ſtrip even his brother and nephew of their eſtates upon the iſland, and obliged them to come from *France* to *Guadaloupe* to reclaim them. The planters and merchants took their part, and *Houel* was forced again to patch up an accommodation, which he broke likewiſe; but at laſt, *de Poincy* interpoſed, and matters were once more ſeemingly accommodated. This reconciliation being ſoon broken, both parties had again recourſe to arms, and the *French* king was daily teſtered with remonſtrances and petitions from both ſides; ſo ntradictory to each other, that in 1663 [b], he gave a com-

[b] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 149.

miſſion to the marquis *de Tracy*, whom we have already mentioned in the hiſtory of *Canada*, to repair to the *French Windward-Iſlands*, with the new title of his majeſty's viceroy of *America*; and, after ſettling every thing there, to take upon him the government of *Canada*. When *Tracy* arrived at *Guadaloupe*, he found the affairs of the iſland in vaſt diſorder. The ſlaves had again deſerted to the number of 400, and from their faſtneſſes in the woods, headed by a daring fellow of their own number, they committed great diſorders. *Tracy* having with him a ſtrong body of regulars, threw ſome of them into the forts of the iſland, and with the others he found little difficulty in reducing the ſlaves to their duty. At laſt he found means to eſtabliſh a kind of a general peace over all the *Antilles*; in which the *Engliſh*, the *French*, and the *Caribbeans* were parties. During *Tracy*'s reſidence in *Guadaloupe*, he was guilty of many ſhameful injuſtices towards the *French* of the reformed religion, on pretence of their having inſulted the Roman catholics, and encouraged the diſorders of the iſland.

Guadaloupe *again purchaſed.*

BY this time, the *French Weſt-India* company were bankrupts, and ſold to Monſ. *de Boiſſeret*, *Houel*, and others, the iſlands of *Guadalupe*, *Deſeada*, *Maragalante*, *Xaintes*, and other ſmall iſlands; nothing being reſerved to the *French* crown more than the bare right of ſovereignty; and then the company was diſſolved. It could not have ſubſiſted ſo long, had it not been for the ſpirit of colonizing that then poſſeſſed the *French*, and eſpecially the proteſtants; for though it was eſtabliſhed under the powerful patronage of cardinal *Richelieu*, yet its capital did not exceed 4000*l.* ſterling. The court of *France* looked upon the bargain they had made with the new proprietors, as a tranſaction they had no power to conclude, and as a nullity in itſelf. It was upon this preſumption, that *Tracy* had been ſent over to regulate the affairs of thoſe iſlands; and in *July* 1664, a new *Weſt-India* company was inſtituted, comprehending all the *French* poſſeſſions in *America*, on the continent as well as in the iſlands; but not till after the new proprietors of *Guadalupe* had been reimburſed their purchaſe-money. The firſt governor of *Guadalupe*, under this new company, was Monſ. *de Lion*. The king was to be at the expence of its military eſtabliſhments, and his troops accordingly continued to garriſon the forts upon the iſland. The company, on the other hand, had vaſt funds and reſources for carrying on their commerce; and one of the firſt of the royal inſtructions was, that they ſhould uſe all means to recover the trade of the *French Antilles-Iſlands*, out of the hands of the *Dutch*, who

who, during the troubles which happened in the *French* king's minority, had almoſt engroſſed it. They likewiſe had it in charge to recover from the knights of *Malta*, and other private owners, all the ſmaller iſlands, which they had obtained by ſham purchaſes from the late proprietors.

THE inſtitution of this new *Weſt-India* company was a bold and ſpirited undertaking, and every way worthy the genius of the great *Colbert*, who formed it; and who propoſed, that it ſhould defray half the military expence of the *French* nation; but he did not foreſee, that the *French* had not ſtability enough in their nature for executing, to the full, ſo momentous a plan. Though the company, while it exiſted, did wonders in anſwering the expectation of the government; yet the ſervices they performed were turned againſt themſelves, and *Colbert* immediately concluded, that if private perſons made ſuch advantage by trade, the profits muſt be more than doubled ſhould the crown reſume into its own hands the property of thoſe iſlands; but, as we have obſerved in the hiſtory of *Canada*, this was far from being the caſe of that and the other *French* ſettlements upon the continent. In conſequence of this ſcheme, the new *French Weſt-India* company was ſuppreſſed in 1674; and then their trade, and all their poſſeſſions, by means that are not material for this hiſtory to tranſmit, were reſumed into the *French* king's hands, whoſe miniſters, from that time, ſeemed to have adopted a commercial ſyſtem that was entirely new. In imitation of the courts of *England* and *Spain*, their plan was to confine the trade of the *French Antilles* to *France* alone; but this, in a great meaſure, depended on the concurrence of their *Guinea* company, who, as it happened at *Barbados*, diſputed their right of importing negroes from *Africa*; and of their farmers-general, to whom the late *Weſt-India* company was greatly in arrears, without their having any proſpect of being repaid, but from the profits of that trade.

New inſtitution of the colony by Colbert.

THOSE different claims threw the *Antilles-Iſlands* into a ſtate of indeciſion with regard to their trade, and they ſtill admitted *Dutch* veſſels to trade with them, five of which were burnt by the *Engliſh* in one of the harbours of *Guadalupe* in 1677; and ſome of the *French* plantations in *Grand Terre* were plundered at the ſame time. As to the other naval tranſactions which then paſſed between the *Engliſh* and *French* at *Guadalupe*, we muſt refer the reader to the hiſtory of *Barbados*. Upon the whole, the *French* ſaw, that through the miſmanagement, pride, and avarice of their own governors, the *Engliſh* had got the ſtart of them in their *Weſt-India* trade; and that the ſame motives had induced their

ſettlers and officers to be guilty of the moſt flagrant breaches of juſtice and good faith againſt the *Engliſh* over all *America*. Had the reſentment of the *Engliſh* been left in their own hands, they might eaſily have redreſſed themſelves; but the *French* king, ſenſible of the aſcendency he had over *James* II. propoſed a freſh negotiation between the two crowns for regulating their differences in *America*, and for preventing all future diſputes between their ſubjects. *James* had great notions of trade; but he had attached himſelf chiefly to the *African*, whoſe intereſt, as he thought, the propoſed treaty would ſerve; and therefore, after many preliminary diſcuſſions, the treaty propoſed by the *French* was ſigned at *Whitehall*, *November* the 5th, 1686, by *Barillon*, its ambaſſador at *London*, on the one part, and by the *Engliſh* officers of ſtate on the other.

A treaty of neutrality deſtructive to the Engliſh,

THE great points ſettled by this treaty, which was of the utmoſt prejudice to the *Engliſh* intereſt over all *America*, were, Firſt, That the ſubjects of both crowns there, (upon the continent as well as in the iſlands) ſhould live together in amity, and each be at liberty without interruption, to purſue their ſeparate views, intentions, and improvements. The ſecond article, which ſeems upon the main to have been copied from the treaty of *Weſtphalia*, forbade all manner of trade or correſpondence between the ſubjects of the two crowns, in their ſeveral ports or harbours; and both were to enjoy their privileges, prerogatives, and juriſdictions in their utmoſt extent, with all their benefits of trade. But notwithſtanding the above ſtipulations, 3dly, certain regulations were laid down, under which, in caſes of neceſſity, the ſubjects of one nation might enter into the ports and harbours of the other; and all neceſſary aſſiſtance was to be given by either in caſe of ſhipwrecks, or other ſea accidents. By the fourth article, the *Engliſh* were at liberty to load and bring ſalt from the ponds of *St. Chriſtophers*, and the *French* were at liberty to water in the ſame iſland; but both in the daytime, upon the third firing of a gun, and with a flag flying. By the fifth article it was ſtipulated, that neither nation was to harbour the fugitives, whether white, black, or *Indian*, that had belonged to the other; or the goods that they had purloined. The ſixth article provided againſt all depredations committed by the privateers of either nations, the maſters of which ſhips were to give ſecurity in a thouſand pound for their good behaviour; and likewiſe to ſubject their ſhips to the making good all acts of injuſtice they ſhould commit. The ſeventh article bound up both the contracting parties from granting commiſſions, or letters of marque, to the ſhips of

of any power with whom either might be at war, and that neither ſhould aſſiſt or comfort the pirates or free-booters of either. The eighth article provided, that all *American* diſputes between the two contracting parties, if they could not be ſettled in *America* within the ſpace of a year, ſhould be ſtated and ſent home to their reſpective courts for diſcuſſion. The ninth, and laſt article we ſhall mention, was the moſt inſidious of all on the part of *France*; for it provided, that whatever war might break out between the two crowns, a ſtrict neutrality ſhould be obſerved amongſt their ſubjects in *America*.

but advantageous to the French.

SUCH are the heads of this treaty of neutrality, which, during the ſhort time it laſted, raiſed the *French* affairs in *America* from a deſpondent to a formidable ſtate. Any one who has read the foregoing pages may eaſily conceive the vaſt advantages which the *French* derived from a neutrality in *America*, at a time when the *Engliſh* ſubjects there had not only provocation but power ſufficient to have reduced all their ſettlements. The *French* loſt no time in improving the happy criſis. They extirpated the *Caribbeans* from *Guadalupe*, as thoſe poor ſavages had no longer the *Engliſh* to apply to for protection or aſſiſtance; but they invented a diſtinction between the ſavages they had thus deſtroyed, on pretext of their having been ſlaves or rebels, and thoſe who had taken refuge in *Dominica* and *St. Vincent*; and whom, they ſaid, they had received into their protection. They had even the effrontery to carry this infamous diſtinction to the court of *England*, and had formed a ſketch of a treaty for maintaining the *Caribbeans* in thoſe two iſlands, till they were in a condition of extirminating them from thence, as they had done their brethren from *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*.

IT is admitted by *Labat*, that in the deſcent made by the *Engliſh* upon *Guadalupe*, under commodore *Walker* and colonel *Codrington*, had not the officers of the *Engliſh* troops differed among themſelves, the like miſunderſtanding among the *French* officers muſt have put the iſland into the hands of the *Engliſh*. The truth is, this invaſion, though in a manner recent, and at that time, of great importance to both nations, is ſo variouſly related by *French* as well as *Engliſh* writers, and moſt of them too upon the ſpot, pretending that they deliver nothing but what they ſaw, throws the utmoſt confuſion and uncertainty upon the whole; ſo that all we know, is, that the *Engliſh* did infinite damage to the iſland: but upon the arrival of M. *Gabaret*, the governor of *Martinico*, they thought proper to reimbark with a conſiderable loſs of men, but chiefly by ſickneſs. During the remainder of that war, as well as the two wars which broke

out between *France* and *England*, *Guadalupe* became the great rendezvous of the privateers; and their chief exploits againſt the *Engliſh* were performed off that iſland; but as thoſe tranſactions do not fall within the bounds of this hiſtory we omit them, to paſs to matters of more general concern.

AFTER the *French* king took *Guadaloupe* under the immediate protection of his own government, it became incomparably the moſt profitable colony to his crown that he had. Many writers, and thoſe mercantile ones of great credit, who were upon that iſland after its conqueſt by the *Engliſh*, have confidently affirmed, that *Guadalupe* before that period produced more ſugar than all the *Britiſh* ſugar-iſlands put together; and ſome have raiſed the quantity exported from that and its dependencies to the incredible number of 150,000 hogſheads yearly. More moderate calculations have fixed them at 100,000; not to mention its coffee, cinnamon, and other commodities. It was, therefore, no wonder that the *French*, during the negotiations that preceded the definitive treaty of 1763, inſiſted upon the reſtitution of *Guadalupe* as an indiſpenſible preliminary; for, beſides the valuable commodities already ſpecified, it is of itſelf a moſt deſirable iſland, and well furniſhed with all the conveniencies of living. A narrow iſthmus would join the two parts of the iſland, which the ſtream, we have already mentioned, divides, and which narrow as it is, laid the people of *Grand Terre* under ſuch difficulties of being relieved from *Baſſe Terre*, that the inhabitants of *Grand Terre* in 1696, were obliged to abandon that diviſion, on account of the frequent invaſions and depredations of the *Engliſh*. The ſtream itſelf is ſaid in ſome places not to be above ninety feet over, but its depth as well as breadth are ſo unequal, that in ſome parts it can carry a ſhip of 500 tons, and in others cannot admit one of 50. Its courſe is finely ſhaded with mangroves on both ſides.

150,000 *hogſheads of ſugar made in* Guadaloupe.

SINCE the *French*, by the treaty of 1763, re-entered into poſſeſſion of *Guadaloupe*, they ſeem to be, more than ever, ſenſible of the importance of this iſland, and have brought it nearly to the conſtitution of a *Spaniſh* colony, as appears by the following ordinance of M. *Bourlemaque* governor-general, and M. *de Peineir*, its preſident and intendant; *viz.* Firſt, That no foreign veſſel ſhall navigate nearer thoſe coaſts than the diſtance of one league, or ſend any boat aſhore without a written permiſſion from the intendant, in which ſhall be ſpecified the nature and quality of the effects they have on board. Secondly, That all ſuch foreign veſſels ſhall anchor in *Baſſe Terre* road, and at *Point-Peter* only. Thirdly, That they ſhall take in all their loading at the port they firſt anchor

chor in. Fourthly, That permiſſions will be delivered by the intendant, to ſuch *French* merchants as he ſhall think proper to ſend over to foreign ports and colonies; and no foreign veſſel ſhall take on board any thing but melaſſes and rum. Fifthly, Enjoins maſters of foreign veſſels to make their report, and ſhew their permiſſion upon their arrival; and obliges them to receive a waiter on board. Sixthly, Forbids the treſpaſſing againſt this ordinance, under the penalties of confiſcation of veſſel and cargo, 3000 livres, and a year's impriſonment. Seventhly, Orders all gardes de cotes, from the firſt of *November* inſtant, to ſeize all foreign veſſels that ſhall be found within a league of thoſe coaſts, without ſuch permiſſion as aforeſaid. Eighthly, Only concerns the regiſtry and publication of the ordinance."

THE air of *Guadaloupe* is preferable to that of *Martinico*, being more ſalubrious and leſs ſultry. Such was the policy of the *French* government, that they did not encourage the population of *Guadaloupe* equally with that of *Martinico*, for this obvious reaſon, that they always were ſure of ſettlers for the former, and that an over increaſe of planters might break the balance that was neceſſary to be kept up between it and their other iſlands. In ſhort, it has been aſſerted, that *Guadaloupe*, if as well peopled and cultivated as *Barbados*, might produce as much ſugar as would furniſh all *Europe*. Among its remarkable productions of the vegetable kind, *Labat* mentions the valuable copau-tree, from whence is extracted a moſt excellent balſam, and which he could not find in any other of the *French* iſlands. It grows about twenty feet in height, and makes a fine appearance. Its leaf reſembles that of the orange-tree, and is of an aromatic ſmell, as well as its bark when rubbed or ſqueezed. The wood is white and ſoft, and according to *Labat*, when its balm is carefully extracted, it is a moſt ſovereign internal as well as external remedy. The milk-ſhrub, ſo called from its yielding a ſubſtance like milk when preſt, is likewiſe found here. Its leaf reſembles the laurel, as its bloſſoms do that of the jeſſamine. *Labat* ſays, that the juice of the ſhrub falls little or nothing ſhort of the copau-balſam in its ſanative virtues. The mouſane-tree, which grows here, bears a yellow plum, with which the natives fatten their hogs; and the gum of the coraby-tree, when hardened in the ſun, becomes ſo tranſlucent, that the *Caribbeans* uſe to form it into ornaments and wear them as beads and bracelets. Many of the mountains with which *Guadaloupe* abounds, are loaded with wood, and nothing can be more verdant, or more beautifully variegated, an the large fruitful plains that lie at their bottom; but the

The copau-tree.

The milk ſhrub.

Mouhane and coraby-tree.

the moſt extraordinary object that is found in *Guadaloupe*, or in any of the *French* iſlands, is a volcano (for ſo it appears to be by its continual ſmoaking) which communicates a ſulphureous taſte to the neighbouring ſtreams. Near the little iſland of *Goyaves* are found ſprings that are boiling hot, and are ſaid to contain many medicinal properties, particularly in the cure of dropſies. The culs de ſacs, or gulphs, that lie on the coaſts of *Guadaloupe*, contain turtle, ſharks, land-crabs, and various other fiſhes. As to the fortifications of this iſland, the reader will be able to form a proper idea of them from reading the hiſtory of its conqueſt, which is compriſed in that of *Barbados*. But it may be proper to give ſome account of other particulars.

Volcano.

Hot ſprings.

In the *Grand Terre* are ſeveral indentings made by the ſea and the land, which are capacious enough to ſhelter veſſels from the hurricanes, and are ſhaded by palmetto-trees, to which they may be faſtened. The *Great Cul de Sac* affords excellent ridings for ſhips of all burdens; but the pariſh of the *Little Cul de Sac* is the moſt populous and beſt cultivated of any in the iſland. The town and fort of *Baſſe-Terre* ſtands two leagues north of the original fort, which was twice carried away by inundations; and, indeed, all the buildings upon the iſland have undergone various alterations ſince its firſt ſettlement, from inundations, hurricanes, and enemies. Among the other pariſhes of *Guadaloupe*, that of *The Inhabitants* is remarkable. It is ſo called, becauſe it was peopled in the time of the firſt company by thoſe who had fulfilled their contract of the three years ſervice to the proprietors; and hither they retired, that they might be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who were ſervants ſtill.

The moſt remarkable bird found by *Labat* on *Guadaloupe*, was the devil-bird, which is peculiar to this iſland and *Dominica*. According to him, it is a bird of paſſage, of the ſize of a young pullet, and all its plumage coal-black. Its wings are long, its legs ſhort, and its feet, which are like thoſe of a duck, have ſtrong claws; its beak is crooked, ſharp, and hard, and in length about an inch and a half; its eyes are large, and ſerves it to diſtinguiſh fiſhes, which it catches at night out of the ſea; but they are unable to bear the light in the day-time when flying, ſo that they often ruſh upon interpoſing objects and fall down. After their fiſh-hunting in the night, they repair to the *Devil's-Mountain*, ſo called from its lying near *Bailiff-River*, where they lodge by pairs in holes like rabbits. Their continuance here is during the months of *October* and *November*, though they are ſeen ſingly in other months; but all of them diſappear in *May*, with-

Devil-bird.

without being ſeen again till *September*. The negroes of the iſland have a peculiar way of hunting thoſe birds with dogs and hawks, but too long to be deſcribed here; and *Labat*, who attended four of them during this dangerous diverſion, ſays, that by noon they had taken an hundred and ninety-eight. Their fleſh, when carefully cleaned, and cured of its fiſhy taſte, is good and nouriſhing food; and the negroes and poor of the iſland ſubſiſt upon it during the ſeaſon.

Bees. THE bees of *Guadaloupe* are very different in every reſpect from thoſe of *Europe*, being black, ſmaller, and without ſtings, or, at leaſt, none that can be felt. They never hive but in the hollows of trees, and their wax, which is of a dark purple, approaching to black, beſides its being too ſoft for candles, never can be blanched; ſo that it is made uſe of only for ſecuring the corks of bottles. Thoſe bees, inſtead of making combs, lay their honey in bladders of wax, about the form and ſize of a pigeon's egg; but by all accounts it never hardens, nor is of any other conſiſtence than that of olive-oil. This iſland is peſtered by an inſect called a ravet, *The ravet.* ſhaped like a may-bug, or cockchaffer, of a ſtinking-ſmell, and preying upon paper, books, and furniture, and whatever they do not gnaw is diſcoloured by their ordure. Theſe naſty inſects, which are very numerous, and appear chiefly by night, would be intolerable, were it not for a large ſpider, ſome of them the length of a man's fiſt, which entangles them in its web, and otherwiſe ſurpriſes them, for which reaſon the inhabitants of the iſland are very careful not to do the leaſt hurt to thoſe animals. Having thus given the civil and natural hiſtory of *Guadaloupe*, as far as it imports an *Engliſh* or a curious reader to know, we ſhall now enter upon an account of the manners, diſpoſitions, and religion of a people whom we have often mentioned, but never have had an opportunity of deſcribing, though their hiſtory is of the utmoſt importance to this part of our work, we mean the *Caribbeans*; and in this we ſhall be directed by antient as well as modern authorities, to which laſt the *French* writers have too much attached themſelves.

Account of the Caribbeans. *LERY*, a *Frenchman*, who went to *Braſil* in 1556, and remained there for ſome time, mentions the *Caribbees*, [b] who undoubtedly are the ſame with thoſe we have called *Caribbeans*, as being the prieſts of the *Braſilians*, and very expert by their jugglings in impoſing upon thoſe barbarians, and making them believe whatever they pleaſed. *Lery* could ſcarcely be miſtaken in the name; and his relation of them

[b] His works, which is very ſcarce, is written in Latin, and was printed by *de Bry*, in 1592.

is

is very credible; for though he endeavours to exaggerate thoſe powers of impoſture, as if they were effected by ſome ſupernatural cauſe, yet common experience teaches us, that enthuſiaſm and venality every day produce the like, and, indeed, much more wonderful effects than any he mentions. He obſerves, that thoſe *Caribbees* had a much ſtronger averſion to *Europeans* than the reſt of their nation had; and this may very well account for thoſe *Europeans* giving the name of *Caribbees*, or *Caribbeans*, to the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands, who are, of all other ſavages, the moſt irreconcileable to our manners and government. Other writers pretend, that the *Caribbeans* were a people of *Guiana*, who being expelled from their own country took refuge in thoſe iſlands; and Mr. *Brigſtock*, an *Engliſhman* ſays, that they are a nation of the *Apalachians*, and are ſtill to be found at the back of *Georgia* and *Carolina*.

FROM all that we can learn with certainty, the manners of the *Caribbeans* have been greatly altered from the time of their firſt diſcovery; and about 1625, thoſe of *Guadaloupe* carried on a bartering-trade with the *Spaniards*, for the arrival of whoſe ſhips they impatiently waited. But this change appears to have been for the worſe; for we hear no more of their cotton manufactures and looms, which the *Spaniards* deſtroyed at their firſt arrival on the iſland. Mention is indeed made by *Gage* of their being in poſſeſſion, at that time, of ſugar-canes, which is a farther argument of their having come from *Braſil*, where that plant was then cultivated, and no where elſe in the *Weſt-Indies*; and *Lery* obſerves, that the *Braſilians* had looms, which their women managed with great dexterity, and that they made cups and veſſels of earthen-ware neater than thoſe that are manufactured in *Europe*. Among the *Braſilians*, the *Caribbees* or prieſts ſeem to have been the only people who did not go naked; but they were covered only with robes made of feathers, very nicely joined together, the manufactures of the looms being kept for bed-cloaths, and other houſhold-furniture. The *Antilles Caribbeans* have an olive complexion, little black piercing eyes, and their mothers are at great pains to flatten their foreheads and noſes, ſo that the appearance of a *Caribbean* cannot be very pleaſing. They ſuffer no beard to grow on their faces and chins, and they are of a ſtrong, well-proportioned make. They kept their hair nicely combed and clean. The men ſometimes wear feather-hats, but both ſexes otherwiſe commonly go ſtark naked. Like other *American* ſavages, they bore their noſes, ears, and lips, and hang

hang by them pieces of amber, chryſtal, tortoiſe-ſhell, gold, ſilver, or whatever trifling ornament they are moſt fond of, or can procure. On certain ſolemn days the men are dreſſed like the *Braſilian Caribbees*, in feather-robes; but the nobleſt ornament their chief can have about him is a copper gorget, which is an infallible proof of his valour, as that metal can be found no where but in the country of their enemies. After riſing, which they do before the ſun, they waſh themſelves in a running water, and when the man is dry, the woman dreſſes his hair, and with feathers, inſtead of pencils, (but *Lery* ſays, the *Braſilian* women have pencils, and that they handle them very dexterouſly in painting themſelves and their huſbands) ſhe beſmears his body all over with a red compoſition. The women themſelves are painted in like manner. When the operation is over, the whole family fall, without any ceremony, but in great ſilence, to eating. This ſilence continues after the meal is over for a conſiderable time, which ſome ſpend in ſleeping, others in playing upon their rude muſical inſtruments, and ſome in making their bows and other weapons. Their whole mode of life is unreſtrained, but modeſt: when they break ſilence, the ſpeaker is heard without interruption, and with applauſe, as is the ſucceeding ſpeaker, even though he contradicts the ſentiments of the former. Their original language is now degenerated, by their admitting into it a mixture of *European* words, to enable them to trade and converſe with Chriſtians. When they are by themſelves, they return to their ancient language, which is ſaid to be ſmooth and flowing; and ſo fond are the *Caribbeans* of it, that even ſuch of them as are converts to chriſtianity, make great difficulty of inſtructing *Europeans* in it.

THE *Caribbeans*, without all doubt, devoured the bodies of all whom they took or killed in war; and that too, if we are to believe credible eye-witneſſes, with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of indelicacy and barbarity. The *French* pretend that they have reformed them from this indelicate cuſtom; but by their carrying off the dead bodies, there is too much reaſon for believing that they ſtill follow it, though they pretend that all they mean is, that they ſhould be evidences at home of their victory. In other reſpects, *Labat*, who was well acquainted with thoſe ſavages, gives them much the ſame character, as to their manners, cuſtoms, virtues, and vices, as *Lery* gives of the *Braſilians*. This is a ſtrong inducement for believing that the frightful colours in which the *Caribbeans* are drawn by former adventurers from *France* and *England*, was owing to the reſiſtance they met with from the generous

Formerly man-eaters.

generous love which thoſe barbarians had for liberty and their country.

Their humanity to captive women and children.

ACCORDING to the ſame author, the *Caribbeans* treat their female captives with the greateſt decorum and tenderneſs, and have ſometimes been known to marry them. As to their captive children, they either ſell them to *Europeans*, or breed them up as their own. Their natural diſpoſition leads them to be docile and compaſſionate, and they have a hearty contempt for that ſpecies of *European* avarice, which prefers gold to chryſtal or glaſs. Though naturally extremely curious, they are ſo rivetted to their own country, that they ſeldom or never can be prevailed on to leave it; and they often very pathetically reproach the *Europeans* for their injuſtice in ſeizing their iſlands. Though they are tenacious of their own property, and love to make good bargains, yet theft is ſo little known among them, that they often leave their houſes open to every one; but thoſe excellent qualities are not without an intermixture of vices. After receiving what they conceive to be an injury, they are to the laſt degree vindictive and implacable; and upon their loſing the ſmalleſt trifle, they grieve immoderately, ſometimes for a whole week.

THEY often make public entertainments, from which none are excluded; but their neighbours only are invited to be gueſts. On thoſe occaſions it is that they conſult of peace, war, and matters of commerce; but they generally get intoxicated, and give a vent to their revenge, be their reſentments of ever ſo old ſtanding. They commonly execute their revenge in an unmanly manner, by ſtabbing the party, or knocking him down from behind. When ſuch murders are committed, the aſſaſſin eſcapes generally unqueſtioned, unleſs the deceaſed has relations in the aſſembly, and then they cut him in pieces. Such aſſaſſins, however, before they ſtrike the blow, if they ſee any relations preſent, defer it till another opportunity. Thoſe barbarians, by all accounts, have not the ſmalleſt ideas of reconciliation or forgiveneſs; for if a friend, though no relation of the murdered party, is by, he never quits his reſolution of revenge, but treaſures it up till he can repay the murder in kind, which almoſt always happens, unleſs the aſſaſſin leaves the country. It is to this ſpirit of revenge that travellers attribute the want of population among the *Caribbeans*, whoſe numbers of men are very thin, though the women are plentiful, and the men indulge themſelves in polygamy.

Their fare.

THE fare of the *Caribbeans* at their entertainments is far from being contemptible. They boil their veniſon and fiſh, and they have ſuch plenty of ſwine and poultry, that they carry

carry them to the *Engliſh* and *French*, and exchange them for tools and neceſſaries. Wood-pigeons, parrots, and thruſhes, which they kill with their arrows, always make a part of the feaſt, to which are added ignamas, potatoes, bananas, figs, and caſſava. The manner in which they proceed, if they deliberate upon war, ſtrongly characterizes their fury and inconſtancy. On ſuch occaſions, an old woman becomes the trumpet of the aſſembly. She ſtands up in the middle; ſhe recapitulates all the provocations, inſults, and injuries, done to them by their enemy; and finding them ſufficiently heated, ſhe ſcatters among them the broiled limbs of thoſe enemies which have been reſerved for that purpoſe, which all the company hack and hew with the utmoſt fury. They then fix the day for opening their campaign with the loudeſt acclamations of approbation; but they take care never to ſtir from the entertainment while one drop of liquor remains; and when they grow ſober, they very often think no more of the reſolution they had taken.

THE *Caribbeans* have no compulſive power among themſelves, nor any inſtitution of government for puniſhing the moſt atrocious crimes; ſo that private reſentments direct all their juſtice. But this is to be underſtood as happening between man and man; for every huſband has ſo full and uncontrouled a power over his wife, that he can kill her on the ſlighteſt offence, or even on ſuſpicion. The ſubmiſſion of the females to the tyranny of their huſbands is admirable. After the huſband has killed veniſon or fiſhes, the wife brings the lading from the boat, dreſſes it, and performs the moſt ſervile duties without repining; while the huſband enjoys himſelf in all manner of indulgence. If the *Caribbeans* ſhew the ſmalleſt reſpect to each other, it is on account of old age; but their old women are ſaid to be the moſt ſpiteful wretches in the world, eſpecially againſt young wives, whom they ſometimes accuſe of witchcraft, upon which the poor wretches are condemned and put to death unheard. They train their children up from their birth to archery, ſo that the *Caribbeans* are generally excellent markſmen.

THEY are fond of all *Europeans* who carry military, naval, or civil commiſſions; and they look upon the richeſt merchants as being no better than their ſlaves. They commonly aſſume to themſelves ſome officer's name, and this kind of ſelf-adoption is celebrated with great jollity. In their expeditions, they way-lay their enemies ſo artfully, that by covering themſelves up with boughs and leaves of trees, they are not to be diſcerned. Their attacks are cowardly, and always from behind; and they have a particular dexte- *Names, and other modes of living.*

dexterity in diſcharging arrows that are pointed with flaming matches of cotton, that never fail to conſume the houſes on which they light, if they are covered, as they commonly are, with canes and palmettoes. When the wretched inhabitants fly out of the houſes flaming about them, the *Caribbeans* wait for them in ambuſh, and ſhoot them dead, concealing themſelves ſo artfully, that the ſurvivors can find no object of revenge. It is ſurpriſing with what quickneſs and dexterity they diſcharge their arrows; and ſuch of them as have fire-arms, handle them equally well. On account of thoſe qualities, the *French* careſs the *Caribbeans*, whom they cannot otherwiſe fear; for they never ſtand a fair engagement, but they may be miſchievous to the laſt degree in the manner related. The water ſeems to be as much the element of a *Caribbean*, as the land is; for when one of their boats overſets, men, women, and children, ſwim about it, the women ſometimes ſupporting one or more infants, till it is put to rights; and ſuch is their dexterity, that they never loſe the ſmalleſt parcel of their lading [c]. The *Caribbeans*, barbarous as they are, are not without ſome rude ideas of two principles, the one benevolent, for which reaſon they think it quite ſuperfluous to pray to it: the other, which they call Manitou, (a term which is common with the other ſavages of the *American* continent) that is, hurtful, and to which they pray with great fervour, but without having the ſmalleſt notion of what it is, or how it operates. They never marry in the firſt degree of conſanguinity, but the female couſin-germans of a man claim a right to him; ſo that ſometimes he has four or five ſiſters for his wives; and when any of them are too young for marriage, they are bred up to all the domeſtic duties, till they are old enough to become wives to their couſin-german. The maſter of a houſe, when dead, is buried in the middle of it, and his family then abandons that habitation.

Whimſical cuſtom of the Caribbeans.

FATHER *la Tertre* mentions a very whimſical cuſtom of the *Caribbeans*, which is, that when a woman lays in of her firſt child, if it is a ſon, the father betakes himſelf to his bed, and without ſtirring for thirty or forty days, moſt ceremoniouſly acts the part of his lying-in wife. We ſhall not conſume our reader's time in giving any further particulars of thoſe ſavages. What we have given are extracted from *French* authors, who are not always conſiſtent among themſelves. It is certain, that ſince the time of their writing, which is about ſixty years ago, the *Caribbeans* have been greatly humanized, and this has been owing to

[c] *Lery* relates the ſame thing of the *Braſilians*.

the

the *Engliſh*; both the intereſts and principles of the *French* and *Spaniards* leading them to wiſh that they might continue in their native barbarity. They are now no longer fond of human banquets, and feed the ſame as all *Europeans* do, upon ſwine's fleſh, and the other meats which they formerly abhorred. The tyranny of the huſband over the wife is almoſt entirely aboliſhed; and, about the time of the duke of *Montague*'s attempt to ſettle *St. Vincent* and *St. Lucia*, they ſeem to have erected themſelves into a ſpecies of government; and, by the beſt accounts, their connections with the *French* were formed only that they might be the better enabled to avoid all dependency upon the *Engliſh*. We have already ſeen, that the negroes, who had been wrecked upon St. *Vincent*, aſſociated themſelves with the *Caribbeans*; and the *French* inform us, that they ſerved them with the ſame ſubmiſſion and reſpect, as if they had been *Europeans*. The *French*, in relating thoſe matters, have aſſured us, with an air of triumph, that they were informed by the *Caribbeans*, the fleſh of one of their countrymen eat much better than that of a *Spaniard*, and with a more delicate flavour. Some pretend, that the *Caribbeans* to this day indulge themſelves in eating the fleſh and drinking the blood of their enemies the *Arrovages*: but to this we give little credit.

Iſlands of Xaintes.

The iſlands of *Xaintes*, or *All-Saints*, lie within the government of *Guadaloupe*. They are three in number, and their ſoil is pretty much the ſame with that of *Guadaloupe*. The weſternmoſt iſland, which is the beſt, is about three leagues in circumference; but none of thoſe iſlands ſeem ever to have been properly inhabited, becauſe deſtitute of freſh water, though producing all other neceſſaries of life. According to the *French* writers, the *Xaintes* were poſſeſſed by the *French* in 1648, but for want of water they were obliged to abandon them. In 1652 they returned, and diſpoſſeſſing the *Caribbeans*, they built a fort on one of the iſlands, which was taken by the *Engliſh*; but the victors were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners to the *French*, who carried them to *Guadaloupe*. They add, that the expedition, in which lord *Willoughby*, governor of *Barbados* periſhed, was undertaken to recover this iſland, and that he was wrecked in the ſtrait, between that and *Guadaloupe*, as he was proceeding againſt the *French* of *St. Chriſtopher's*. The coaſts of thoſe iſlands abound in turtle and excellent ſhell-fiſh.

Deſeada.

THE iſland of *Deſeada* lies in longitude 61. 20. and in 16. 20. It is about twenty miles from *Guadaloupe*, and is about ſixteen miles in length, and two in breadth. This iſland was diſcovered by the great *Columbus*, who gave it

it the name of *Deſiderata*, or *Deſireable*. Some part of it deſerves that epithet, the ſoil being proper for the cultivation of ſugar and cotton; of which laſt, it produces the beſt of all the *French* iſlands. This iſland, as well as thoſe of *Xaintes*, became of importance during the late war, on account of the very convenient ſhelter their ports afforded to privateers and free-booters; and by the definitive treaty of 1763, their inhabitants were admitted to the ſame capitulation that had been granted to *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe*.

Marigalante.

ABOUT twelve miles ſouth-eaſt from *Grand Terre*, and ſeventeen north from *Martinico*, lies the iſland of *Marygalante*, ſo called from the name of the ſhip of *Columbus*, who firſt diſcovered it in 1493. This iſland is of a circular form, and about fifty *Engliſh* miles in circumference. When the *French* firſt attempted to ſettle it, which was about the year 1647, its *Caribbean* inhabitants, as uſual, manfully reſiſted them. Even after thoſe ſavages were quelled, or forced to ſubmit, the poſſeſſion of the invaders was unquiet and precarious. Sometimes the natives attempted to throw off their yoke and maſſacre their maſters, and ſometimes it was plundered by the *Dutch*. In the year 1652, the *Caribbeans* of *Marigalante* were obliged to retire to *Dominica*; and, after that, the *French* remained ſole poſſeſſors of the iſland. In 1691, general *Codrington* landed ſome men out of the fleet, commanded by commodore *Wright*, and without oppoſition, took the town and fort, making the governor and his lieutenant priſoners, and then, after ravaging the country, and ruining its plantations, he reimbarked for *Guadaloupe*. Since that time, *Marigalante* could ſcarcely be called an object of military operations; and the *Engliſh* became twice maſters of it, excluſive of its laſt ſubmiſſion, without reſiſtance; and it received the benefit in the late definitive treaty of the capitulation of *Guadaloupe*. This iſland abounds with tobacco, and contains a great many grottos where large crabs are found, as alſo ſeveral rivers and ponds of freſh water. Along the eaſtern ſhore run high rocks, ſo perpendicular, that they ſeem to be planned by art, and which give ſhelter to vaſt numbers of tropic birds, they being as full of holes as a pigeon-houſe. The weſtern ſhore is flat, and cinnamon-trees are found upon the iſland, which, beſides the commodities that are produced in the other *French Caribbees*, manufactured at the time of its laſt reduction by the *Britiſh* arms, one thouſand hogſheads of ſugar yearly.

St. Bartholomew.

THE iſland of *St. Bartholomew*, another of the *French Caribbees*, lies in the longitude of 62 and a half, latitude 18; about eighteen miles north of *St. Chriſtopher's*, ſome ſay twenty-

twenty-five. It is about twenty-five miles in compaſs; and *Poincy*, the *French* governor of *St. Chriſtopher's*, peopled it at his own expence in 1648. As its ſoil is but indifferent, tho' both that and the air are ſalubrious, the *French* were ſuffered to enjoy it without moleſtation, till the year 1689, when Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, landed upon it. The inhabitants had made uſe of their long tranquillity in fortifying their iſland with batteries, breaſt, and other works, to the extent of two acres of ground, doubly palliſadoed round with ſtakes ſix feet high; all which were taken by Sir *Timothy*, who after ravaging the iſland, carried off about 700 of its inhabitants, with their cattle and effects. The men were ſent to *Nevis*, and the women to *St. Chriſtopher's*. The *Engliſh* government thought this a ſevere proceeding, and ſuffered the inhabitants to repoſſeſs their iſland, but as *Engliſh* ſubjects. At the peace of *Ryſwick*, it was reſtored to the crown of *France*. During the firſt war with *France* which broke out under *George* II. this iſland was ſo convenient to the *French* for privateering, that above fifty *Engliſh* ſhips were carried into its harbour; and therefore, two privateers from *Antigua* attacked and reduced it, making priſoners 400 of its white inhabitants, of whom 140 were fit to bear arms, and 300 negroes. The *French* afterwards returned to the poſſeſſion of it, which they have retained ever ſince. Though little of the ſoil of this iſland is fit for cultivation, yet it produces tobacco and caſſava, with ſome excellent woods and lime-ſtone, with which the inhabitants furniſh their neighbours. All the freſh water they have is ſaved in ciſterns; and the iſland itſelf is encompaſſed by moſt formidable rocks, which render it dangerous for large ſhips to come near it. Its chief products for exportation are drugs and lignum vitæ, with which it abounds.

St. Euſtatia.

BESIDES the *Engliſh* and *French*, the *Dutch* and the *Danes* have iſlands among the *Caribbees*. The principal belonging to the former is *St. Euſtatia*, which lies three leagues northeaſt of *St. Chriſtopher's*, and is about fifteen miles in compaſs. Though St. *Euſtatia* may be more properly termed a huge pyramidal rock, riſing out of the waves, than an iſland, yet for its bigneſs, it is incomparably the moſt valuable of all the *Caribbees*. Its ſituation is ſo ſtrong that it has but one landing-place; and that, though difficult of acceſs, is fortified with all the art that can render it impregnable, and nothing has been wanting on the part of its maſters to make every path of the iſland equally ſo. Tobacco is its chief product, and it is cultivated on its ſides to the very top of the pyramid, which terminates in a plain ſurrounded with woods; having a hollow in the middle, which ſerves as a large

den for wild beaſts. No fewer than 5000 white people, and 15,000 negroes, ſubſiſt upon this ſpot, and rear hogs, kids, rabbits, and all kinds of poultry, in ſuch abundance, that they can ſupply their neighbours after having ſerved themſelves. The policy of the *Dutch* in the government of this iſland, exceeds that of all the other *European* nations who hold any of the *Caribbees*. They are jealous of admitting any ſtranger whatſoever into their harbour; and few beſides themſelves know any thing of the internal government or riches of the iſland, any more than that it ſerves as a ſtorehouſe for all kinds of *European* commodities, which when returns fail from *Europe*, the neighbouring iſlanders muſt purchaſe upon whatever terms the *Dutch* are pleaſed to impoſe.

SAINT EUSTATIA became a *Dutch* iſland by their taking poſſeſſion of it; and it was granted in property by the ſtates-general to certain merchants of *Fluſhing*. Perhaps the *Dutch* were the only people in the world who could have rendered ſo unpromiſing a ſpot a flouriſhing ſettlement. The firſt colony ſent to it conſiſted of about 1600; but during the wars between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in 1665, the latter were diſpoſſeſſed of *St. Euſtatia*, by the former from *Jamaica*. Soon after, the *Dutch* and the *French* becoming confederates, the *Engliſh* were diſpoſſeſſed in their turn by their combined arms. The *French*, however, held a garriſon in the iſland till it was reſtored to the *Dutch* by the treaty of *Breda*. Soon after the Revolution, the *French* diſpoſſeſſed the *Dutch* of *St. Euſtatia*, from whence they were in their turn driven by the *Engliſh*, under Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, with the loſs of no more than eight men killed and wounded, though the fort which he took mounted ſixteen guns, and was in every other reſpect very ſtrong; a proof that the *French*, who defended it, muſt have been very raw in the exerciſe of arms. Sir *Timothy* found it neceſſary, for the protection of the *Dutch*, to leave a ſmall *Engliſh* garriſon in the fort: but he granted the *French* no terms of capitulation, but for their lives and their baggage. The peace of *Ryſwick* reſtored the *Dutch* to the entire property of this iſland, of which they have remained the undiſturbed poſſeſſors ever ſince; an uncommon inſtance of tranquillity! but improved by them in rendering their iſland, (as we have already mentioned) at once powerful and wealthy; for, beſides tobacco, the inhabitants have of late years raiſed and exported incredible quantities of ſugar. We ſhall but juſt mention the little iſland of *Saba*, which lies thirteen miles north-weſt of *St. Euſtatia*, and thirty ſouth-weſt of *St. Bartholomew*, and belonged formerly to the *Danes*, as it now does to the *Dutch*. This ſmall iſland, which is but about four

Saba.

four leagues in circumference, contains a delightful valley, which produces neceſſaries for the inhabitants, and materials for ſeveral manufactures, which they carry on there; but being deſtitute of any port, it is very inconſiderable. The acceſs to it is by a road cut out of the rock, by which one man only can mount a-breaſt at a time; and this road is plentifully ſtored with magazines of ſtones, by which the inhabitants, by tumbling them down, can bid defiance to the greateſt number of aſſailants. Thoſe ſtones were the arms by which they beat off the deſperate *French* buccaneers, who attacked them in 1688. The inhabitants raiſe ſome indigo and cotton, but their chief manufacture is ſhoes; and ſuch is their œconomy and induſtry, that they live comfortably among themſeves, are attended by ſlaves, and ſome of them even become rich.

Santa-Cruz.

THE iſland of *Santa Cruz*, the property of which is veſted in the crown of *Denmark*, lies in longitude 65, and in latitude 18: it is about thirty leagues weſt from *St. Chriſtopher's*, about ten or twelve leagues in length, and at the broadeſt, ſomewhat above three; though in one part it is ſo indented by a bay, that it is not above one. *Columbus*, though the moſt humane of all the *Spaniſh* adventurers, exterminated the natives, who manfully oppoſed him; but abandoned the iſland, which was afterwards viſited by the *Engliſh* in 1587. They probably poſſeſſed it till 1635, when the *Dutch* putting in their claim, the iſland was divided by compromiſe between the two people, each of whom had a governor; but the whole being a private, rather than a national tranſaction, their names have not come to our hands. It is, however, certain, that about the year 1645, the *Dutch* governor ſurprized the *Engliſh* one in his houſe, and murdered him; and this produced a war upon the iſland, in which the *Dutch* were defeated, and their governor killed. The conſequence was, that a ſhort pacification enſued; but freſh broils happening, the new *Dutch* governor was killed by the *Engliſh*, and the *Dutch* themſelves, among whom were 120 *French*, who, at their own requeſt, were ſent to *Guadalupe*, were driven off the iſland. The reader, from the complexion of this little hiſtory, may eaſily perceive, that thoſe rulers were no better than lawleſs free-booters, acting without any legal authority; and ſoon after, *viz.* in 1649, or 1650, the *Spaniards* from *Porto Rico* attacked the *Engliſh*, and treated them as ſuch, by putting to death all who fell into their hands. The *Dutch* of *St. Euſtatia* hearing that their enemies the *Engliſh* had been exterminated, returned to take poſſeſſion of *Santa Cruz*, and being ignorant that it was ſtill in

the hands of the *Spaniards*, they were ſurrounded, and forced to ſurrender priſoners of war. Before the *Spaniards* could carry them to *Porto Rico*, the *French* general *de Poincy*, arriving with a ſuperior force, obliged the *Spaniards* to relinquiſh their priſoners, and return to *Porto Rico*; but he carried the *Dutch*, who, in fact, had no right to the iſland, back to *Euſtatia*. He there entered into treaty with thoſe *Dutch* merchants who had advanced money towards the ſettlement of *St. Croix*; and after reimburſing them, he purchaſed the ſame, together with ſome other iſlands, in property for the order of *Malta*; which purchaſe was afterwards confirmed by the *French* king, who reſerved the ſovereignty of it, and a certain reddendo to his own crown by way of acknowledgment. When *Colbert*, the *French* miniſter, ſtruck into a new ſyſtem of commerce, he made no ſcruple of reducing this bargain, which indeed was of itſelf abſurd and impracticable, by repaying the money which the order had advanced for the purchaſe in the year 1664, and the *French* then re-entered into poſſeſſion of it. About the year 1695 or 1696, the court of *Denmark* thought of colonizing this iſland, and the *French* had their reaſons, both pecuniary and political, for tranſmitting the property of it to the *Danes*, who were long conſidered as being its proprietors rather than ſettlers; for its chief profits went to the *Engliſh*. In later years their *Daniſh* majeſties thought fit to be at conſiderable expences in improving this iſland to their own immediate emolument. As it is equally the intereſt of the *Engliſh* as of the *French*, that the *Danes* ſhould be poſſeſſed of it preferably to any other *European* power, their right to it has hitherto been unqueſtioned. Some ſay, that the iſland of *Santa Cruz* is far more valuable than it is generally imagined to be. The ſoil, which is rich, and eaſily improveable, produces many excellent dying and other woods proper for houſe and ſhip-building. The progreſs of the inhabitants in cultivating the ſugar-cane, under the protection and encouragement of the *Daniſh* court, has been of late years very conſiderable. Oranges, citrons, and the mandioca-root, with granates, lemons, and the papay-tree, the fruit of which makes a moſt excellent ſweetmeat, grow here in abundance. The air is excellent, and the water, when filtrated or ſettled in earthen jars, becomes wholſome. Its chief port lies on the north ſide, where there is a large bay, on the weſt ſide of which ſtands the governor's houſe.

Anegada, Sombrero. THE iſlands of *Anegada* and *Sombrero* are at preſent without any ſettled *European* inhabitants, and are only remarkable for the collibry or humming-bird, the ſmalleſt, but at the ſame time, one of the moſt beautiful of all the feathered creation,

creation, and for painted crabs of a delicate taſte and a peculiar nature. The *Virgin Iſlands* are about twelve in number, but are ſo inhoſpitable and unimproveable, that they properly belong to no *European* power. They lie to the eaſt of *Porto Rico*, and to the weſt of *Anegada*. The chief of them is that of *St. Thomas*, which is divided between the *Danes* and the *Brandenburghers*, many of whoſe merchants and planters by opening their harbour, which is ſafe, ſtrong, and commodious, to traders of all nations, become very rich. It naturally produces moſt of the *Weſt-India* commodities, but is infeſted with muſketoes. The *French* buccaneers deſtroyed the *Daniſh* factory in this iſland, but ſince that time, a large battery has been erected between the fort and the harbour; ſo that it is now made proof againſt all irregular attacks. *The* Virgin Iſlands. St. Thomas.

The other ENGLISH CARIBBEE ISLANDS.

ANGUILLA, ſo called from its ſnake-like form, is about ten leagues in length, and three in breadth, and is the moſt northerly of all the *Engliſh Caribbees*, lying twenty-ſix leagues north-eaſt from *Santa Cruz*, and about fifteen north from *St. Chriſtopher's*. It is, properly ſpeaking, one of the *Virgin Iſlands* likewiſe. When the *Engliſh* diſcovered this iſland in 1650, it was filled with alligators, and other noxious animals; but they imported into it live cattle, which they have ſince multiplied exceedingly. They found the ſoil fruitful, proper for raiſing tobacco and corn; and in general the whole iſland agreeable. But not being ſettled here under any public encouragement, each planter laboured for himſelf, and the iſland became a prey to every rapacious invader, which diſheartened the inhabitants ſo much, that all induſtry was loſt among them; but their chief ſuffering was from a party of wild *Iriſh*, who landed here after the Revolution, and treated them more barbarouſly than any of the *French* pirates, who had attacked them before. The people of *Barbados*, and the other *Engliſh Caribbees*, knew the value of the ſoil, and ſeveral of them removed to *Anguilla*, where they remained for many years, and even carried on a profitable trade, but without any government, either civil or eccleſiaſtical. Though their militia in the year 1745, did not exceed 100 men, yet they defended a breaſt-work they had thrown up, againſt 1000 *French*, who came to attack them, and obliged them to retire with the loſs of 150 men, beſides carrying off ſome of their arms and colours, as trophies of their victory. Since that time, the inhabitants have ſubſiſted Anguilla.

moſtly by farming, though they ſtill plant ſome ſugar, and the iſland is in general ſaid to be capable of vaſt improvements.

St. Martin. THE iſland of *St. Martin* lies about fifteen miles diſtant from *Anguilla* on the north-weſt, and the like diſtance from *St. Bartholomew* on the ſouth-eaſt, and is about ſeven leagues in length, and four in breadth. This, for its bigneſs, is a moſt valuable iſland, and chiefly ſo by its ſalt-pits and ſalt-water lakes, which the *Spaniards* thought ſo conſiderable, that they built a fort upon the iſland to protect them, and to prevent other nations from ſettling on the iſland. In the year 1650, when the affairs of *Old Spain* were in a moſt miſerable ſituation, the garriſon of this fort being no longer able to maintain themſelves, blew it up, and deſtroyed at the ſame time all their houſes and ciſterns. The *French*, upon their retiring, ſet up a claim of pre-occupancy, and endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of the iſland, but were thwarted by the *Dutch*; and an accommodation being propoſed, the iſland was divided between them; the *French* entering into poſſeſſion of the moſt pleaſant part of it, which looks towards *Anguilla*, but the *Dutch* into the moſt profitable, becauſe it contained the ſalt-pits and ponds abovementioned. The *Dutch* quarter was ſoon filled with fine buildings and capacious ſtorehouſes, while that of the *French* was poor and unprovided; and in the year 1689, was plundered by Sir *Timothy Thornhill*. The *French* ſtill continued in poſſeſſion, and the *Dutch* upon this iſland might have been a thriving colony, had they been provided with a tolerable port, aud did not the iſland lye too far to the leeward for conveniency of commerce, with the *Windward Iſlands*. In 1744, a handful of *Engliſh*, headed by the deputy-governor of *Anguilla*, with two *St. Chriſtopher's* privateers, drove the *French* from the poſſeſſion of their part of the iſland, and it has been ever ſince conſidered as belonging half to the *Dutch*, and half to the *Engliſh*.

Berbuda. THE iſland of *Berbuda*, belonging to the *Engliſh*, is thirty-five miles north from *Antigua*, fifty-three north from *St. Chriſtopher's*, and about ninety ſouth-weſt from *Anguilla*; being in length twenty miles, and in breadth twelve. This iſland was planted ſoon after the *Engliſh* had ſettled upon *St. Chriſtopher's*; for one Mr. *Littleton*, a planter, of *St. Chriſtopher's*, obtained a grant of it from the earl of *Carliſle*, within whoſe charter it lay. The beautiful appearance of the iſland made the firſt ſettlers give it the appellation of *Dulcina*; and they removed to it in 1628. They ſoon had occaſion to abate of their ſanguine expectations. The iſland had no harbour; it was expoſed to the deſcents of the mercileſs *Caribbeans*; and it was not yet diſcovered that it was capable of

of producing any ſtaple commodity. All that invited the new ſettlers to perſevere was its ſalubrious pleaſant ſituation, and its readily affording all the neceſſaries of life. The *Caribbeans* from *Dominica*, in their nocturnal deſcents, proved ſo troubleſome, that the *Engliſh* were ſeveral times obliged to forego their deſign of planting *Berbuda*; but after the reſumption of lord *Carliſle*'s patent, and after thoſe barbarians had been a little chaſtized by other *Engliſh* coloniſts, colonel *Codrington* became ſole proprietor of the ſame, and he well deſerved to be ſo, by the many important ſervices he did to the crown of *England* in the *Weſt-Indies*. This iſland remains the property of the *Codrington* family to this day. Their poſſeſſion of it, however, was attempted to be interrupted by *Park*, governor and captain-general of the *Leeward Iſlands*, an inſolent miniſterial governor, without the ſmalleſt qualification for his truſt, but his having had the good fortune to carry to *England* the firſt news of the battle of *Blenheim*. *Codrington*'s title was ſo well known, his family having been in unqueſtioned poſſeſſion of *Berbuda* for thirty years before, that he deſpiſed *Park*'s enmity ſo much, that he refuſed to produce his right, and his own friends adviſed the governor to drop his claim, which was only founded upon *Berbuda* being a *Caribbee Iſland*; and therefore, (as he pretended) within his government. In progreſs of time, as the numbers and ſavageneſs of the *Caribbeans* decreaſed, the inhabitants of *Berbuda* acquired comfortable livelihoods; and in 1708, no fewer than 1200 *Engliſh* were ſuppoſed to be upon the iſland. In its infant ſtate it was harraſſed by the *French*, merely out of ſpite to their capital enemy in the *Weſt-Indies*, general *Codrington*, who had driven them from *St. Chriſtopher's*. The appointment of a governor is in the *Codrington* family, and part of the eſtate ariſing from this iſland, amounting, as it is ſaid, to 2000 *l.* a year, with two plantations in *Barbados*, was bequeathed by *Chriſtopher Codrington*, Eſq; to the ſociety for propagating the goſpel, towards the inſtruction of the negroes in the *Caribbee Iſlands* in the Chriſtian religion, and the erecting a college at *Barbados* for teaching the liberal arts.

THE land of this iſland lies low, but it is fertile, and the inhabitants are chiefly employed in breeding up black cattle, ſheep, kids, fowls, and all kind of domeſtic ſtock, which they diſpoſe of to the neighbouring iſlands; ſo that their way of life differs little from that of an *Engliſh* farmer. The ſland, upon trial, has been found proper for the cultivation of many of the commodities with which the other *Weſt-India* ſlands abound, ſuch as citrons, pomegranates, oranges, raiſins, *Indian* figs, maiz, cocoa-nuts, cinnamon, pine-apples, and

and the ſenſitive-plant, with various kinds of wood and drugs, ſuch as braſil, ebony, pepper, indigo, and the like. Some ſerpents, which are large upon this iſland, are ſo far from being poiſonous, that they are ſalutiferous, for they deſtroy rats, toads, and frogs; but the ſtings or bites of others are mortal, unleſs an antidote is applied to them in two hours. On the weſt ſide of this iſland is a good well-ſheltered road, clear from rocks and ſands; but two ſhoals of ſands run above two leagues into the ſea, from the north-weſt and ſouth-weſt points.

St. Chriſtopher's.

THE iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's* affords more matter for hiſtory, and has undergone greater revolutions, than any other iſland in the *Weſt-Indies*. When it was diſcovered by *Chriſtopher Columbus* in his firſt voyage to *America*, the name given to it by the inhabitants was *Liamuiga*, which he changed to its preſent name, upon a fanciful reſemblance of a large rock, bearing a little one upon its top, to the *Romiſh* legend of *St. Chriſtopher* bearing upon his back the infant *Jeſus*. It lies between lat. 17. 10. and 17. 40. and the middle of the iſland in long. 62. 40. weſt from *London*, and is about ten miles north of *Nevis*, and fourteen leagues from *Antigua*. Its length is twenty-five miles and a half, and its greateſt breadth ſeven; yet at a particular ſpot at its ſouth-eaſt end, towards the ſalt-ponds, it is not above half a mile. The compaſs of the whole iſland is between ſeventy and ſeventy-five miles. Who were the original ſettlers upon this iſland, the *French* or the *Engliſh*, is a point of very little conſequence in itſelf, had it not been magnified into importance by both nations. It is certain that ſoon after the diſcovery of *America*, ſocieties were formed in *England* for eſtabliſhments there; and after many ſucceſsful eſſays had been made, ſome of the greateſt and beſt ſubjects of the kingdom formed themſelves into companies, every member bearing a proportionable ſhare of the expence, and were to have the like in the profits, but ſtill reſerving thoſe claimed by the crown. The ſettlement of *Guiana* by the *Engliſh* upon the river *Surinam*, ſeems to have given them the firſt notion of ſettling what are called their *Weſt-Indian Iſlands*, whether under the denomination of the *Antilles* or *Caribbees*. It appears that before this ſcheme was ready for execution, ſeveral ſtraggling *Engliſh* had found their way to thoſe iſlands; and being ſo few in number as to give no umbrage to the *Caribbeans*, they lived on good terms with thoſe ſavages. One Mr. *Thomas Warner*, who had attended captain *Roger North*, brother to lord *North*, to *Guiana*, had ſome converſation with one captain *Pointon*, who mentioned to him the preference of their ſettlement

ment upon *St. Chriſtopher's*, or any other of the *Caribbean Iſlands*, which the *Spaniards* did not think worth poſſeſſing, to one upon the continent, where the *Engliſh* were always ſure of being harraſſed and diſturbed by thoſe jealous troubleſome neighbours.

Settlement of St. Chriſtopher's by the Engliſh.

SOON after this converſation *Painton* died; but it made ſuch an impreſſion upon *Warner*, that in 1620 he ſailed for *England*; where he took fourteen other gentlemen into the ſcheme, and having received a grant of the iſland from king *James* I. they ſailed from *England* to *Virginia*, and from thence to *St. Chriſtopher's*, where they arrived *January* 1623; where they actually began their ſettlement, and by *September* following, they muſt have had a tolerable good crop of tobacco, had it not been deſtroyed by a hurricane. The *French* writers have informed us of other particulars concerning the origin of this ſettlement. They tell us, that Monſ. *Deſnambuc*, whom we have already mentioned, having the ſame view with Mr. *Warner*, took poſſeſſion of *St. Chriſtopher's* on the very ſame day the latter did; that the *Engliſh* found three *Frenchman*, who had been ſhipwrecked ſettled upon it, who endeavoured to excite the *Caribbeans* againſt them, but in vain. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Warner* and *Deſnambuc* underſtanding the intentions of each to be the ſame, inſtead of entering into any critical diſputes about pre-occupancy, reſolved to divide the iſland between them, but, upon all occaſions to unite againſt the *Spaniards*, who had long known the iſland, but had never ſettled it, and were in ſo good correſpondence with the natives, as to leave, from voyage to voyage, their ſick in their hands.

who maſſacre the natives.

THIS good agreement ſeems to have introduced a moſt unwarrantable act of cruelty that was perpetrated by the ſettlers of both nations. *Warner* and *Deſnambuc* intending to return to their reſpective courts in *Europe*, ſuſpecting the practices of the *Spaniards* with the natives, whom, by this time, they had forced into a ſubmiſſion, reſolved to get rid of them. For this purpoſe, pretending (for the whole ſeems to have been a pretence, and a very ſhameful one too) that they had received intelligence of the *Caribbean* magicians having inſtigated the natives to maſſacre the *French* and the *Engliſh*, they attacked thoſe poor ſavages by night, and drove, from the iſland, all whom they did not murder. Though this maſſacre was committed under pretence of the natives being factious, yet no proofs have been brought in ſupport of ſuch a charge, and it is plain that the maſſacre of the ſavages was committed only on account of the diſlike they might have expreſſed at the new ſettlers invading their land, and abridging

ing them of their liberties. The two *European* chiefs of the iſland returned to their reſpective countries, where their inhumanity was highly approved of. *Warner* was made a knight, and governor of the *Engliſh* part of the iſland, as *Deſnambuc* was of the *French*. The latter pretended, that the ſettlers of both nations had pitched upon him for their governor, and he talked to *Richelieu* ſo plauſibly, that a *French American* company was erected in the year 1626. It is not unlikely, that captain *Warner* talked to his court in pretty much the ſame ſtrain, for an *Engliſh American* company was eſtabliſhed the ſame year.

The ſavages invade the iſland.

IN the mean while, the expulſion of the *Caribbeans* had alarmed thoſe of the neighbouring iſlands, and of the continent; and they made a deſcent upon *St. Chriſtopher's* to the number of about 3 or 4000 in their canoes. The *Engliſh* and *French* were no ſtrangers to their intention, and made a proper diſpoſition to receive them. Part were ſuffered to land, but volleys of muſketry from the ſettlers, who were planted in ambuſcade, laid moſt of them dead, and forced the others to retire to their canoes, but not before the ſavages had killed 200 of the *Europeans*, beſides many who afterwards died of wounds from poiſoned arrows. This account, however, we are apt to believe, was invented to palliate the ſeverities practiſed againſt them. Before we proceed in this hiſtory, it is highly proper to obſerve, that the *Engliſh* appear to have been far better acquainted than the *French* were with the ſtate of the *Weſt-Indies* at this time; and to prove this, we need but to lay before our readers, duplicates of the commiſſion granted by both courts. That to *Deſnambuc* ran in the following terms. "Armand John du Pleſſis de Richlieu, cardinal, counſellor of the king in his councils; chief, grand-maſter, and ſur intendant of the commerce of *France*, To all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting: maketh known, that the ſieur *Deſnambuc* and *du Roſſey*, captains, belonging to the weſtern department of the marine, having given us to underſtand, that they have, within theſe fifteen years paſt, by licence from the king, and the ſaid admiral of *France*, been at great expences in the equipping and arming ſhips and veſſels, for the ſearching out of fertile lands in a good climate, capable of being poſſeſſed by the *French*, and therein had uſed ſuch diligence, as that ſome time ſince they had diſcovered the iſlands of *St. Chriſtopher's* and *Barbados*, the one of thirty-five, the other of forty-five leagues in circumference, and other neighbouring iſlands, all ſituated at the entry of *Peru*, from the eleventh to the eighteenth degree north from the equinoctial line, making part of the

7 *Weſt-*

Weſt-Indies, which are not poſſeſſed by any king or chriſtian prince. This commiſſion is dated, *October* 31, 1626." That granted to the earl of *Carliſle* was as follows. "Whereas our well-beloved and faithful couſin and counſellor, *James* lord *Hay*, baron of *Sawley*, viſcount *Doncaſter*, and earl of *Carliſle*, having a laudable and zealous care to increaſe the chriſtian religion, and to enlarge the territories of our empire in certain lands, ſituated to the northward region of the world, which region, or iſlands, are hereafter deſcribed, which before were unknown, and by certain barbarous men, having no knowledge of the divine power, in ſome part poſſeſſed, commonly called *Caribbee-Iſlands*, containing in them theſe iſlands following, viz. *St. Chriſtopher*, *Granada*, *St. Vincent*, *St. Lucia*, *Barbados*, *Mittalanea*, (that is what the *French* call *Martinique*) *Dominica*, *Marigalante*, *Deſeada*, *Toboſantes*, *Guadalupe*, *Antego*, *Monſerrat*, *Redendo*, *Barbudo*, *Mevis*, (properly *Nevis*, by the *French Nieves*) *St. Bartholomew*, *St Martin*, *Anguilla*, *Sembrera*, and *Enegada*, and other iſlands before found out, to his great coſt and charges, and brought to that paſs, to be a large and copious colony of *Engliſh*."

The Engliſh better acquainted with it than the French,

THOSE two charters when compared give a ſhrewd intimation, that the *French* were but very little acquainted with the iſlands thereby conveyed; whereas the *Engliſh* charter contains the proper names of all the *Engliſh Caribbees*. Each court was pleaſed with its own chief, and in the year 1626, both ſailed back to *St. Chriſtopher's*, where they landed, but the *Engliſh* firſt, in ſeeming good correſpondence. Soon after the partition of the iſland was made by both parties, each conſiſting of about 300 in number, with greater preciſion and exactneſs than heretofore. In this new partition, which was ſigned by the two governors on the 13th of *May*, the boundaries of their ſeveral diviſions were fixed, but with a ſpecial proviſo, that fiſhing, hunting, the ſalt ponds, the moſt precious woods for dyers and joiners works, the havens, and the mines, ſhould all of them be common to both nations. At the ſame time, a league againſt their common enemies, who, we are to ſuppoſe, were the *Spaniards* and the *Caribians*, was entered into by both nations. By this treaty, the *Engliſh* were ſettled on the ſouth and north ſides of the iſland, and the *French* on the eaſt and weſt.

who are driven off by the Spaniards,

THE vaſt ſuperiority for colonizing, which the *Engliſh* have always poſſeſſed over the *French* in the requiſites of good underſtanding, ſpirit, and induſtry, were fully diſplayed on this occaſion. The *Engliſh* company at *London* ſupplied their planters upon *St. Chriſtopher's*, at once, ſo punctually and

ſo

ſo plentifully, that Sir *Thomas Warner* was at the head of a flouriſhing colony before the *French* had ſet about clearing their grounds; nay, ſo greatly did the *Engliſh* plantation flouriſh, that they had men to ſpare for ſettling *Nevis* on the like plan of partition. The flouriſhing ſtate of *St. Chriſtopher's*, which the *Spaniards* had always conſidered as the moſt valuable of the *Caribbee Iſlands*, awakened the jealouſy of the court of *Madrid* ſo greatly, that don *Frederic de Toledo* took upon him the command of a formidable fleet, conſiſting, as we are told, of twenty-four great ſhips, and fifteen frigates, to drive the two nations from *St. Chriſtopher's*, ſo as to prevent their diſturbing the *Spaniſh* colonies either in the *Weſt-Indies*, or upon the continent. Don *Frederic* having procured ſome *Engliſh* ſhips, which he ſeized at *Nevis*, anchored in the road of *Baſſe Terre*, below the cannon of that fort, which was in the *French* quarter, and commanded by M. *du Roſſey*. Neither the *French* nor the *Engliſh* had conceived the ſmalleſt idea of being able to reſiſt ſo powerful an armament; all their proviſions being juſt ſufficient to hold out againſt a ſmall ſquadron. *Du Roſſey* having made the beſt defence he could, abandoned *Baſſe Terre*, and retreated to *Capeſterre*, in the oppoſite part of the iſland, where the *French* had another fort, which was commanded by *Deſnambuc* in perſon. He knew that the main object of this great armament, was not the little iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's*, which it was to attack only by the bye, but to carry home the flota. He repreſented this to his men, and likewiſe, how practicable it was for them to ſecure themſelves in the faſtneſſes and moraſſes of the iſland, till don *Frederick* ſhould re-imbark, which he abſolutely muſt be obliged to do in a very few days. Nothing he ſaid made any impreſſion upon his coloniſts, who had been ſeized with a panic, on the report of the ſtrength, numbers, and cruelty of the *Spaniards*. They inſiſted upon immediately leaving the iſland, (and indeed, every thing conſidered, they were, perhaps, in the right) which they accordingly did.

It does not appear how the *Engliſh* were employed during this cataſtrophe. It is moſt probable to ſuppoſe, that the *French* had been taken entirely unprovided by the *Spaniards*; and conſequently, that they had not been able to adverti'e their *Engliſh* allies of their danger; otherwiſe from what afterwards fell out, had they been joined, they might have made ſuch a ſtand againſt all the troops the *Spaniards* could land, as, if not ſucceſsful, might, at leaſt, have obtained for them an honourable capitulation. But the *Engliſh* hearing that *Deſnambuc* and their allies had evacuated the iſland, fell into deſpondency likewiſe, and offered to treat with the *Spaniſh* admiral.

admiral. All they could obtain was liberty to evacuate the iſland, on pain of being put to the ſword. The *Engliſh* were obliged to accept of this order, inſtead of a capitulation, and he was prevailed on to allow them the ſhips he had taken at *Nevis* for their tranſportation; and at laſt, to give liberty for thoſe who could not be tranſported, to remain with their wives and famlies on the iſland till they could. Before his departure, he forced into his ſervice, and carried along with him, 600 of the ſtouteſt *Engliſh*.

As to the other part of this agreement, he left it to be executed by itſelf, and the terror of the *Spaniſh* name; for we do not find that many of the *Engliſh* had actually left the iſland when he departed; ſo that their ſettlement went on as uſual, after repairing the damages that had been done to their plantations by the *Spaniards*. The *French*, in like manner, who had gone no farther than *Antigua* and *Monſerrat*, underſtanding that the *Spaniards* had departed, returned, and reſumed the works of their plantation. But the ſituations of the two ſets of planters were very different. The *Engliſh* applied themſelves to population, had regular marriages, and lived in a comfortable manner within good houſes. The habitations of the *French* were little better than the huts of the *Caribbeans* had been; and few or none of them having families to mind, they took no care for the future. *Deſnambuc*, the *French* father of this colony, died about the year 1637. By this time, the active Sir *Thomas Warner* had rendered the *Engliſh* part of *St. Chriſtopher's* a nurſery of his countrymen for ſettling *Berbuda*, *Montſerrat*, and *Antigua*; all which iſlands he planted and peopled; but he did not long ſurvive his colleague *Deſnambuc*. At the time of his death, *St. Chriſtopher's* was ſaid to contain 12 or 13,000 *Engliſh*, all of them in good condition; a moſt amazing encreaſe to ariſe from the good conduct of a private gentleman. It is true he was aſſiſted by the government at home; and the people of *St. Chriſtopher's* were ſo ſenſible of the obligations they lay under to the crown of *England*, that after the murder of *Charles* the firſt, they refuſed to ſubmit to the powers of uſurpation. *but returned.*

ONE Mr. *Rich* ſucceeded Sir *Thomas Warner* in the government of *St. Chriſtopher's*; and proceeding upon the ſame prudent wiſe plan, the iſland ſtill encreaſed in population and riches. Mean while, the *French* part of the iſland underwent a variety of alterations; but its military eſtabliſhment was all at the inhabitants ſeemed to concern themſelves about their property in the iſland paſſed from the *Weſt-India* company, to the knights of *Malta*; from them to a ſecond *Weſt-* Rich, *governor.*

Weſt-India company, and was at laſt taken into the king's own hand. *Colbert* endeavoured to bring them to be good coloniſts. They were furniſhed, at the expence of the government, with frames of houſes, tools, utenſils, and houſhold-furniture; and at laſt they began to live far leſs like the *Caribbeans* than they had done before, though in every reſpect greatly inferior to the *Engliſh*. But indeed, by this time, both parties had loſt ſight of their original compact, and inſtead of guarding againſt the *Spaniards*, they guarded againſt one another.

Everard, *governor.*

One Mr. *Everard* ſucceeded Mr. *Rich* in the government of the *Engliſh* part of *St. Chriſtopher's*, which, with other iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*, refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the *Engliſh* republic, and continued in their allegiance to *Charles* the IId. The latter, as we have ſeen in the caſe of *Barbados*, was ridiculouſly perſuaded that he might reap great advantages from this reſiſtance; and about the time he ſent over the lord *Willoughby* to *Barbados*, he ſett over general *Pointz* to be his governor of *St. Chriſtopher's*. Sir *George Ayſcue*, after reducing *Barbados* to the power of the parliament, proceeded to *St. Chriſtopher's*, which he found in poſſeſſion of general *Pointz*. That gentleman being in no condition to reſiſt the parliament's admiral, was obliged with his friends to retire to *Virginia*, very probably upon a compromiſe with *Ayſcue*, who does not ſeem to have inflicted any puniſhment upon the inhabitants of *St. Chriſtopher's*, or even to have forced them to acknowledge the authority of the parliament, or to have given them a governor. When *Cromwell* took upon him the reins of government, and ſent *Penn* againſt *Hiſpaniola*, he gave it to that admiral in charge to reduce the *Engliſh* of *St. Chriſtopher's* to his obedience. He likewiſe obtained an order from the *French* court for his being aſſiſted by their ſubjects on the iſland. By virtue of this order, when *Penn* appeared before *St. Chriſtopher's*, he landed on the *French* part of it, and he was permitted to march through their lands againſt his countrymen, whom he thereby reduced. During the firſt *Dutch* war under *Charles* the IId, the *Dutch* and the *French* being on one ſide, both of them joined againſt the *Engliſh* of *St. Chriſtopher's*; but the latter entered into repoſſeſſion by the treaty of *Breda*., in 1667. We are here to obſerve, that in the partition of the iſland, the *Engliſh* lying in the middle, had the advantage of a communication with their ſettlements, by means of a road they had cut out of a mountain; but the *French* lying at oppoſite angles of the iſland, could have no communication from the one extremity to the other, but through the *Engliſh* ſettlements;

ments; and this diſpoſition of their quarters rendered every war that happened between them upon the iſland very bloody.

In fact, a great many ſcuffles aroſe between ſome of the inhabitants of the two nations, but none of them of conſequence enough to engage the whole in a general quarrel. The lord *Willoughby* acted as governor of *St. Chriſtopher's*, which is one of the *Leeward Iſlands*, after the Reſtoration; and he ſeems to have been ſucceeded by Sir *William Stapleton*, who held it to the time of his death. Sir *Nathaniel Johnſon* was appointed by king *James* II. governor of the *Leeward Iſlands*; but when the Revolution took place, he choſe to retire to *Carolina*, and king *William* gave his government to colonel *Codrington*, who was by far the fitteſt *Engliſh* ſubject in the *Weſt Indies* to fill it. Mean while, the *French*, who pretended to be the guardians of the houſe of *Stuart*, during its exile, attacked, without any previous declaration of war, the *Engliſh* part of *St. Chriſtopher's*, and drove them a ſecond time from their poſſeſſions; a proceeding ſo cruel and ſo treacherous, that it was enumerated by king *William* and queen *Mary* among the cauſes of their declaring war againſt the *French* king. The reader, however, from the foregoing part of this hiſtory may perceive, that this cauſe was not confined to the *Engliſh Weſt-Indies* alone, but that it extended to many of their ſettlements on the continent of *America*. The violent diſpoſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* by the *French*, was owing, in a great meaſure, to the *Iriſh* papiſts, ſettled among them, who looked upon the cauſe of king *James* as their own. Their proceedings againſt the *Engliſh* with fire and ſword, were carried on with more fury than thoſe of the *French* ever had been; ſo that the *Engliſh* had no places of refuge left but in their forts, from whence they ſent to the government of *Barbados* for ſuccours. Before thoſe could arrive, they were ſo hard preſſed, that they were obliged to capitulate, which they did on the 29th of *July*, 1689; but they could obtain no better terms than their being tranſported to *Nevis*.

Stapleton, *governor.*

The Engliſh diſpoſſeſſed of St. Chriſtopher's.

This diſpoſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* from ſo valuable an iſland, occaſioned infinite confuſion among the *Weſt-India* merchants in *England* as well as in *America*, and gave riſe to the commiſſion of a thouſand commercial frauds. The ſtate of affairs in *Barbados* and our other *Leeward Iſlands*, did not admit of their giving the ſufferers that ſpeedy relief which their circumſtances required; ſo that the *French* remained for eight months the ſole poſſeſſors of *St. Chriſtopher's*. During this time, a moſt dreadful earthquake, which was felt in other

Leeward Iſlands, happened at *St. Chriſtopher's*; and the openings of the earth, which attended it, to the extent, in many places, of nine feet, ſwallowed up ſugar-mills, lumber, with other heavy materials, and threw down ſome of the ſtrongeſt buildings on the iſland, and among them the jeſuits college. The *French* being thus in poſſeſſion of all *St. Chriſtopher's*, fitted out fifteen veſſels, with 4 or 500 men on board; who, as we have already ſeen, drove the *Dutch* out of *St. Euſtatia*; and being ſupported from *Old France*, it was generally thought they would have attempted *Barbados* itſelf, and all the other *Engliſh Caribbee Iſlands*, had not advice come from *England*, of an armament ſailing from thence, under commodore *Wright*, to their relief. Sir *Timothy Thornhill* was then at *Antigua*, and from thence he repaired to *Nevis*, where the general rendezvous of the *Engliſh* armament, both by ſea and land, was held.

St. Chriſtopher's *reconquered by Col.* Codrington.

COLONEL *Codrington* took upon him the command of the whole, and on the 19th of *June* 1690, he ſailed from *Nevis* for *St. Chriſtopher's*, where the fleet that ſame evening anchored in *Frigate-Bay*. To favour the deſcent by amuſing the enemy, eight of the *Engliſh* frigates fell down three leagues to the leeward, but returned in the morning, where they found the *Engliſh* ſhip, which was neareſt land firing upon the *French* in their trenches, and warmly engaged with a battery of five guns. A general council of war being held by the ſea as well as the land-officers, the reſult was, that Sir *Timothy* (called major-general *Thornhill*) ſhould, at the head of 400 of his own regiment, and a detachment of 150, drawn from others, land at the foot of a hill near the little ſalt pits, which the *French* had left unguarded, as deeming it to be inacceſſible. The *Engliſh* were too well acquainted with the iſland not to attempt to mount this hill, which, after infinite difficulties they did by day-break, and forced ſome of the *French* ſcouts, who had been planted there, and who fired upon them, to retire. *Thornhill*, leaving a ſufficient guard upon the paſs, led his main body down the hill; but, in his march, he was briſkly fired upon by the *French*, who wounded him and ſeveral of his men. His command, conſiſting chiefly of creoles, moſt undauntedly ran down the remainder of the hill, and flanked the *French* in their trenches, while the duke of *Bolton*'s regiment, and the marines landed from *Frigate-Bay*, but with the loſs of colonel *Kegwin*, who was mortally wounded. This ſeemed to animate the *Engliſh* the more, and colonel *Holt*, who commanded the duke of *Bolton*'s regiment, after a very briſk charge, drove the enemy in diſorder from their poſt.

By this time, all the troops were landed, but were under an inexpreſſible loſs from the wound of the brave Sir *Timothy Thornhill*; who, with ſeveral other diſabled officers, were ſent on board. At laſt, after ſome conſultation, the general diſpoſition for the conqueſt of the iſland was ſettled as follows; colonel *Holt* with his regiment was to march neareſt to the ſhore; colonel *Thomas*, with the *Barbados* regiment, was to advance up the country, but to be ſupported by the *Antigua* regiment, under colonel *Williams*; while the other four regiments, of which the expedition conſiſted, were to remain in their encampment, and to act occaſionally. This diſpoſition does not appear to have been extremely judicious. Colonel *Holt*, indeed, about an hour after beginning his march, drove before him a party of the enemy. But the *French* made their ſtrong attack upon the *Barbados* regiment, which ſeems to have advanced too incautiouſly, and muſt, after a very ſharp diſpute have been entirely cut off, had they not been relieved by the reſerve under colonel *Williams*, by which the *Barbadians* taking freſh courage, obliged the enemy to a precipitate retreat; ſome of them flying to the mountains, and others to a fort formerly belonging to the *Engliſh*. The latter pretend, that on this occaſion, the *French* not only had the advantage of the ground but were three to one in number; which may very poſſibly have been when we conſider the vaſt number of the *Iriſh* who had joined them. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that general *Codrington* altered the plan of his operations; and the four regiments at *Frigate Bay* moving forwards, the whole army was drawn up in one line, and put under proper regulations againſt ſtraggling for drink or other refreſhments.

While ſuch were the diſpoſitions by land, the *Engliſh* ſhips of war falling down to *Baſſe Terre*, began to cannonade it, upon which the *French*, after firing a round or two, abandoned and ſet on fire the town, which was ſaved from deſtruction by the *Engliſh* ſailors, who came on ſhore from their frigates. When this news was brought to the general, he inſtantly ſet out for *Baſſe Terre*, as thinking it a proper place for refreſhing his men, and intending that they ſhould be quartered there that very night. Upon his arrival, he found, that the enemy, either through deſign or hurry, had left great quantities of wine, and other ſtrong liquors in the fort and the town. He knew the conſequences of intoxication to fatigued troops, with the dreadful diſorders it always introduces. He concealed the liquors, or removed them to the maſs-houſe, where he ordered his own company of guards to take poſt under colonel *Byam*. He then gave out the word for the army to reſt all night under arms at the jeſuits con-

vent, which was about a mile from *Baſſe Terre* fort. All this was effected chiefly by the prudence and ſpirit of the officers, who bore all the inconveniencies of their quarters, eſpecially, thoſe of a very wet night, equally with the meaneſt ſoldier. Plenty returned in the morning to the troops, by the good conduct of the general, who found abundance of cattle, and ſtores of every kind in their camp, and in the convent; only the commiſſary-general had it in charge to ſecure the ſtrong liquors, which were diſtributed ſo as to refreſh but not to intoxicate them. As to the town, the common ſoldiers had free liberty to plunder it; but the general found it mounted with ſixteen guns, which, though they had been ſpiked, he found means again to render ſerviceable.

Operations of the ſiege of fort Baſſe Terre,

THE troops continued for two days at *Baſſe Terre*, during which time, major *Gunthorp*, with a detachment of 150 men, drove the *French* from an important poſt in the neighbourhood. Next day preſented a moſt dreadful ſcene; for the *Engliſh* negroes, who had lurked in the mountains ever ſince their maſters had been carried off the iſland, came down, and ſet all the ſugar and other works of the enemy on fire; ſo that *St. Chriſtopher's* ſeemed to be but one continued blaze; notwithſtanding the almoſt inceſſant rains which fell, and laid the *Engliſh* under unſpeakable diſcouragements and diſadvantages. The general, however, continued to advance againſt the fort of *Baſſe Terre*, the ſtrongeſt which the *French* had in the iſland; but, through the continual rains he was obliged to encamp within three miles of it. At laſt, he marched within a mile of it, while the men of war ſent on ſhore all their wheel-barrows, ſhovels, pick-axes, and other utenſils for a ſiege, and fell down to *Baſſe Terre* old road. The reader will, perhaps, be ſurprized, that unleſs the *Engliſh* have miſtaken their journals, all this variety of operations did not take up above four and twenty-hours; for we find the *Engliſh* general and his army, on the 20th of *June*, encamped before the fort, under the covert of a high hill, the ſummit of which was ſecured by a detachment.

IT being reſolved to batter the fort from this hill, great guns were accordingly landed next day; and, in two days after, captain *Kirby*, in the *Succeſs* man of war, at the head of the marine regiment, cleared a path for the artillery, which was accordingly mounted on a platform, and well ſecured againſt the enemy's fire from the fort. On the 30th of *June* the cannonading began from this eminence with ſome effect, while the fort was battered at the ſame time by the frigates from the old road, and the army took place in a deep ravine, or ditch, within muſket-ſhot of its walls. Next day, they began

began their entrenchments with great ſucceſs; and colonel *Pym* ſurprized and made priſoners 50 *French*, who were in a fort three miles diſtant. Though the *Engliſh* had conceived great hopes from their hill-cannonading, and though they had mounted more guns, yet it proved but ineffectual, and they were obliged to have recourſe to their entrenchments, and the regular finiſhing of their batteries, which were now advanced within piſtol-ſhot of the fort. Whatever the *Engliſh* may pretend, the defence made by the *French* on this occaſion, ſeems to have been very ſpirited and well judged. But the truth is, their enemies were maſters of the ſea, and they had no proſpect of relief, ſo that they muſt ſubmit at laſt. They had all this while a free communication between the fort and the country, where they roved about in parties, the moſt conſiderable of which was headed by one M. *Pinello*. The *Engliſh* ſent out others againſt them, and Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, with 200 men, though he could not come up with the enemy, on the 7th of *July* brought into the *Engliſh* camp ſome priſoners, negroes, and cattle.

Codrington ſeems to have been ſenſible at laſt of the ſmall progreſs of the ſiege, and purſued a meaſure which anſwered his purpoſe better than arms. He ſent proclamations and drums over all the iſland, offering to take into his protection ſuch of the *French* ſubjects as were willing to ſurrender themſelves and to live quietly; and this had ſo great an effect, that *Pinello* himſelf, though he ſaid he could not ſurrender without the governor's orders, ſent in a flag of truce, offering to remain inoffenſive, and to give the *Engliſh* no oppoſition wherever he ſhould meet them. The garriſon, at laſt, thinking they had done enough for their own honour, and that of their country, and ſeeing the *Engliſh* works very far advanced, beat a parley, and four of their number appeared with a flag of truce, and were conducted to general *Codrington*'s tent. The treaty was ſoon concluded, and the terms were the ſame which the *Engliſh* had when they delivered up the fort; and thus on the 12th of *July*, the iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's* may be ſaid to have again reverted to the *Engliſh* government. During the ſiege, and the other operations before the iſland was reduced, the *Engliſh* loſt about an hundred men. Upon their taking poſſeſſion of the fort, they were ſoon ſenſible that it could not have held out much longer. The only well it had was dried up by the firing of the cannon; and though the walls and other works of the fort were in tolerable condition, and the garriſon well ſtored with proviſion and powder, yet they wanted bullets. The male white inhabitants upon the iſland were in number about

which is taken.

1800; and with their women, and children, and ſome of their negroes, others being reſtored as plunder, they were ſent partly to *Hiſpaniola*, and partly by way of favour, to *Martinico*. After the *Engliſh* had ſufficiently refreſhed themſelves at *St Chriſtopher's*, Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, with the marines and his own regiment ſailed to *St. Euſtatia*, which was then in poſſeſſion of the *French*, and which he reduced with the loſs of no more than eight men.

BEFORE this, the *French* inhabitants of *St. Bartholomew* who had been ſent priſoners to *Nevis*, were carried to *St. Chriſtopher's*; where, meeting with their wives and children, they deſired to return to their own iſland, and live there as ſubjects of *Great Britain*. The general granted their requeſt, and he ſent them back to their own iſland, under captain *Le Grand*, one of its old inhabitants, who held it faithfully, during ſome years, for the crown of *England*. But notwithſtanding the ſurrender of *St. Chriſtopher's*, yet it was found neceſſary to keep a very ſtrict eye over the *French*, who, with their ſlaves, ſtill continued in the mountains, and often ſurpriſed the *Engliſh*, of whom they killed at one time no fewer than fifteen out of a ſingle foot company. We have already mentioned the unſucceſsful expedition againſt *Guadaloupe*, which general *Codrington* next undertook, the miſcarriage of which was very juſtly attributed to commodore *Wright*. Soon after, general *Codrington* died with great reputation, and was ſucceeded in his government and large eſtates by his ſon the colonel, who was one of the fineſt gentlemen, and beſt ſcholars, notwithſtanding his profeſſion of arms, and colonizing, which thoſe times, though fertile in great men, produced.

St. Chriſtopher's *reſtored to the* French *by the treaty of* Ryſwick.

THE iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's* continued in the hands of the *Engliſh* till the peace of *Ryſwick*, without any material occurrence happening. In 1697, colonel *Collingwood* being ſent over to the *Leeward Iſlands* with his regiment, ſettled at *St. Chriſtopher's* with his wife and family, to whom the climate proved mortal. The peace of *Ryſwick* reſtored *de Geunes*, who had been governor of *St. Chriſtopher's* at the time it was laſt taken by the *Engliſh*, to the ſame government. This gentleman had a daughter-in-law, who had been bred up under her mother, a proteſtant; and he employed a young jeſuit to pervert her in her religion. The lady's charms proved too ſtrong for the jeſuit's faith. He won her to compliance, carried her to an *Engliſh* iſland, turned proteſtant, and married her. In 1702, when war was declared between *England* and *France*, colonel *Codrington* attacked the *French* part of *St. Chriſtopher's*, and reduced its chief fort after firing

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a ſingle round. In 1704, brigadier-general Sir *William Mathews* was appointed to ſucceed colonel *Codrington* in his government of the *Leeward-Iſlands*. About this time the court of *England* had undoubted intelligence of the *French* having adopted a very extenſive plan of conquering all the *Engliſh* iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*. To prevent any ſurprize, ſix men of war, with twelve tranſports for land-forces, were fitted out under commodore *Walker*. On board this ſquadron *Mathews* embarked; but he, and 200 land-forces died in the paſſage. After this, colonel *Park*, whom we have already mentioned, was made governor of the *Leeward-Iſlands*, which, at this time, were in a ſorry ſituation, owing to the peace of *Ryſwick*. Mathews, and Park's governors.

THE truth is, neither king *William*, nor his government, had true notions of the *Engliſh Weſt-India* trade, nor did he think he could ſacrifice enough to the *Spaniards*, who were much better pleaſed to ſee the *French* than the *Engliſh* powerful in *America*. Too little care, therefore, had been taken of *St. Chriſtopher's* at the peace of *Ryſwick*. In the year 1705, when the *French* began to carry their grand ſcheme into agitation under *Iberville*, whom we have ſo often mentioned in the *American* hiſtory, they landed on *St. Chriſtopher's*, their armament conſiſting of five men of war, and twenty ſloops. Being repulſed before the *Engliſh* fort, they wreaked their vengeance upon the defenceleſs inhabitants, whoſe plantations and houſes they burned and plundered. It is hard to ſay, how far ſo enterpriſing an officer as *Iberville* was, might have carried matters againſt the whole iſland, had not the governor of *Barbados* ſent intelligence to governor *Park* of a powerful ſquadron of men of war that were to be ſent to his aſſiſtance. This taking air, *Iberville*, the primary object of whoſe inſtructions was *Nevis*, re-embarked his men, but carried off with him about 6 or 700 *Engliſh* negroes, whom he ſold to the *Spaniards* at *Vera Cruz*.

IN 1710, *Park*, under whoſe government a great many abuſes had crept in, endeavoured to redreſs them, by holding a general aſſembly of all the *Leeward Iſlands* at *St. Chriſtopher's*. This expedient might have proved very healing, the iſland having, for ſome time, known no other government, than that of the governor, and a council of militia-officers. But when the aſſembly met at *Old Road*, the governor and they differed in every particular. The firſt point was, his refuſing them the privilege of nominating their own clerk, and his ſending meſſages to them by the deputy-marſhal, who is not of ſo high a rank there, as a tipſtaff is in *England*. The aſſembly wanted to appoint one of their own members

for their clerk; but the governor ridiculouſly gave a negative to this likewiſe, becauſe the clerks of the houſe of commons in *England*, which, according to him, reſembled in its conſtitution the aſſembly of *St. Chriſtopher's*, never were appointed out of their own body; and ſo ſtifly did he adhere to all his whims, that he even rejected an offer made by the council, to carry his meſſages to the aſſembly. Soon after this conteſt *Park* was murdered, and general *Hamilton* ſucceeded him. Nothing of any importance happened after this, till the ceſſion of this iſland to the crown of *Great Britain*, by the treaty of *Utrecht*; by which it was provided in the twelfth article, that the iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's* is to be poſſeſſed alone by the *Britiſh* ſubjects. This article was brought as a charge againſt the miniſters who concluded that treaty, as if the *French* had thereby got rid of an iſland, which was to them of very little ſignificancy, and ſtrengthened their greater and far more important ſettlement at *Domingo*. But this objection is falſe and frivolous; the *French* having been ſettled at *Domingo* ten years before the concluſion of this treaty; and, indeed, nothing can be more abſurd than to imagine, if the *French* government had thought it their intereſt that *St. Chriſtopher's* ſhould have been evacuated, they could not have eaſily brought about ſuch a meaſure. In ſhort, the entire ceſſion of this iſland was a great and a ſolid acquiſition to *Great Britain*, eſpecially as the ſoil of the *French* part of it was by far the richeſt; but indeed the number of *French* ſettled upon it at the time of its ceſſion, was but inconſiderable, being no more than 2000 whites, and 12,000 ſlaves, of whom many of the richeſt families remained ſtill upon the iſland, and became *Britiſh* ſubjects.

Treaty of Utrecht *vindicated.*

Hamilton, *governor.*

GENERAL *Hamilton* proceeded in the meaſures of his government upon his predeceſſor's principles; and, to ſay the truth, the adminiſtration at home ſeems to have been very remiſs in the affairs of this iſland, and to have left the inhabitants too much under the power of their governors. They had repreſented this often, by petions and memorials ſent to *England*, eſpecially after the death of colonel *Park*; but they were diſcouraged in all ſuch applications by their new governor *Hamilton*. After the *French* had been driven off the iſland, the governors exerciſed a power of letting the *French* untenanted lands at arbitrary rates. This was conſidered by the *Engliſh* inhabitants as an oppreſſive privilege, eipecially as they had ſuffered greatly by the *French* depredations during the war; (though their loſſes were afterwards made good by debentures granted by parliament) and thought it at leaſt reaſonable that they ſhould enjoy ſomewhat of that property, which

which their enemies ſtill claimed to be theirs. All thoſe repreſentations were diſregarded, and Mr. *Hamilton* is ſaid to have ſtretched the abuſe of his power ſo far, as to turn out of their eſtates, ſo granted by leaſe, many chief inhabitants of the iſland, after they had laid out vaſt ſums in improving them, and even to have diſplaced judges, who had offered to oppoſe his oppreſſions. In the year 1711, an act of parliament paſſed for raiſing two millions by a lottery, in which was the following clauſe: "And whereas the proprietors and inhabitants of the iſlands of *Nevis* and *St. Chriſtopher's* in *America*, did ſuſtain very great loſſes by a late invaſion of the *French*, and it became neceſſary to give ſome encouragement to the ſufferers, for reſettling their plantations, the ſum therefore of 103,003 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* ſhall be diſtributed amongſt ſuch proprietors only, as have re-ſettled, or ſhall re-ſettle in thoſe two iſlands, in proportion to their loſſes, by debentures to be iſſued by the commiſſioners for trade, at ſix per cent. intereſt." By an act of the fifth of *George* I. for relief of ſuch ſufferers in thoſe two iſlands, as had re-ſettled in either of them, "the diſtribution of the abovenamed ſum is farther regulated; and by one of the eighth of that king, their principal ſum unpaid, and the large arrears of intereſt thereon, joined together, has an intereſt of three per cent. ſettled thereon [c]."

The people of St. Chriſtopher's raiſe their coin.

In 1715, the government of *St. Chriſtopher's* committed a moſt flagrant breach of the royal proclamation, by raiſing the *French* crown, which was the current coin of that iſland, from ſix to ſeven ſhillings, and two minutes for that purpoſe were accordingly entered in the council-books, as well as an order to the ſame effect, affixed in the lieutenant-general's name, to the general towns of the iſland. This meaſure opened the mouths of all the enemies of the lieutenant-general and his council, who were publicly accuſed of having hoarded up *French* crowns at the rate of ſix ſhillings each, and obliging the inhabitants to receive them for a ſhilling more. This iniquitous proceeding was ſo glaring, that next year it ſtartled the lieutenant-general himſelf, and he conſulted his council, whether it was regular. Their anſwer was, "that *French* crowns having been current ſeveral years, in the other iſlands, for ſeven ſhillings, it could not be ſaid that he altered the coin, but only followed the practice of the other iſlands." The ſecretary of ſtate at laſt took up the matter, and wrote to the lieutenant-general, in the following terms; "that your

[c] Hiſtorical and chronological deduction of the origin of commerce, Vol. II. p. 252.

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excellency will be pleaſed to iſſue your proclamation, requiring obedience to be paid to her late majeſty's proclamation, relating to the coin, enforced by an act of parliament, that myſelf, as well as others of his majeſty's ſubjects, may be no longer defrauded of the ſixth part of their due, nor the royal proclamation, nor the act of parliament, ſuffer any longer that indignity they have hitherto been treated with in theſe parts." As the thing itſelf was indefenſible, the lieutenant-general thought proper to make no anſwer to this letter, but repaired to *England* in perſon. Governor *Matthews*, Mr. *Hart*, and lord *Londonderry*, were ſeverally lieutenant-governors of *St. Chriſtopher's* and the *Leeward Iſlands*. Under the firſt, the council and the aſſembly ſettled upon him 800 *l.* a year currency in money, which was to be raiſed by a capitation on ſlaves, at that time reckoned about 17,000 in the *Leeward Iſlands*. A duty of three ſhillings a hogſhead was laid as an additional ſalary to the ſucceeding governors. This tax was vigorouſly oppoſed by the planters, who urged, that the governor of the iſland, in imitation of thoſe of the *French* iſlands, ought to be paid by the crown alone.

Governor's ſalary ſettled.

To ſpeak the truth, very great inconveniencies had ariſen from the ſmallneſs, or rather the unſettled ſtate, of the governor's appointments, which had often rendered them liable to great temptations from preſents, as we perceive from the following royal inſtruction. "Whereas ſeveral inconveniencies have ariſen to our governors in the plantations by gifts and preſents made our governors by the aſſemblies, It is our will and pleaſure, that neither you, nor any governor or commander in chief of our *Leeward Iſlands* for the time being, reſpectively, do give your or their conſent to the paſſing any law or act, for any gift or preſent to be made to you or any of them by the aſſembly or aſſemblies of all or any of our ſaid iſlands, and that neither you nor they do receive any gift or preſent from any of the ſaid aſſemblies, on any account or in any manner whatſoever, on pain of being recalled from that our government." The other parts of the civil and political hiſtory of *St. Chriſtopher's*, to prevent repetition, will fall under the other *Leeward Iſlands*. We ſhall therefore proceed, as uſual, to its natural hiſtory.

Order againſt his receiving bribes.

THE firſt planters of *St. Chriſtopher's*, both *Engliſh* and *French*, applied themſelves chiefly to the cultivation of tobacco; but the large quantities they raiſed defeated the intention of their labour, by reducing the price of the commodity. They found their account much better in planting ſugar, ginger, indigo, and cotton; for all which the ſoil is peculiarly adapted. The proſpect from the mountains over this

this iſland, however dreadful the mountains themſelves are, is extremely beautiful. The iſland is ſtored with ſulphureous ſprings towards its ſouth-weſt part; and though its air in general is very ſalubrious, yet it is ſubject to violent hurricanes. The ridge of mountains that run along the iſland, and which, in many places, is interſperſed by foreſts and thickets, is almoſt impaſſable, and muſt always continue ſo, till the induſtry of the inhabitants ſhall have cleared them. The pariſhes upon the iſland are five, and each has a handſome church, three on the ſouth ſide, and two on the north ſide, being finiſhed within with a variety of curious and beautiful woods. The *French*, while they held part of the iſland, reſided moſtly at *Baſſe Terre*, where they built a handſome town, town-houſe, church, and hoſpital, of brick, free-ſtone, and carpenter's work. But all this, together with the fine houſe of their governor, was done at the expence of the *French* king. The *Engliſh*, on the other hand, lived on detached ſpots, as the conveniency of their planting and commerce directed; and though they fell far ſhort of the *French* in the magnificence of their public buildings, yet their houſes, which were all raiſed at their own expence, were far more elegant, comfortable, and convenient; and to this day *St. Chriſtopher's* boaſts of better private houſes, than are to be met with on any iſland in the *Weſt-Indies*.

A ſilver mine.

On a mountain that lies about three miles north of *Fort Charles*, tradition informs us, there is a ſilver mine; but tho' many of the inhabitants are convinced of its reality, yet they wiſely deſiſt from working it, on account of its certain expence and precarious returns. All the improveable land lies at the feet of the mountains and the ſkirts of the iſland. Since *St. Chriſtopher's* came into the ſole poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, they have added to it ſeveral forts. The chief is that upon *Brimſtone-Hill*, which mounts 49 pieces of cannon, and has a magazine, containing 18,000 pounds of powder, 800 muſkets, 600 bayonets, and other military ſtores in proportion. *Charles Fort* mounts 40 cannon, and has likewiſe a well-provided magazine. Beſides thoſe two forts, the town of *Baſſe Terre* is ſecured by *Londonderry Fort*, towards the eaſt, and by ſix batteries, raiſed at different landing-places, and mounting 43 cannon. It is ſuppoſed that all the cultivable land of *St. Chriſtopher's* does not exceed 24,000 acres, and thoſe of a light ſandy ſoil. About the year 1731, when an enquiry was ſet on foot by the *Britiſh* parliament concerning the ſtate of ſugar iſlands, the ſugar trade upon *St. Chriſtopher's* was eſtimated at 3000 hogſheads yearly; but when the diſpute about the preference between the *French* iſlands and

Forts.

and *Canada* came to be agitated before the concluſion of the late peace, the produce of the iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's* in ſugar, was, by thoſe who reduced it the loweſt, admitted to be about 14,000 hogſheads yearly. Some parts of *St. Chriſtopher's* are ill-ſerved with water. The iſland produces large quantities of maiz, pine-apples, tamarinds, prickle-pears, peas, apples, and the quality of its ſugar is reckoned ſuperior to that of *Barbados* itſelf. Two different kinds of pepper, and two of cotton, grow here, and the wild ſugar-canes ſhoot up to four or five feet. Their gourds, water-melons, lettuce, parſley, and purſlane, are ſaid to be excellent, as is their papau tree, with many others of the vegetable kind, too numerous to be inſerted here, but unknown to the inhabitants of *Europe*.

Dominica. THE iſland of *Dominica*, which is now unalienably ceded to the crown of *Great Britain*, lies about half way between *Guadaloupe* on the north-weſt, and *Martinico* on the ſouth-eaſt, being about eight leagues diſtant from each; and therefore we may conſider it as being in the boſom of the *French* iſlands. It ſtretches in the form of a bow, from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt, and is, in length twenty-eight *Engliſh* miles, and in breadth about thirteen, its whole circumference being about thirty leagues. The ſoil of *Dominica* not being interſected by the ſea, as many other *Weſt-Indian* iſlands are, it contains a great deal of improveable ground; ſome ſay double the quantity of *Barbados*; and the *French* ſuppoſe it to be half as large as *Martinico*. *Dominica* was diſcovered by the great *Columbus* on a *Sunday*, *November* the 3d, 1593, from whence it takes its name, which was all that the *Spaniards* beſtowed upon it, excepting a few wild hogs. From a manuſcript hiſtory before us of the houſe of *Clifford*, we perceive that on *Monday* the 22d of *May*, 1598 [d], the famous navigator the earl of *Cumberland*, who was the head of that houſe, in purſuance of a commiſſion granted him by queen *Elizabeth* againſt the *Spaniards*, came to anchor at the harbour of *Dominica*; upon which, the 4th of *June* following, being *Whitſunday*, he muſtered his men upon the iſland, and left it, ſo far as we can perceive, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition from the inhabitants. After this, Mr. *George Percy*, who was brother to the earl of *Northumberland*, touched at *Dominica*, with ſome recruits, which he was conducting to *Virginia*. Thoſe facts ſeem to eſtabliſh the preoccupancy of this iſland entirely in favour of the *Engliſh*, at leaſt preferably to the

Its diſcovery.

[d] Our printed acounts ſay 1596; but the earl's commiſſion is dated in 1597; nor did he ſail till next year.

French;

French; and if the earl of *Cumberland* did not actually make a ſettlement here, it was owing to an overſight in his commiſſion, into which, no clauſe for that purpoſe was inſerted. *Charles* I. however, as the reader has ſeen, made no ſcruple to inſert *Dominica* in the earl of *Carliſle*'s original patent; and it has ever ſince ſtood as one of the iſlands included in the commiſſion of the governor of *Barbados*.

and inhabitants.

IT has been generally allowed that the iſland of *Dominica* was the rendezvous or fortreſs of the *Caribbeans*, when expelled from their other iſlands; and that the natives of this excelled all the other *Caribbeans*, not only in ſtrength, courage, and activity, but in a form of government which they retained, introduced, (as the *French* pretend) by one *Baron*, a *Frenchman*, who lived upon the iſland, and conformed himſelf to the manners and cuſtoms of the natives. It is certain that the *French* were ſo ſenſible of the value of *Dominica*, that they endeavoured to mingle their accounts of the inhabitants with many ſtrains of the marvellous, particularly, of its containing a moſt immenſe pit, which was ſtored with all kinds of poiſonous animals, and was the reſidence of a moſt monſtrous dragon. Thoſe fooliſh reports, perhaps, had their effect, and the rather, as the *Engliſh*, who had been upon the iſland, appear to have neglected it, becauſe they could find no harbour on its coaſt. It muſt not, however, be denied, that many of the *Engliſh* free-booters, and even ſome planters, of no inconſiderable rank, uſed to decoy thoſe natives, and carry them into captivity; and that this gave them an invincible hatred to all the *Engliſh*, which was, on every occaſion, improved by the *French*. The latter are ſaid to have concluded a peace with thoſe iſlanders in 1640! about which time, *Baron* made ſeveral expeditions at the head of the *Dominican Caribbeans* againſt the *Engliſh* upon the other iſlands. When lord *Willoughby* was appointed governor of *Barbados* by *Charles* II. he paid no regard to the *French* proceedings, and ſent a number of men to ſettle *Dominica*, under the authority of a lieutenant-governor, of his own nomination. The *French* upon the iſland pretended that this ſettlement ought not to take effect, becauſe it was in prejudice to their allies the *Caribbeans*; and they produced a ſham treaty with them in 1640. The *Engliſh* produced other treaties, perhaps of the ſame kind, in ſupport of their ſettlement; and matters remained pretty quiet for ſome years between the two nations, till in 1668, lord *Willoughby* was obliged to ſupport his ſettlement by an armed force from *Barbados* againſt the injuries done it by the *French*. This vigorous meaſure had ſo good an effect, that the natives, by a

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ſolemn inſtrument made a ſurrender of their iſland to the *Engliſh*, and according to a well-informed author,[e] the inſtrument was lodged in the hands of Mr. *Littleton*, his lordſhip's ſecretary. In 1672, the *French*, under the title of the above ſham treaty, diſputed with the *Engliſh*, the poſſeſſion of this iſland; but the council of trade and plantations at *London*, on the 11th of *December* that ſame year, informed the governor of *Barbados*, that no ſuch treaty ever exiſted. Colonel *Thomas Warner*, the ſon of Sir *Thomas Warner*, by a *Caribbean* lady, whom *Labat* ſaw alive in 1700, aged above 100 years, was then the *Engliſh* lieutenant-governor of *Dominica*, and died in 1674.

Submit to the Engliſh.

AFTER this, little or no mention is made of *Dominica*, till the time of the ſhameful treaty of neutrality we have already mentioned between *James* II. and the *French* king. Colonel *Stede*, (afterwards Sir *Edward*) was then lieutenant-governor of *Barbados*; but he was ſo far from conſidering *Dominica* even as a neutral iſland, that he ordered the ſaid treaty to be proclaimed in it, as comprehended within his commiſſion. Next year, he ſet fire to ſome *French* huts that had been run up upon the coaſt, and ſeized one of their ſhips for having preſumed to wood and water upon the iſland, without permiſſion from himſelf. Another commiſſion, for ſettling all debateable matters in the *Weſt Indies*, was afterwards ſigned by *James* II. and in conſequence of the ſame, colonel *Stede* had orders from *London* to tranſmit to the miniſtry, all the documents and proofs in favour of the *Engliſh* right to the iſland. This order was complied with, but ſo late as the 23d of *September*, 1688, when the Revolution was on the point of taking place. In this report, however, colonel *Stede* is ſaid to have made out, beyond all diſpute, the right of the *Engliſh* not only to *Dominica*, but to all the iſlands in his commiſſion as governor of *Barbados*. During the war between the *French* and *Engliſh* which ſucceeded, this iſland could not properly have been ſaid to be ſettled by either nation; but when the *Engliſh* reſumed their claim after the peace of *Ryſwick*, they burnt the *French* huts, and obliged them to leave the iſland.

Reflexions on its neutral ſtate.

THUS, by an unaccountable concurrence of cauſes, this iſland, through its great value, remained of no conſequence to any *European* power. In times of war, between the *French* and *Engliſh*, both were driven from it in their turns, and upon the concluſion of a peace, each people knew the importance

[e] Candid and impartial Conſiderations on the nature of the Sugar-Trade, p. 83.

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ſ it too well to ſuffer the other to become maſters of it; ınd both agreed in thinking, that it was of too little conſe- ıuence to be made the object of a new war. In this ſtate of neutrality it continued, by a kind of a tacit conſent on both ſides, till by the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* in 1748, it was formally declared to be neutral. The *French*, however, obſerved a moſt inſidious neutrality; for when towards the cloſe of the late war, it was reduced by lord *Rollo* for the crown of *Great Britain*, he found almoſt the whole *Windward Coaſt* ſettled by the *French*. The definitive treaty of 1763, fixed the property of *Dominica* unalterably in his majeſty and his ſucceſſors, and next to the ceſſion of *Canada* and *Louiſiana*, it is by many conſidered as one of the moſt valuable acquiſitions we have obtained by that peace.

WHEN all circumſtances are conſidered, eſpecially the induſtry of the *French* in ſettling *Dominica*, the ceſſion of it may be deemed as an actual conqueſt from them. The eſſays which they made here ſufficiently prove, that there is no commodity, or vegetable produced by the richeſt of our other iſlands, that may not be raiſed here in great abundance; and the planters of this iſland, notwithſtanding its ſituation, never can be deſtitute of a *Britiſh* force to ſupport them. The *Indians*, either by years of mortality, epidemical diſtempers, or quarrels with their neighbours, or among themſelves, (fomented no doubt by the *French*) are dwindled down to 3 or 400; and if properly employed, and a ſeparate quarter allotted to them, may be of vaſt uſe to the *Engliſh* ſettlers. As to this iſland being deſtitute of a port, it is a rumour propagated by the *French* to diſcredit it in the eyes of the *Engliſh*. No regular port has indeed been yet diſcovered, but at the north-weſt end of the iſland, *Prince Rupert's-Bay* is deep, ſandy, and ſpacious, and well ſecured from the winds by the mountains on all ſides. Here the armament under lord *Cathcart*, deſtined againſt *Carthagena*, lay ſecurely for ſome time, as did *Moore's* ſquadron, during great part of the ſiege of *Guadaloupe*; and during the whole war, the anchoring ground not only there, but all along the leeward coaſt of the iſland, was of the utmoſt conveniency to our men of war, merchantmen, and privateers.

Natural hiſtory of the iſland.

THE ſalubrity of the iſland may be gueſſed at from the vaſt age to which the above Mrs. *Warner* lived upon it, and from its being far better peopled, when firſt diſcovered, than any other of the *Caribbees* were. In the mean while, it is allowed, that this iſland towards the ſea, preſents no inviting proſpect, being rough and mountainous. Towards the land, the declivities of the hills may be cultivated to the very top,

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ſo gentle are their riſe; and they often terminate in beautiful well-watered fruitful vallies. The ſoil is of a black mold, and remarkably rich. It contains about thirty rivers; one of them navigable up the country for ſome miles, and all of them well-fitted for the purpoſe of colonizing and improvement. In *Dominica*, as well as others of the *Caribbees*, there is a ſulphur-mountain, and hot ſprings, equal in ſalubrity to thoſe of *Bath* in *England*; and the more exalted kinds of fruits here, particularly the pine-apples, are ſuperior to any that grow upon the *French* iſlands, and the *French* have often owned, that no better timber of every kind is to be found than what grows in *Dominica*.

Nevis ſettled by Sir Thomas Warner.

FROM the iſland of *Nevis*, in a clear day, may be diſcerned the iſlands of *St. Euſtatia*, *Saba*, *St. Bartholomew*, *Antigua*, *Guadaloupe*, and *Montſerrat*; and it is but three or four miles due ſouth-eaſt from *St. Chriſtopher's*; ſo that both iſlands, probably, were diſcovered at the ſame time. *Nevis* lies in 17 deg. 19 min. north lat. and its whole circumference is not above ſix leagues. Sir *Thomas Warner*, whom we have mentioned as being the founder of the colony of *St. Chriſtopher's*, founded that of *Nevis* likewiſe in 1628. Next year, as we have already ſeen, the *Spaniards* drove the inhabitants of *St. Chriſtopher's* from that iſland, and that they put the *Engliſh* there on board the ſhips they had ſeized at *Nevis*, which are ſaid to have been fifteen in number. The progreſs which the colony of *Nevis* made in population and improvements of all kinds is incredible; for though it was but a ſubordinate colony, and we cannot ſuppoſe it originally conſiſted of above an hundred whites, yet in twenty years it contained near 4000, who ſubſiſted genteelly upon making ſugar. One Mr. *Lake* ſucceeded Sir *Thomas Warner*, and he is ſtill held in remembrance for his piety and regularity of government; ſo that under him thoſe exceſſes which in other colonies were but too common, were either unknown at *Nevis*, or if committed, ſeverely puniſhed. The inhabitants had three decent churches for divine ſervice, and encreaſing in riches and number they built *Charles-Town*, which conſiſted of good houſes and capacious warehouſes, well furniſhed and well-ſtored. Here they likewiſe built a fort, which mounted nineteen guns; and, during the infancy of their colony, they ſubmitted to many regulations, which when it grew more extended, were laid aſide as being inconvenient. *Nevis* was among the other *Caribbee-Iſlands*, which, after the death of *Charles* I. refuſed to acknowledge the parliament's authority; but, after the reduction of *Barbados*, it ſubmitted to Sir *George Ayſcue*.

NEITHER

NEITHER the parliament nor *Cromwell* ſeem to have given much attention or encouragement to thoſe iſlands, whom, in general, they looked upon to be diſaffected to their cauſe; and the navigation-act itſelf, which was paſſed in the times of the uſurpation, and was productive of ſo much good to *England*, was meant as a kind of a puniſhment to thoſe planters, as it put an end to their gainful trade with the *Dutch*. We do not even find, that they regularly appointed governors for ſeveral of their *Caribbees*, the adminiſtration being left to their aſſemblies, whoſe choice was generally approved of, as few of the parliamentarian party from *England* were fond of truſting their perſons in thoſe iſlands. At the ſame time, their affairs ſeem to have been well-adminiſtered; for at the time of the Reſtoration, *Nevis* was in a moſt flouriſhing condition; but according to ſome accounts, during the infancy of the colony, it had been peſtered with ſeveral ruinous viſits from the wild *Carribbeans*. In 1667, one *Langford*, the captain of a merchant-ſhip, trading in thoſe parts, had learned from a *Caribbean* the certain prognoſtics of a hurricane, a calamity to which the iſland of *Nevis* is greatly ſubject, and informed captain *Barry*, of the *Coronation* man of war, and the other maſters of the merchant-ſhips, that a hurricane or tornado would certainly happen in a few hours. As they had great dependence on his intelligence, they immediately put to ſea, and had the good fortune to ride the hurricane out, while *Langford* himſelf, who had a conſiderable eſtate upon the iſland, ſecured his effects in ſuch a manner, that he loſt but one hogſhead of ſugar, while many of the other planters were almoſt ruined. This incident is mentioned to ſhew, that it is not impoſſible to guard, by proper natural obſervations, even againſt that moſt impetuous of all natural calamities, a hurricane.

Infeſted by the Caribbeans.

NEVIS, then called *Mevis*, as the reader may have ſeen, was one of the iſlands comprehended in the earl of *Carliſle's* grant granted by *Charles* I. and though that, with the *Leeward-Iſlands*, was, upon the death of lord *Willoughby*, put under a ſeparate general government, yet each particular iſland has its lieutenant-governor, council, and aſſembly; ſo that, upon the whole, their government is very regular. Sir *William Stapleton* was the firſt governor of the *Leeward-Iſlands* who, after the death of lord *Willoughby*, choſe *Nevis* as the place of his reſidence and government; and under him *Nevis* ſeems to have been at the higheſt pitch of its proſperity. Upon the diſcovery of the *Rye-houſe* plot, under *Charles* II. this iſland ſent over, by colonel *Netherway* and colonel *Jefferſon*, a very loyal addreſs; and upon the acceſſion of his brother

Stapleton governor.

to the throne, he was proclaimed here by Sir *William Stapleton* with all the ſolemnity and pomp which the iſland could furniſh out. When *Stapleton* left his government, he nominated Sir *James Ruſſel* to be lieutenant-governor of *Nevis*; but this nomination was ſuperſeded by the arrival of Sir *Nathaniel Johnſon*, who reſided upon *Nevis* likewiſe, and was nominated to the general government of the *Leeward-Iſlands*, of which *Nevis* was, at that time, computed to be by far the moſt flouriſhing. It is ſaid, to have been then able to bring into the field 2000 fighting white men, and that this little ſpot did not contain a ſmaller number, negroes included, than 35000 ſouls. The mortality which broke out in 1689, and which ſo greatly affected the other *Caribbee-Iſlands*, ſwept off half the inhabitants of *Nevis*, and left the remainder, who were but ſickly, in a moſt dreadful ſituation, on account of the neighbourhood of the *French*, who were at that time maſters of *St. Chriſtopher's*. During their danger, they implored the aſſiſtance of Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, who was then at *Antigua* with the *Barbados* regiment. Sir *Timothy*'s ſtrongeſt objection to his moving to their relief was, the danger of the infection; but underſtanding that it was in a great meaſure abated, he went in *November* with his regiment to *Nevis*, where he encamped upon a healthful ſpot, and his remaining there intimidated the *French* from making any attempts upon the iſland. Being joined about the beginning of *December* by general *Codrington*, a council of war was held, at which aſſiſted the colonels *Pym* and *Earl*, who commanded two regiments that had been raiſed by the *St. Nevis* men; and it was reſolved, that Sir *Timothy*, with a detachment of 300 *Barbadians* and 200 *Neviſians*, ſhould attack *St. Martin's* and *St. Bartholomew's*. This detachment was on the 15th of *December* put on board a brigantine and ſloops, and they bore away for *St. Bartholomew's*, which iſland they determined firſt to attack.

Johnſon, *governor.*

Nevis *is protected by Sir* Timothy Thornhill;

who attacks and conquers St. Bartholomew.

MAJOR *Stanley*, an *Engliſhman*, on the 20th, landed eighty men, beat the enemy from their breaſt-works, and took a battery of two guns. Soon after, major-general *Thornhill* landed at the head of the reſt of the detachment, which being formed, advanced into the iſland; where, after marching about a mile, they drove the enemy from a ſtrong ſtockaded quadrangular fortification, well provided, and capable of having made a good defence. He likewiſe took another ſmall battery of two guns without reſiſtance. Having left ſome of his men in this fortification, he advanced farther up the iſland, colonel *Pym*, with the *Neviſians*, leading the van; but ſoon returning to the fortification he had taken, a flag of truce

truce arrived to him from the governor with propoſals for a capitulation, which were rejected by Sir *Timothy*, and he would grant them no terms but thoſe of ſurrendering with their arms in two days time; which if not complied with, they were to expect no quarter. This anſwer was communicated to the *French* governor by two *Engliſh* officers who ſpoke *French*; and he required four days to deliberate on it, as, he ſaid, his people being diſperſed through the woods, he could not ſooner get them together. Mean-while, the *Engliſh* continued ravaging the iſland, but on the 4th day, the flag of truce appeared, and the governor with a friar, ſome of his officers, and between 6 and 700 of the inhabitants, was received by Sir *Timothy* in the *French* fortification. All that the *Frenchman* could obtain from Sir *Timothy* was, a permiſſion to keep his own horſe, arms, and apparel, with ſome of his negroes: but as to the other inhabitants, the men were ſent priſoners to *Nevis* with their negroes, live ſtock, and effects, and their women and children tranſported to *St. Chriſtopher's*. Sir *Timothy* had but about ten men killed and wounded in this expedition.

BEFORE Sir *Timothy* left *St. Bartholomew*, he ſent captain *Hamilton* with the brigantine and ſome ſloops, to give a falſe alarm to the windward part of *St. Martin's* on the 19th of *January*, while he himſelf having received a reinforcement of other ſloops that ſame day, landed without oppoſition on the leeward-ſide, the enemy's atention being employed to the windward. The enemy on this iſland was much better provided than Sir *Timothy* had foreſeen: they burnt all the houſes that could ſerve the *Engliſh* for ſhelter; and they did all they could to ſpoil or poiſon the ſprings of the iſland, by mixing in them large quantities of ſalt and tobacco. They loſt no opportunity of laying ambuſhes for the *Engliſh*, and firing upon them; ſo that Sir *Timothy* found the reduction of this iſland a ſharp ſervice, though no enemy appeared; but the *French* at laſt abandoned all their works, and the *Engliſh* made ſome priſoners with a conſiderable booty in cattle. On the 23d of *January*, Sir *Timothy* having deſtroyed the chief fortification of the iſland, which mounted ſix great guns, underſtood that the governor and the inhabitants had fled to the mountains. This obſtinacy of the inhabitants was owing to the intelligence they had received that Monſ. *du Caſſe*, the *French* admiral, had embarked at *St. Chriſtopher's* with 700 men, in three great ſhips, a brigantine, and a ſloop, for the relief of the iſland of *St. Martin*. This armament accordingly appeared off that iſland, and *Thornhill*, from ſome priſoners, immediately underſtood that it was *French*. *and St. Martin's.*

He is attacked by the French,

THIS alarming intelligence was far from diſcouraging the *Engliſh* general. He immediately made ſuch a diſpoſition of his forces, as to oppoſe the enemies landing wherever they ſhould attempt it; and ſent off a ſloop to inform general *Codrington*, who was ſtill at *Antigua*, of what had happened. Notwithſtanding all thoſe precautions, it was, perhaps, very lucky for him and his detachment that *du Caſſe*, inſtead of immediately attempting to land, gave chace to the *Engliſh* ſhipping upon the iſland, who all of them eſcaped, excepting one ſloop, which was ſo hard preſſed, that the ſeamen abandoned it, and left it in the hands of the enemy. This was on the 25th of *January*; and on the morrow *Du Caſſe*, who had fired ſeveral guns during the night-time, to give the inhabitants of *St. Martin* intelligence of his arrival; about noon, next day, anchored, and hung out what are called bloody colours, before the windward part of the iſland; upon which the inhabitants returned from the mountains, and retook poſſeſſion of the works from which they had been driven by the *Engliſh*, and refitted their artillery, which ſtill remained upon them, while *Du Caſſe* landed all his ſoldiers in the night, of whom he had received a freſh reinforcement from *St. Chriſtopher's*.

but makes a gallant retreat.

SIR *Timothy Thornhill* was now obliged to contract his quarters; and, after placing ſtrong guards at the chief paſſes of the iſland, he encamped on a plain with his artillery on his flanks. In this ſituation he lay the 27th, 28th, and 29th of *January*, and on the 30th, three ſhips from *Antigua* appeared in view. Theſe had been ſent under colonel *Hewetſon*, to aſſiſt, or bring off, Sir *Timothy* and his detachment; and after engaging and beating the *French* ſquadron, took on board all the plunder made by the *Engliſh*, with their field-pieces; and then Sir *Timothy* ordered his tents to be ſtruck, and his men to march down to the place of their embarkment. The enemy took this opportunity of attacking them upon their march; but after a ſharp diſpute, in which they were very ſeverely handled, they were beat back to their mountains and woods in great confuſion, and Sir *Timothy*, with the loſs of no more than ten men in the engagement, making a noble retreat, re-imbarked his men, and arrived ſafe at *Nevis* on the 2d of *February*. Thoſe two expeditions were conducted with ſo much courage and addreſs, and founded upon ſuch diſintereſted principles, that they did vaſt honour to the *Weſt-Indians* in general, but in particular to general *Codrington* and Sir *Timothy Thornhill*.

The Engliſh *and their fleet protect* Nevis.

THE people of *Nevis* were, at this time, more than ever apprehenſive of a deſcent from the *French* at *St. Chriſtopher's*, where

ive more of their men of war had arrived from *Eu-*
id where they were aſſembling all the troops they
nuſter, with a declared intention to attack *Nevis*,
indeed, was the only object they could then have in
rts. The public ſpirit of general *Codrington* and his
alone ſaved that iſland; for they declared themſelves
to continue upon it, and to ſerve for its defence
he *French*. The people of *Nevis*, as a mark of their
:, in the month of *April*, 1690, allowed them ſix
pay extraordinary, which they were to receive till the
f the *Engliſh* fleet, and one month's pay after its ar-
The vigilance of *Codrington* was ſuch, that he was at
l of 1200 men, excellently well armed, and well
d; and all the forts, breaſt-works, and mines of the
ere in fine order; ſo that the *Engliſh* there ſeemed
o deſire than to dread a deſcent from the *French*,
hom they ſwore an inceſſant animoſity. It was not
re the *Engliſh* were in a condition to act offenſively;
fleet arrived in *June* following. On the 16th of
ith, the general being now appointed by a commiſ-
n king *William* and queen *Mary*, to the government
ief-generalſhip of all the *Leeward-Iſlands*, ordered a
o be held in *Nevis* of all the troops intended for the
n againſt *St. Chriſtopher's*; and we ſhall inſert the
as it may give our readers ſome idea of the ſtate of
ard-Iſlands at this time, *viz.*

	Men.	*Strength of* Codrington's *expedition.*
ke of *Bolton*'s regiment, commanded by lieu-general *Holt*,	700	
-general *Thornhill*'s, commanded by Sir *Timo-rnhill* himſelf,	500	
ntigua regiment, commanded by colonel *Wil-* governor of that iſland,	400	
Montſerrat regiment, commanded by colonel *ne*, governor of that iſland,	300	
o *Nevis* regiments, commanded by colonel d colonel *Earl*,	600	
rine regiment, being a detachment out of the f war, under the command of colonel *Kegwin*, of the *Aſſiſtance*,	400	
ptain-general's life-guard, under the com- of colonel *Byam*,	100	
	3000	

Hurricane in Nevis.

ABOUT the ſame time, the inhabitants of *Nevis* were alarmed with a moſt dreadful noiſe, which ſeemed to proceed from the mountain which forms the middle of their iſland; and ſoon after, it was followed by a violent ſhock of an earthquake, which threw down all the brick and ſtone houſes in *Charles-Town* in an inſtant, but thoſe of timber ſtood the ſhock better. Large apertures broke out in ſeveral parts of the ſtreets, and emitted hot ſtinking water. The ſea retreated for above a quarter of a mile, and left fiſhes gaſping on its ſhore, but ſoon returned; and the tremblings of the earth recommenced, though not in ſo violent a degree as before. Large plots of earth, with trees upon them, were turned topſy-turvy, and the trees ſeen no more; and the ſhocks of the earthquake even emptied the ciſterns, that in this iſland every private houſe keeps as reſervoirs for ſweet water. This earthquake was felt by ſhips in all the neighbouring ſeas, attended with the moſt dreadful appearances; ſo that the conſequences, for ſome time, retarded the expedition againſt *St. Chriſtopher's*, which ſailed on the 19th of *June*, under the convoy of commodore *Wright*, who commanded the *Engliſh* ſquadron. Having already given an account of this expedition in the hiſtory of *St. Chriſtopher's*, we ſhall not repeat it here, but return to that of *Nevis*.

Admiral Bembow *arrives there.*

IN 1689, the famous rear-admiral *Bembow* arrived at *Nevis* on the 12th of *January*, with a ſquadron of ſhips under his command; and here he left part of colonel *Collingwood's* regiment of foot, which was thought proper to remain here, on account of the late ſickly ſtate of the iſland. Upon the death of king *William*, colonel *Codrington*, who ſucceeded his father, now dead, in the ſame government, proclaimed queen *Anne* under diſcharges of artillery and muſketry, which reſounded from iſland to iſland, and from ſhip to ſhip, for ſeveral leagues, in a manner never before known in *America*. Upon the breaking out of the war between *France* and *England* ſoon after, the people of *Nevis* diſtinguiſhed themſelves by fitting out privateers, who cruized to excellent purpoſe upon the enemy. This ſpirit procured them the honour of being the firſt object of the *French* fury under *Iberville* in 1705, during that famous expedition planned for the deſtruction of all the *Engliſh Weſt-Indian* iſlands. The ſquadron to be employed for this momentous purpoſe, conſiſted of twelve or fourteen men of war, with 3000 land-troops on board.

Nevis reduced by the French.

IBERVILLE, as we have already ſeen, landed at *St. Chriſtopher's*, from whence he proceeded to *Nevis* on the 21ſt of *March*, where he landed his troops in the night-time. It is more than ſuſpected that the *French* from *St. Chriſtopher's*

(nothing

(nothing being more eaſy) had tampered with ſome of the *Engliſh* negroes upon *Nevis*, and made them believe that their ſervitude under the *French* would be far more delightful than under the *Engliſh*. This notion was propagated, and prevailed among the whole body; ſo that the inhabitants ſoon perceived that they could not truſt arms in the hands of their ſlaves. The enemy's landing being effected, the inhabitants, not able to cope with ſo formidable an armed power of regulars, retired to the mountains, while the ſlaves ſubmitted to the invaders. On the 24th of the month the inhabitants ſent out a flag of truce, and a capitulation was concluded; but they were to remain priſoners of war upon the iſland, till they could be exchanged for an equal number of *French* priſoners, either in *America* or *Europe*. In the mean time, it was ſtipulated that they ſhould be well treated, and that their houſes, ſugar-works, and effects, ſhould remain unviolated. The *French* moſt infamouſly broke this part of the capitulation, by the barbarous uſage they inflicted upon the inhabitants, and burning both their houſes and ſugar-works. They afterwards obliged them to ſign an agreement on the 6th of *April*, 1706, by which they promiſed to furniſh *Martinico* either with a certain number of negroes, or with money to purchaſe them. As to the negroes, to whom they had promiſed ſuch mighty matters, they no ſooner got 3 or 4000 of them into their veſſels, than they clapped them under their hatches, and bore away with them to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, where they ſold them to work in the mines, the moſt painful of all ſervices. We are told that one of them, who had eſcaped from his chains, returned afterwards to *Nevis*, where he apprized his countrymen of the *French* treachery; upon which they took arms, and cut the throats of all the *French* who remained upon the iſland.

IN 1707, another hurricane attacked *Nevis*, and brought Park, *go-* to the verge of ruin. Colonel *Park*, whom we cannot *vernor.* look upon in a much better light than that of a commiſſioned gentleman, was then governor of the *Leeward Iſlands*, and preſided upon his adminiſtration by no means to the ſatisfaction of the *Neviſians*, who ſeem to have had then a good intereſt at home on account of their ſufferings, and where the repreſentation of their loſſes had been very favourably received. The lieutenant-governor of *Nevis* at that time was *Walter Hamilton*, Eſq; *William Burt*, Eſq; was preſident of the council, and *Samuel Brown*, Eſq; ſpeaker of the aſſem-

Though the agreement between *Park* and the people *Nevis* had been but very indifferent, yet no ſooner was he ed (as he was in a popular aſſembly at *Antigua*) than the

Neviſians, recollecting the great claim they had depending before the government of *England* by their addreſſes to the queen, exculpated themſelves from having any hand in his death, and expreſſed their abhorrence and deteſtation, in general terms, of all violent proceedings, murders, and rebellions.

Hamilton, *governor.*

COLONEL *Hamilton*, who had married Sir *William Stapleton*'s widow, and who, no doubt, expected the government of the *Leeward Iſlands* for himſelf, was preſſed hard to ſign this addreſs. He had his reaſons for declining this, and he even reproved the framers of it for their officiouſneſs. The hiſtory of Mr. *Hamilton*'s adminiſtration of the *Leeward Iſlands* will be found in that of *Antigua*, which iſland has of late years been the reſidence of the governor of the *Leeward Iſlands*.

Salary of the governor.

When governor *Matthews* touched at *Nevis* upon his being appointed to that government, the aſſembly, at his recommendation, took the affair of his ſalary into their conſideration; and, after various debates, it was at laſt ſettled at 300 *l.* a year, to be paid in money, or at the country-produce at currency. This ſalary was to be raiſed on ſlaves, of whom they reckoned 7000 upon the iſland, and the ſurplus was to go to other public purpoſes, particularly in defraying the expence of a houſe for the governor during one year, at 100 *l.*

Government of Nevis.

The government of *Nevis*, which ſome pretend is the moſt ancient of the *Engliſh Caribbees*, is veſted in the governor, council, and aſſembly. They are directed by the common ſtatute-law of *England*; but in caſes of exigency, they can make a law, which continues in force for twelve months, but no longer, unleſs confirmed by the privy-council of *Great Britain*. The reſidence of the governor of the *Leeward Iſlands* is generally upn *Nevis*, *Antigua*, *Montſerrat*, or *St. Chriſtopher's*; but each of the three iſlands where he does not reſide, has, as we have already mentioned, a deputy-governor of its own, who is appointed by the crown likewiſe, and who preſides both over the aſſembly and the council. In caſe of his death, or abſence through ſickneſs, or any other cauſe, his place is ſupplied by the eldeſt member of the council, with the title of preſident: but the functions of this particular governor are ſuperſeded by the preſence of the governor-general. Within the term of about twenty years, there commonly is a general aſſembly from the councils and aſſemblies, or their deputies, of all the four iſlands, for the common good of the whole. The council of each iſland is nominated by the governor-general; but the aſſembly conſiſts of the repreſentatives of the pariſhes, each ſending two, choſen by its freeholders.

THE

THE soil of *Nevis*, towards the vallies, is said to exceed in fertility that of *St. Christopher's*. The whole of the island that is cultivable, can be considered only as the skirts of a vast mountain, which the higher it is ascended becomes the more barren. Sugar, as in the other *Caribbees*, is the staple commodity of the island; and it is said that *Nevis* sends to *Europe*, freighted with it, fifty or sixty ships yearly; so that though the island is capable of producing tobacco, cotton, and ginger, yet little of them is now cultivated there. This island naturally produces purslain and other plants, with which it is said to have been formerly over-run; and also oranges, limes, and lemons. Though *Nevis* has several fresh water as well as mineral springs, the last of which are of great use in scorbutic distempers, yet the fresh water, it is said, does not keep, and is unfit for sea. The island is subject to violent tornadoes and rains. This island abounds with lizards, some of them of a monstrous largeness, being about five feet long from the head to the tail, which is five feet likewise, and their bodies about a foot round. Their appearance is so varied, that they have been taken for a species of the cameleon. Some of them are very beautiful, though we hear of none that are venomous, and they are very easily shot. It is said that the female lays her eggs in the sand, and that they are hatched by the sun. There is on the island another sort of lizard, smaller, and of the *European* kind, and but seldom seen till it is dark. *Soil.* *Water.* *Animals.* *Lizards.*

THE land-pike, which is found here, is so called from its resemblance to the fish of that name, and has been mistaken for a salamander by some virtuosi, who have reared them in their closets. Their length is about sixteen inches; their skin is of a silver-grey, and beautifully spangled, but in the night-time they make a most hideous noise in the rocks. The history of the snail called the soldier, from its taking up its quarters in any empty shell it can find, and there making them good against all accidents, is very curious, but too minute to have a place here; and, indeed, too whimsical to be believed. We may say pretty much the same of the flying-tyger, the horn-fly, and the fly-catcher, which are all of them creatures of wonderful contextures and extraordinary properties; but it is said that those species of insects are now far from being common on the island; and therefore it is probable, that great part of the marvellous, which is related concerning them, is owing to the invention of *French* writers. Perhaps we are indebted to the same gentlemen for other wonderful particulars of the like kind. Mr. *Smith*, an *English* divine, who resided on the island, and *Land-pike.* *Soldier-snail.* *Flies.*

wrote the natural hiſtory of the *Caribbees*, tells us of a wood, called dog-wood, that is to be found here, the juice of which, when properly prepared by the negroes, intoxicates the fiſh, and makes them ſwim on the ſurface of the water, where they are caught by thoſe ſlaves, who are very expert in ſwimming, to the great diverſion of their maſters and their gueſts.

Foods. THE *Nevis* wilk, which is ſaid not to be found in the other *Caribbees*, is a rich and delicious food, as is the cavally, which is of the mackarel-kind, and weighs about four or five pounds; but the mud-fiſh is reported to be moſt in requeſt. We are told that the lobſters at the eaſt end of the iſland are rank poiſon, while thoſe at the weſt end are fine eating. The land-crabs burrow in the mountain, but are caught in the night in coming down to the ſea to ſhed their ſhells. Other crabs are likewiſe found here. Of turtle it is ſaid that *Nevis* produces ſeven or eight kinds, but that the green alone is eatable; and that of two kinds of ſprats which the iſland produces, one ſpecies is poiſonous, probably from the ſame cauſe that the lobſters are ſo, their ſubſiſting upon veins of copperas at the bottom of the water.

Garden-ſtuff. *NEVIS* produces aſparagus, but of a ſmall kind; as alſo jeſſamine and ſage, with other trees and ſhrubs not common in *Europe*. The liquorice-buſh grows here like the vine. The butter of *Nevis* is very indifferent, and the inhabitants are obliged to ſupply themſelves, at dear rates, from the *Bermudas*, *England*, and *Ireland*, with that commodity, as well as with cheeſe. They rear ſheep, rams, and pigs, which are fine eating, with turkeys and other fowls; as alſo rabbits, veal, and other freſh food; and we are told, that of late they have begun to cultivate cucumbers, lettuce, and all kinds of ſallading: ſo that they can furniſh, out of their own product, a genteel table in the *Engliſh* way. They have horſes for draught, burden, diverſion, and grandeur. When Sir *Hans Sloane* was on the iſland, they were imported from *Berbuda*; but the inhabitants have now very good ones from *Old England*, *Rhode-Iſland*, and *New England*. As they make no hay upon the iſland, the chief ſubſiſtence of their cavalry is upon the graſs, which is weeded out from among the ſugar-canes, the tops of thoſe ſugar-canes themſelves, and the ſkimmings of the coppers; but the more valuable cattle are indulged with the green blades of *Indian*-corn, *Guinea*-corn, and *New England* oats. The dogs upon this iſland, eſpecially the bull and the cur-kind, are very fierce, and apt to fly upon the negroes, who make no ſcruple of eating their fleſh.

THE

THE inhabitants of this iſland are ſubject to fevers, eſpecially in *October*, when the wind changes from eaſt to north; but, indeed, its greateſt calamities ariſe from hurricanes, which are here but too frequent. By the lateſt accounts, about 5000 white perſons live upon the iſland, with about 16,000 negroes, beſides a few regular troops, who are maintained at his majeſty's expence; nor do we know of any inſults offered to our chief *Caribbee Iſlands* during our two laſt wars with *France* and *Spain*. The governor's commiſſion is worth about 3,500 *l.* a year, and the number of militia which the iſland raiſes, is caſual, according to that of whites upon it, and the neceſſity of the occaſion. The iſland is at a great loſs in its not having a good harbour belonging to it; and the beſt riding for ſhipping is between rocks and ſhoals, where they are pretty ſafe; but in caſe of a hurricane, they are happy if they can get to ſea. *Nevis* has likewiſe been ſubject to earthquakes, one of which threw down great part of the mountain that compoſes the iſland. The perpendicular height of this mountain, from the bay of *Charles-Town*, is ſaid to be a mile and a half; but we apprehend this calculation to be greatly exaggerated, though it is pretended to be taken by a quadrant. In the eaſt part of the iſland there is a river, which, they ſay, affords very fine mullets, and other excellent fiſh. *Population of* Nevis. *Height of its mountain.*

THE care and choice of their negroes are main articles with the *Neviſians*. They are generally brought from *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Guinea*; but thoſe from the *Gold Coaſt*, next to the negroes born upon the iſland, are moſt eſteemed for their ſtrength and hardineſs. Great art is employed by the ſlave-merchants in ſetting them out for ſale. A boy or girl of ſixteen years of age, if healthy, commonly brings 20 *l.* and women and men from 30 to 50 *l.* and above, according to their ſtrength and hardineſs. Their food is ſalt-herrings, maize, and *Spaniſh* potatoes. They love to work in large companies, and the induſtry of ſome of them is incredible, eſpecially when the product of it is to go into their own pockets. According to the authorities before us, ſome barbarous laws, with regard to negroes, prevail in *Nevis* and our other *Caribbee Iſlands*, which we wiſh, for the honour of the *Britiſh* government, were altered. It is ſaid, that if a white man ſhould kill a black there, he cannot be tried for his life for the murder, and all that he ſuffers, is the forfeiture of 30 *l.* currency to the maſter for the loſs of his ſlave. This is a barbarity which we think no human inſtitution has a right to authorize, though undoubtedly great management and precaution are to be obſerved in a colony, where the num- *Negroes.*

numbers between the whites and the blacks, that is, between the maſters and their ſlaves, are ſo diſproportioned. It is therefore, perhaps, not unreaſonable to puniſh a negro with the loſs of his hand, if he ſtrikes a white man, and, as is the caſe here, with death itſelf, if he ſhould draw blood from him. A negro cannot be evidence againſt a white man; but we apprehend that the diſability is too general; becauſe it is well known, that many negroes have diſcovered a true ſenſe of religion, and have, in all other reſpects, acted as good Chriſtians, as well as with a ſtrict diſcernment of what is right and wrong in judicial proceedings (U). The *Neviſians* are ſaid to have three public annual faſts in the three firſt weeks of *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*, to implore the Divine protection againſt hurricanes; and if none happen during thoſe months, they have a public thankſgiving in *October*. We have already mentioned the relief given by the parliament of *Great Britain* to the *Neviſians*, on account of their loſſes by the *French* and the hurricanes. This relief, however, was not granted till the return of a clerk or agent, who was ſent over by the board of trade and plantations to enquire into the loſſes both of this iſland and that of *St. Chriſtopher's*, which he reported to amount to about 300,000*l.* and the parliament granted 103,203*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* for their indemnification. The only town in the iſland is *Charles Town*, which is defended by a fort of the ſame name, and has a regular weekly market every *Sunday* morning, which day, we ſuppoſe, is fixed upon for the benefit and conveniency of the negroes. One of the greateſt diſadvantages *Nevis* labours under, is, that the inhabitants are obliged to purchaſe from the neighbouring iſlands their iron-wood and lignum vitæ, for the conſtruction of their ſugar-houſes, mills, and other works.

Treatment of the negroes.

ANTIGUA was early planted by the *Engliſh*, though at this diſtance of time, the hiſtory of thoſe private adventurers is dark and uncertain. Were we to hazard a conjecture, we ſhould be of opinion, that the antient natives of the *Caribbees* were far from being an inhoſpitable people to the *Europeans*, when they had nothing with regard to their own liberties, or the poſſeſſion of their own country to apprehend

Antigua *peopled by the* Engliſh.

(U) Though we cannot, as hiſtorians, enter into any moral diſquiſition here, yet we muſt be of opinion, that if negroes are diſqualified from giving evidence for want of knowledge, capacity, or information, that ought to be one of the ſtrongeſt motives for mitigating, inſtead of aggravating their puniſhment; as, for the ſame reaſon, they cannot be ſuppoſed to be ſenſible of the nature of the crime they commit.

from

from them; and this conjecture may be ſtrengthened by many inſtances. It is not, therefore, at all improbable, that thoſe ſavages received the ſtraggling *Engliſh* into their protection, and while they were but few in number, even ſuffered them to ſettle and plant upon their iſlands, and that too, long before any violent effort, in large bodies of *Europeans* or *Engliſh*, were made to diſpoſſeſs them. *Antigua* itſelf lies about twenty leagues eaſt from *St. Chriſtopher's*, and ten north-eaſt of *Montſerrat*; and being above fifty miles in circumference, it is reckoned the largeſt of all our *Leeward-Iſlands*. It is certain, that while Sir *Thomas Warner* was governor of *St. Chriſtopher's*, *Engliſhmen* were ſettled on *Antigua*; but the property of the iſland was ſo far from being aſcertained, that the *French* who had been driven from *St. Chriſtopher's*, had thoughts of making a ſettlement upon *Antigua*. The reaſons why they did not, probably, were the vaſt difficulty of acceſs to the iſland, and the general bad character it was under of having no freſh water. Notwithſtanding this, ſeveral *Engliſh* families removed thither in Sir *Thomas Warner's* time; and lord *Willoughby*, governor of *Barbados*, was ſo ſenſible of the value of *Antigua*, and ſo clear as to the *Engliſh* right to the ſame, that he had its name inſerted in his commiſſion as governor of the *Engliſh Leeward-Iſlands*; and about the year 1663, he ſent thither his brother, or rather his kinſman, Mr. *Henry Willoughby*, with proper people and accommodations for effecting a regular ſettlement upon it. According to *la Tertre*, and other *French* writers, ſo far back as the year 1640, the *Engliſh* were ſo numerous here as to become obnoxious to the ſavage natives, who killed fifty of them, and carried off the governor's lady; by which we ſuppoſe he means the wife of the chief *Engliſhman* upon the iſland. This barbarity appears to have been committed by the ſavages alone; for, long after this, both *French* and *Engliſh* lived in *Antigua* with great cordiality. Lord *Willoughby*, however, being reſolved to make *Antigua* an *Engliſh* ſettlement, gave orders to Mr. *Willoughby* to oblige the *French* either to remove from the iſland, or to ſwear allegiance to the *Engliſh* government; and, upon their not immediately complying, he treated them with a ſeverity that was, perhaps, both unjuſt and impolitic, for he obliged moſt of the *French* to retire to *Guadaloupe* or *Martinico*.

Invaded by the French.

THOSE exiles (as might naturally have been ſuppoſed) diſcloſed to their countrymen the weakneſs of the *Engliſh* ſettlement upon *Antigua*, and with what eaſe it might be diſlodged. An expedition was accordingly fitted out by the *French*; the *Engliſh* were attacked in form, their forts were taken, their gover-

governor made priſoner, and they themſelves obliged to accept of a capitulation for ſurrendering the iſland. Before this capitulation could be carried into execution, a reinforcement came which prevented its taking place. The *French* governors of their *Caribbees* underſtanding this, muſtered a large force from all their iſlands, and landing upon *Antigua* in 1667, the *Engliſh* governor, *Fiſh*, found himſelf obliged to ratify the former capitulation. Notwithſtanding this, it no where appears that the *Engliſh* made a full ceſſion of the iſland to their antagoniſts; and it ſeems as if *de la Barre*, the *French* lieutenant-general of their iſlands, had ſuffered many of them to retain the poſſeſſion of their eſtates, though, poſſibly, under the *French* protection and allegiance. We are informed, that about this time a ſon of Sir *Thomas Warner*'s wife, the *Caribbean* lady we have already mentioned, having learned *Engliſh* from his mother, and imagining that upon her account he was neglected by his *Engliſh* relations, made an elopement from *Antigua* to *St. Lucia*, where he erected himſelf into a kind of a chief of his countrymen the *Caribbeans*, and headed ſeveral expeditions againſt the *Engliſh*. This tradition is ſtrongly countenanced by *Dampier*, the famous *Engliſh* voyager, who was in thoſe parts in 1674; and gives us the following particulars. "About this time the *Caribbees* had done ſome ſpoil on our *Engliſh* plantations of *Antego*, and therefore governor *Warner*'s ſon, by his wife, took a party of men, and went to ſuppreſs theſe *Indians*, and came to a place where his brother the *Indian Warner* lived. Great ſeeming joy there was at this meeting, but how far it was real, the event ſhewed; for the *Engliſh Warner* providing plenty of liquor, and inviting his half-brother to be merry with him, in the midſt of his entertainment, ordered his men, upon a ſignal given, to murder him and all his *Indians*, which was accordingly performed. The reaſon of this inhuman action is diverſely reported: ſome ſay, that this *Indian Warner* committed all the ſpoil that was done to the *Engliſh*, and for that reaſon his brother killed him and his men. Others, that he was a great friend to the *Engliſh*, and would not ſuffer his men to hurt them, but did all that lay in his power to draw them to an amicable commerce; and that his brother killed him, becauſe he was aſhamed to be related to an *Indian*. But be it how it will, he was called in queſtion for the murder, and forced to come home and take his trial in *England*. Such perfidious doings as theſe, continues *Dampier*, beſides the baſeneſs of them, are great hindrances of our gaining intereſt among the *Indians*."

Dampier's account.

Not-

NOTWITHSTANDING this plauſible ſtory from *Dampier*, who was a very candid and ſenſible voyager, we are ſomewhat ſuſpicious that he has been miſinformed with regard to the affinity between the two *Warners*; becauſe, though the *Engliſh Warner* was indeed ſent home to take his trial, yet we find no charge of murder lying againſt him; and all he was accuſed of, was a crime but too common in thoſe times and places, both among the *French* and *Engliſh*, which was that of kidnapping the *Caribbeans* under the ſhew of friendſhip, and making them ſlaves, thereby rendering the whole nation irreconcileable enemies to all *Europeans*. The *French*, properly ſpeaking, after this, were maſters of *Antigua* till the year 1668, when it was reſtored to the *Engliſh* by the twelfth article of the treaty of *Breda*. The colony then began to flouriſh exceedingly, though their happineſs was too often interrupted by the dreadful hurricanes which viſited the iſland. Its chief proſperity was owing to the genius and cares of that great *Engliſh Weſt-Indian* patriot and hero, colonel *Chriſtopher Codrington*, who having been appointed captain-general and general governor of all the *Leeward-Iſlands*, removed from *Barbados* to *Antigua*, which he made the ſeat of his goverment; and where, by his great experience and knowledge of *Weſt-Indian* plantations, he introduced a new and a better ſyſtem of colonizing and improving. The effect was, that the ſugars of *Antigua*, which were before but little eſteemed, bore as good a price as thoſe of any of our other *Weſt-Indian* iſlands, and in a few years were made in double and treble quantities. It was not, however, in his power to prevent the effects of thoſe dreadful hurricanes, which more than once rendered *Antigua* in his time a ſcene of deſolation, particularly in the year 1681; and nine years after it was almoſt ruined by an earthquake. *Obſervations on it.* *Earthquake.*

THE *Indians*, inſtigated by the *French*, never failed to avail themſelves of thoſe natural calamities, by making deſcents upon the iſland in their peruagas; but after plundering ſome of the planters neareſt the ſea, they were generally driven off with loſs. Another gentleman, one major *Byam*, whoſe deſcendants are ſaid ſtill to live upon *Antigua*, deſerves likewiſe to have his name tranſmitted here. He was one of thoſe deputies whom lord *Willoughby* appointed to treat with ſir *George Ayſcue* about the pacification of *Barbados*; and, in lord *Willoughby*'s time, he became an eminent planter in *Antigua*. Sir *Nathaniel Johnſon* was governor-general of the *Leeward-Iſlands*, at the time of the Revolution; but not conforming to that government, he was ſucceeded by colonel *Codrington*, who appointed colonel *Rowland Williams* to be deputy- *French invaſions.*

deputy governor of *Antigua*. When the war broke out between *England* and *France*, the people of *Antigua*, though they were but juſt recovering from the dreadful calamity of the earthquake we have already mentioned, ſhewed a becoming ſpirit againſt the *French*. They joined with the other inhabitants of the *Leeward-Iſlands* in their applications for protection from the government of *Barbados*; and accordingly, Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, after raiſing his *Barbados* regiment, landed on the 5th of *Auguſt* with it at *Antigua*, where he received the diſagreeable news of the *French* having become maſters of *St. Chriſtopher's*. Being too weak immediately to attempt the reduction of the iſland, he quartered his regiment, or rather part of it, in the town of *Falmouth* upon *Antigua*, till the fleet for the relief of the *Engliſh Leeward-Iſlands* in general, which was every day expected, ſhould arrive.

In the mean while, the active colonel, whom we are now to call general *Codrington*, gave the command of theſe ſloops, manned with 80 men of Sir *Timothy*'s regiment, to captain *Thorn*, who ſailed from *Falmouth* to the iſland of *Anguilla*; from whence he brought off the *Engliſh* remains of that ſmall colony, which had ſuffered extremely from the barbarity of the *French* and *Iriſh*. The general, at the ſame time, fitted out ſeveral ſloops, by way of guarda coſtas, againſt the *French* and their *Caribbean* allies, who continued to peſter the iſland in their peruagas, and to murder the defenceleſs inhabitants lying near the ſea. But this precaution proving ineffectual through the great ſkill of the ſavages in managing their little veſſels, proper towers and watch-houſes were erected all along the coaſt to give notice of ſuch deſcents. Sometimes, however, the *French* made thoſe deſcents with a greater force, and carried off negroes and other prey. One of their privateers, particularly about the middle of *September* this year, after plundering the coaſt, took an *Engliſh* ſhip, and gave chace to another, but was taken by two ſloops, manned with a party of *Thornhill*'s regiment, under the command of colonel *Hamilton*. On board this privateer were diſcovered no fewer than ſix *Iriſh* ſailors, of whom four were hanged by order of a court-martial. This act of juſtice was judged to be the more neceſſary, as the *French* could not have manned their privateers without the *Iriſh* Roman Catholics, whom the *Engliſh* found the moſt barbarous enemies they had to deal with. The people of *Antigua*, to make themſelves in ſome meaſure amends for the depredations they ſuffered from the *French*, raiſed 300 men under the command of one colonel *Hewetſon*, who made a deſcent upon the *French* iſland of

of *Marigalante*, where they took and burnt the chief town, demoliſhed the fort, ſpiked up its guns, drove the inhabitants into their woods, and returned to *Antigua* with the plunder of the iſland. Marigalante *conquered by the people of* Antigua.

UPON Sir *Timothy Thornhill*'s returning to *Nevis*, general *Codrington* remained at *Antigua*; where he received an expreſs from *Thornhill*, who was then on his expedition againſt *St. Bartholomew* and *St. Martin*, acquainting him with the arrival of *du Caſſe* upon the latter iſland, with 700 men. The general immediately ordered colonel *Hewetſon* to embark, with about 200 men in three ſloops, and under the convoy of one ſloop of war of 40, and two of 20 guns, to bear away to *St. Martin*'s. This little armament was oppoſed by the *French* ſhips lying off the ſame iſland; but they were obliged to bear away, after a diſpute of four hours, and *Hewetſon* landed his men, to the great relief of *Thornhill*. Upon the arrival of admiral *Wright*, whom we have ſeveral times before mentioned, with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war for the relief of the *Engliſh Leeward Iſlands*, and the recovery of *St. Chriſtopher's*, the people of *Antigua* raiſed a regiment of 400 men, commanded by colonel *Rowland Williams*, who, under *Codrington*, was deputy-governor of the iſland. Beſides this force, many of the inhabitants ſerved both as ſailors and volunteers in the expeditions under *Codrington*; an account of which we have already given in the former parts of this work, and in the hiſtories of the iſlands to which they were made. It is likewiſe mentioned for the honour of *Antigua*, that no part of the *Engliſh* dominions exceeded the zeal of its inhabitants; or, proportionable to its ſtrength, contributed more to this and the ſucceeding war againſt *France*. Thornhill *relieved.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the groſs miſmanagements of the *Engliſh* marine in the *Weſt-Indies*, the trade of *Antigua* ſtill flouriſhed; and that iſland in 1696, ſent, at one time, eleven ſhips laden to *England*, under convoy of the *Haſtings* frigate. Upon the death of general *Codrington*, in 1696, his ſon, colonel *Chriſtopher Codrington*, ſucceeded him as captain-general and commander in chief of the *Leeward-Iſlands*. He choſe *Antigua* for the place of his reſidence, as being the moſt commodious ſpot for his government, and equally convenient for himſelf, he having the greateſt property of any man upon the iſland. This colonel *Codrington*, before he received his commiſſion, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf equally in arms and the polite arts. He had his education at *All-Soul's-College* in *Oxford*, and was choſen by the Univerſity to return its public thanks to king *William* for the honour of paying it Antigua *flouriſhes.*

a viſit. He was the friend and patron of ſeveral *Engliſh* ingenious poets, and having ſerved with great diſtinction at the ſiege of *Namur*, he was made colonel of his majeſty's foot-guards, in which rank he ſerved till he was raiſed to his government.

Codrington's *deſcent upon* Guadaloupe,

He had early formed the deſign of attacking the *French Weſt-India-Iſlands*, and moſt of *Collingwood*'s regiment, who arrived at *Antigua* with admiral *Bembow*, being dead, he was indefatigable in procuring others in their room from *England*. He, at the ſame time, encouraged the merchants and planters of *Antigua* to fit out privateers, to which he himſelf contributed largely likewiſe; and he raiſed a freſh regiment of ſoldiers in *Antigua*, the command of which was given to colonel *Byam*. We have already taken notice of colonel *Codrington*'s deſcent upon *Guadaloupe*, where the *Antigua* men, with colonel *Byam* at their head, were the firſt who ſecured a poſt called *Les petits Habitans*, from whence they diſlodged the enemy. About 800 more *Engliſh* landing under colonel *Wetham*, they boldly marched up to a town called the *Bayliffe*, where the *French* had manned a breaſt-work, which they vigorouſly defended, and killed three *Engliſh* captains at the head of their grenadiers; but the *Engliſh* ſoldiers, tho' ſo furiouſly plied from the breaſt-work, kept up their fire till they laid the muzzles of their pieces acroſs its top, and gave the enemy ſo ſmart a fire, that they ſoon became maſters of it. This was followed by the conqueſt of all the enemy's other breaſt-works of the town of *Bayliffe* itſelf, of the *Jacobins* church and plantation, both which the *French* had ſtrongly fortified, and at laſt of the main town of *Baſſe-Terre*, the *French* retiring to the fort, and leaving all the open part of their iſland to be plundered and deſtroyed by the *Engliſh*. Nothing now remained to reduce the iſland, but the conqueſt of *Baſſe-Terre* fort and caſtle, to which the inhabitants had retired with their chief effects. The *Engliſh* had already advanced their works within piſtol-ſhot of the fort, and muſket-ſhot of the caſtle, againſt both which a battery of ſixteen pieces of cannon was ready to be opened. In ſhort, nothing could have prevented the entire reduction of the iſland, but a diſagreement which aroſe between the ſea and land-officers, the particulars of which were ſo little to the credit of either, that the public has never yet been acquainted with a true ſtate of them. To ſave appearances, it was given out, that the reduction of the iſland was a matter of far greater difficulty than had been foreſeen; and that, conſidering the vigorous defence made by the *French*, the *Engliſh* army, which was now both weak and ſickly, was unable to

which proves unſucceſsful.

do

o duty longer, for which reaſon the men were re-imbarked, nd the conqueſt of *Guadaloupe* abandoned.

COLONEL *Codrington* was ſucceeded, as governor of the *eeward-Iſlands*, by Sir *William Matthews*, in the year 1704, nd he likewiſe made *Antigua* the place of his reſidence. his gentleman, during the ſhort time he lived in the *Weſt-ndies*, gave univerſal ſatisfaction by his mild, moderate be-aviour; and upon his death he was, as we have already men-oned, ſucceeded by colonel *Park*, who received the govern-ent from the hands of *John Yeomans*, Eſq; the preſident of e iſland and the council. All this time, notwithſtanding e repeated attacks of the *French* upon the other *Engliſh* *Weſt-India-Iſlands*, *Antigua* remained unmoleſted, and the habitants grew rich by their privateering; in which they came ſo expert, that a veſſel with no more than nine men d ſix boys on board, being attacked by a *French* ſloop with men, killed 40 of them, and brought the ſloop itſelf a e into *Antigua*. Colonel *Park*, upon his arrival on the nd, began his adminiſtration in a manner the moſt un-ular and diſagreeable that can be well imagined. He ointed a common foot-ſoldier to act as provoſt-marſhal he iſland, and that too without obliging him to give ſecurity, though it is a poſt that in the *Weſt-Indies*, in e particulars, reſembles that of an *Engliſh* ſheriff of a nty, by his having the power of impanelling juries. When was talked to on that head, he refuſed to give any other wer, than that a foot-ſoldier was a gentleman.

Hiſtory of Col. Park's *government of* Antigua.

BUT the moſt exceptionable part of *Park*'s conduct was, wantonly provoking his predeceſſor colonel *Codrington*, a merchant, one Mr. *Cheſter*, to oppoſe him. *Park* made merciful a uſe of his power, as governor, that he ob-d colonel *Codrington*, whom he took all occaſions perſo-y to affront, to retire to *Barbados*. Mr. *Cheſter* happened ave a quarrel with one *Sawyer*, a *Virginian*, *Park*'s coun-an; and ſome blows having paſſed, *Sawyer* in a ſhort time, , and *Cheſter* ſoon after, chiefly by the inſtigation of *k*, muſt have undergone a ſevere proſecution for murder, not the coroner's inqueſt returned their verdict, that the eaſed died a natural death. Some motives which have n aſſigned for *Park*'s keenneſs in this affair were moſt in-ous, particularly his having a criminal correſpondence *Cheſter*'s wife; a charge, which his leud, ſcandalous of living upon the iſland too much countenanced. He however, ſupported at home by the heads of the whig-niſtration, who affected to deſpiſe all the charges brought ſt him by the people of his government.

His tyranny and intemperance.

NOTHING but the moſt intemperate behaviour could have provoked them into this oppoſition. The people of the iſland had, upon his arrival among them, voted him an appointment of 1000 *l.* a year; but he ſoon gave himſelf liberties, which ſufficiently declared, that he was to be under no controul of law or juſtice; for he boaſted, on all occaſions, the great and unſhaken intereſt he had with the government of *England*, and that, let him do what he would, he was ſure of being protected by the lord-treaſurer *Godolphin*, and the dutcheſs of *Marlborough*. *Park* acted in a manner as if he was reſolved to puſh his intereſt with thoſe great perſonages as far as it could go. The *Codringtons* family had, for above thirty years before, been poſſeſſed in property of the whole iſland of *Berbuda*, which it had dearly earned by being at the expences of peopling, planting, and improving the iſland, for which they had obtained a proprietary patent, the validity of it, till the time of *Park*'s government, never having been queſtioned. The foundation of this groundleſs attack was a clauſe in his commiſſion as governor, comprehending all the *Britiſh Leeward Iſlands*, of which he pretended *Berbuda* was one; and he ordered Sir *William Codrington*, the colonel's repreſentative, to produce his right to that iſland, before his council, as governor and captain-general. *Codrington* very properly refuſed to ſatisfy either the general or his council, as to his right to the iſland, and his council adviſed him to drop his claim; but all was to no purpoſe, for he proſecuted it with more vigour than ever, and with great perſonal ſcurrilities, againſt the *Codrington* family, which was deſervedly one of the moſt popular, as well as wealthy, of any in the *Engliſh Weſt-Indies*.

PARK's behaviour continued to be ſo intemperate, that at laſt, the whole iſland of *Antigua*, in a manner, became a party againſt him; and above eighty of the principal inhabitants tranſmitted to *England* an impeachment of his conduct, conſiſting of thirty articles; ſome of which were of a felonious nature. In thoſe articles he was charged with altering the method of electing the members of the aſſembly, and with ſending armed men to enter the houſes of private gentlemen, on pretence of their holding meetings and cabals againſt his government, and afterwards committing them to jail, and all this in the moſt outrageous ruffian-like manner. He was farther charged with neglects in his government, and for ſuffering no aſſembly to be called for eleven months time, though the iſland was threatened with a *French* invaſion; and that he often gave out in diſcourſe, that he expected large pecuniary preſents from the people of his government, againſt

whom he took all kinds of advantages, by even turning a private ſpy for himſelf, and ſtrolling about the ſtreets incognito. The governor would willingly have evaded taking any notice at all of thoſe charges; but when they were carried home, he was obliged to defend himſelf under the extent of his commiſſion, and his diſcretionary powers under the royal authority, which, as he pretended, juſtified him in all he had done, ſuppoſing the whole of the impeachment againſt him to be true.

THIS defence had greater weight than could have been well expected in a country governed by laws; and this provoked ſome of the iſlanders to ſend him private challenges as a gentleman, but he evaded them all, by pretending, that it was incompatible with his dignity to accept of them. At laſt, he was wounded by a negro from a muſket; and this, with ſeveral other pretended attempts againſt his life, was, by him, charged upon ſome of the chief planters of the iſland. His antagoniſts, on the other hand, grew every day more and more ſenſible of the neceſſity they were under of carrying on their impeachment; and, for that purpoſe, they ſubſcribed a large ſum of money, which was lodged in the hands of their agent and ſollicitor at *London*, for carrying on the proſecution. The principal parties in the proſecution were, colonel *Chriſtopher Codrington*, late general; *Barry Farkard*, Eſq; *William Thomas*, Eſq; *Edward Perry*, Eſq; the reverend Mr. *James Field*; *Samuel Watkins*, Eſq; chief-juſtice; *Nathaniel Crump*, Eſq; ſpeaker of the aſſembly; and Dr. *Daniel Mackennen*. Beſides thoſe gentlemen, all the aſſembly, excepting one member, were his enemies; nor had he for friend a ſingle planter or merchant of any note upon the iſland. All thoſe untowardly circumſtances made no impreſſion upon *Park*, who ſtill ſcreened himſelf under the royal authority, and treated all his opponents as rebels and mutineers. This behaviour, in an *Engliſh* governor, was thought the more extraordinary, as about this time, the *French* inhabitants of *Martinico* had ſeized upon their governor and intendant, and ſent them priſoners to *Old France*, where, though the inſurgents were declared rebels, yet they met with no other puniſhment.

A party formed againſt him.

NOTWITHSTANDING the apparent unanimity of the iſland againſt *Park*, ſo great was the reverence paid to a royal commiſſion, that he had ſtill creatures and friends upon the iſland; and the inhabitants, in general, confined all their reſentment to the legal regular method of complaining at the court of *England*. Their agents there had no great reaſon to encourage their conſtituents; for they found but very poor

encouragement at the council-table, where prerogative doctrines, about this time, began to be in great vogue. *Park* and his friends had intereſt enough, for a long time, to ward off an examination into his conduct, on pretence that all the oppoſition againſt him was merely the effect of a ſeditious tumultuous ſpirit. But the facts brought by his opponents were ſo flagrant, and urged with ſo much preciſion, that at laſt, Mr. *Nevin*, who was ſollicitor at *London* for the complainants, brought to *Antigua* her majeſty's letter, directing the witneſſes againſt governor *Park* to be examined upon the ſpot; and that the governor ſhould come to *England* by the firſt man of war bound from *Antigua*.

He is ordered home.

PERHAPS the people of that iſland did not bear with a proper moderation their ſucceſs againſt their governor; ſo that, for ſome time, he did not appear in public. Notwithſtanding this, he ſtill continued, as heretofore, the exerciſe of his government, and charged the inhabitants with rebellion, and conſpiracies againſt his life. They ſtill proceeded with great coolneſs, and though the governor did not chuſe to be preſent, the depoſitions of the witneſſes, in ſupport of the charge againſt him, were taken before *Edward Byam*, Eſq; one of the council, and *Nathaniel Crump*, Eſq; ſpeaker of the aſſembly, and tranſmitted to *England*, under the ſeal of the iſland. The governor, on his part, refuſed to ſend any thing in his own vindication, pretending that the examination of his witneſſes were delayed by the juſtices, and ſuffered a ſhip, which was to have carried him to *England*, to ſail without him; ſtill juſtifying himſelf, by the neceſſity he was under of going through his evidence for his own vindication. But this had no influence upon the commiſſioners, to whom the queen's letter was delivered; for they ſent to *England*, by their agent, all the affidavits and papers that were under their cognizance, without paying any regard to the governor's defence.

THE people of *Antigua* now looked upon themſelves as being, in ſome meaſure, in a ſtate of anarchy; and they were but too ready to adopt a notion, that their governor, by not returning, as he was ordered, to *England*, by the firſt ſhip that ſailed from *Antigua*, was become an uſurper; and that no regard was to be paid to his perſon or authority. The aſſembly itſelf was of this opinion; for it continued ſitting, under pretence of taking meaſures againſt the *French* invaſion, notwithſtanding he had diſſolved them. The governor, and ſuch of the council, as ſtill ſtuck by him, were then aſſembled at the court-houſe in *St. John's*; and *Park*, thinking himſelf ſure of the military force that was on the iſland, continued to carry

matters

ratters with a very high hand. Thus the principle of go- *He over-*
ernment became a diſputed point; it being doubtful, whe- *awes the*
ther it reſided in the governor, or with the council and aſſem- *aſſembly.*
bly. The latter thought themſelves unſafe in ſuffering the
governor to act longer as ſuch; and its members, attended
by a good number of planters, and other inhabitants, reſort-
ed to the town-houſe, where they roundly queſtioned the
governor as to the legality of his proceeding. His beſt de-
fence was, to ſend one *Worthington*, an officer of the troops,
then lying on the iſland, to the guard-houſe, from whence
he immediately brought a party, the very appearance of
which inſtantly diſſipated the aſſembly, who adjourned them-
ſelves, and publicly gave out among all their conſtituents,
that they were laid under terror and reſtraint by the army.

'SOME of the leading men upon the iſland, particularly
Colonel *Byam*, thought it now high time that matters ſhould
come to a criſis; and written notices were ſent to the inha-
bitants of the iſland, to come armed to *St. John's*, on the ſe-
venth of *September*, 1710, to protect their repreſentatives in
the aſſembly, who declared, that they had no deſign againſt
the perſon or life of the governor, but to take him priſoner,
and ſend him off the iſland. *Park* was, all this while, pre-
paring for his defence againſt the iſlanders, who appeared
early in the morning in arms, to the number of near 400
men. He had garriſoned his houſe with all the regulars he
found upon the iſland, and was attended by four or five of
his worthleſs creatures, whom he had raiſed to places of
power and truſt. After this, the proceedings on both ſides
were pretty regular. *Park*, acting ſtill in the character of
governor, ſent his provoſt-marſhal with a proclamation, re-
quiring the inhabitants to diſperſe: but they treated it with the
moſt contempt, their numbers being now 500; and they
declared, that the governor's troops ſhould not protect him
from being ſeized and ſent priſoner off the iſland. The
greater part of the aſſembly were ſtill for compromiſing mat-
ters; and Mr. *Crump*, its ſpeaker, with one Mr. *Gamble*, a
counſellor, carried their demands to the governor, requiring
him to diſmiſs his guard, and to quit the government. *Park*,
now for the firſt time, ſeemed to act as a rational creature; he
owned, he was ſtill their governor, and that he only waited for
an opportunity of complying with the queen's letter, in return-
ing to *England*; that if the aſſembly choſe to ſit at *Parham*,
ſeven miles diſtant from *St. John's*, he was ready to paſs any
act they ſhould make for the good of the iſland, and that
he was even ready to diſmiſs his ſoldiers, provided ſix of the

principal inhabitants would remain with him as hoſtages for his ſafety.

The iſlanders riſe upon him, and put him to death.

THOSE propoſals carried with them ſuch an appearance of moderation, that they ſtartled many of the iſlanders, who had declared againſt the governor; and the two deputies themſelves, upon their return, thought them ſo reaſonable, that they offered to become two of the hoſtages. The inſurgents thought that they had gone too far to ſtop where they were, and began to be apprehenſive, that if they did not ſtrike ſome bold ſtroke, in which the whole of their party ſhould be involved, they might be deſerted by numbers, and a few of them left to anſwer for all that had been done. They therefore divided themſelves into two parties, in which all the members of the aſſembly ſerved, commanded by two captains, one *Piggot*, and one *Painter*, and marched to attack an out-work upon an eminence that commanded the governor's houſe, where a party of the troops had taken poſt. According to our beſt information, neither colonel *Jones*, who was the commandant upon the iſland, nor captain *Rokeſby*, whoſe company were in duty, were clear as to the propriety of their obeying either party; and both of them refuſed to command in perſon, leaving the whole to the conduct of their ſubalterns. The out-poſt was not defended, and the party retired to the governor's houſe, which was attacked by the inſurgents with great fury. For ſome time their fire was returned with equal briſkneſs; but the houſe being, in a manner, defenceleſs, the aſſailants at laſt broke into it, but were received with great bravery by the governor, who, as is ſaid, killed captain *Piggot* with his own hand, but he himſelf received a ſhot in the thigh, which diſabling him from farther reſiſtance, the enraged populace put him to death, in a manner too ſhocking to be related; eſpecially, as he fell into the hands of ſeveral of the iſlanders, who thought that the injuries he had done to their beds, warranted them in the moſt unmanly expreſſions of their reſentment. On the governor's ſide, one enſign *Lyndon*, and about thirteen or fourteen ſoldiers, were killed; and captain *Newel*, lieutenant *Worthington*, and twenty-ſix ſoldiers, were wounded; beſides many of his private friends, who were beaten and bruiſed. On the ſide of the aſſembly, beſides captain *Piggot*, and two other gentlemen, about thirty were killed or wounded. By colonel *Park*'s death, the government of *Antigua* devolved upon *Walter Hamilton*, Eſq; who was then lieutenant-governor of *Nevis*, and lieutenant-general of the *Leeward Iſlands*. The people of *England* heard with aſtoniſhment of *Park*'s untimely fate; but the public were divided in

Hamilton, governor.

their

their ſentiments, ſome looking upon his death as an act of rebellion againſt the crown, and others conſidering it only as a ſacrifice to liberty. The flagrancy of the perpetration, and compaſſion for the man, at loſt got the better, even before the ſentiments of the *Engliſh* government were known. Mr. *Hamilton* was cautious either of approving or diſproving what had been done. Mr. *Yeomans*, who was lieutenant-governor of *Antigua*, ſent a deputation to invite Mr. *Hamilton* to repair to that iſland, and take upon him the government, which he accordingly did; and immediately upon his arrival, he ſummoned a general council, conſiſting of deputies from all the iſlands within his government, to examine into the murder of colonel *Park*. Thoſe deputies were in their private opinions enemies to the deceaſed and his conduct, and drew up a kind of vindication of his death, while the opponents ſigned an addreſs, deteſting the murder, and informing the queen, that they were in danger of their lives. Mr. *Hamilton*, the new governor, ſided with neither party; but as his commiſſion had not been confirmed in *England*, he was ſuperſeded by *Walter Douglas*, Eſq; in 1712. This exaſperated *Hamilton*, who then threw himſelf upon the faction that had put *Park* to death, and bade defiance to *Douglas*; upon which, the latter ſuperſeded him from all his offices in the *Leeward Iſlands*. Douglas, governor.

HAMILTON then embarked for *England* to ſeek his remedy; and though *Douglas* had himſelf brought over a proclamation for a general pardon, yet he iſſued his warrant againſt *Watkins*, the chief-juſtice, and one doctor *Mackennen*, who had been active men againſt *Park*, upon pretext of their being guilty of rebellious practices ſince his death. *Watkins* and *Mackennen* eſcaped to *England*, where they were apprehended, but diſcharged upon their pleading the proclamation, as no grounds appeared to juſtify their freſh commitment. One *Smith*, a militia-officer, was tried at the *Old Bailey*, but acquitted upon the ſame plea. Thoſe proceedings ſoon rendered *Douglas* ſo unpopular, that he loſt all authority in his government; and many complaints were ſent over againſt him: nay, he was inſulted upon the iſland itſelf in a moſt outrageous manner, but generouſly protected by the very gentlemen whom he had proſecuted for *Park*'s death. *Hamilton*, the late governor, ſucceeded ſo well in *England*, that he was reſtored to the government of the *Leeward Iſlands*; and in 1715, he had intereſt enough to procure the diſmiſſion of all whom he ſuſpected to be his enemies, from their places and honours in the iſland; and introduced *Mackennen* and *Crump*, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt *Park*, to Hamilton replaced.

ſeats

ſeats at the council-board. In return, the council voted him 1000 *l.* a year for his houſe-rent, in order to elude the royal inſtruction, by which he was tied up from receiving any gratuity or preſent. But, at this time, many abuſes had crept into the government of *Antigua* and the *Leeward Iſlands*. The money-jobbers continued, in a manner, to monopolize the coin, upon which they put what value they pleaſed, in direct violation of the royal authority and inſtructions from *Great Britain*. The laws were likewiſe found to be greatly deficient with regard to the power of compelling debtors to do juſtice to their creditors, which introduced a kind of a bankruptcy amongſt the merchants of the iſland, through their inability to recover their debts; and at laſt, about twenty-ſix of them were forced to have recourſe to preſent the following petition, the words of which will give the reader a better idea, than any others can, of the hardſhips under which they lay.

Petition for recovering debts.

"YOUR petitioners being diſabled by the ill-compliance of debtors to anſwer their correſpondents expectations at home, in making their returns according to their reſpective promiſes and compacts, are, without any fault of their own, not only ſuſpected of injuſtice, but wounded in their reputations, upon ſuppoſition, that they are paid here by the perſons who deal with them; and that your petitioners detain their effects, or that at leaſt, they are highly to be blamed for not proſecuting their debtors at law, and by that means, enable themſelves to make better and more punctual remittances, and are deprived of making or improving their own private fortunes, the proceedings at law being ſo very dilatory." This petition ended in a prayer for an act for the more ſpeedy recovering of debts upon the iſland; but though ſeveral acts for that purpoſe paſſed, yet the evil is to this day far from being remedied.

MR. *Hamilton*'s government ſeems to have been ſo wiſe and moderate, that he extinguiſhed the violence of parties, and in the year 1721, he was ſucceeded in the government of the *Leeward Iſlands* by *John Hart*, Eſq; late governor of *Maryland*, whoſe perſon and adminiſtration were ſo agreeable to the inhabitants of the *Leeward Iſlands*, and of *Antigua* in particular, that they made a very plentiful proviſion for his ſupport. Mr. *Hart* diſtinguiſhed his government by the humane reception he gave to captain *Vring*, and the ſettlers, whom the duke of *Montague* had ſent to people the iſlands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*; in which he was greatly aſſiſted by colonel *Matthews*, the lieutenant-governor. He was ſucceeded in his adminiſtration by lord *Londonderry*, who died in

Hart, *governor.*

Lord Londonderry, *governor.*

n that government, which was next conferred upon *William Matthews*, Eſq. This gentleman arrived at *Antigua* in *October*, 1733, and took the firſt opportunity to preſent to the council and aſſembly of the iſland, the following additional royal inſtruction: "Whereas it has been repreſented to us, that the ſalary of 1200 *l.* ſterling *per annum*, which we have hitherto thought fit to allow out of the duty of four and a half per cent. ariſing in our *Leeward Iſlands*, for our governor in chief of thoſe iſlands, is not at preſent ſufficient for his ſupport, and the dignity of that our government, we have taken the ſame into our conſideration, and are graciouſly pleaſed to permit and allow, that the reſpective aſſemblies of our ſaid iſlands, may, by any act or acts, ſettle upon you ſuch ſum or ſums, in addition to your ſalary of 1200 *l. per aunum*, as they ſhall think proper; and you are hereby allowed to give your aſſent to any act or acts of aſſembly to that purpoſe. Provided ſum or ſums be ſettled on you and your ſucceſſors in that government, at leaſt on you during the whole time of your government there, and that the ſame be done by the firſt reſpective aſſemblies of our ſaid iſlands after your arrival there." This inſtruction was not without its effect; for it procured to the governor from the council and the aſſembly a ſettlement of 1000 *l.* a year *Antigua* currency. *Matthews, governor.*

We have forborne to mention the prodigious loſſes which this iſland ſuſtained by earthquakes and hurricanes; which were too frequent to be particularized here. But, notwithſtanding thoſe dreadful calamities, the iſland ſtill flouriſhed in riches and commerce, and continues, to this day, to be the reſidence of the governor-general and his courts. In *October* 1736, all the commerce and buſineſs of the iſland was ſuddenly ſuſpended by the diſcovery of a plot formed by the negroes, to murder all the white inhabitants of the iſland, and to make themſelves maſters of it. The 11th of *October*, which was the anniverſary of the coronation of *George* II. was pitched upon for the execution of this deteſtable deſign. The death of the governor's ſon happening at that time, poſtponed the ball and the other rejoicings, which were uſually made upon that occaſion, and this accident obliged the conſpirators to defer the execution of their plot to the 30th, on which day the ball was to be held, and all the principal people of the iſland were to aſſemble. The intention of the conſpirators was of the ſame kind with the gunpowder-plot in *England*, in the reign of *James* I. which was to convey powder under the ball-room, and by one exploſion to blow up the whole company. The contrivers of this infernal plot were, *Court*, *Tomboy*, and *Hercules*, three negroes belonging *Plot of the negroes,*

longing to different planters. *Court* was to be king of the iſland, and the other two his generals; and during the confuſion which was expected to attend the exploſion, *Court* and his two generals were to have headed three parties of 400 negroes each, from the eaſt end of *St. John*'s town, and two other places of rendezvous, called *Otter*'s and *Morgan*'s paſtures; who were to be armed with cutlaſſes, and to cut in pieces, without diſtinction, all the whites they met with. Having proceeded thus far, they were, upon the exploſion of the houſe, to light up beacons all over the iſland, as ſo many ſignals for the negroes to aſſemble, and to finiſh the deſtruction of the reſt of the white inhabitants: but this conſpiracy was too general, and too far extended to be kept long a ſecret; and the behaviour of the three principals giving great room for ſuſpicion, they were ſecured and convicted on the 19th of the ſame month. After condemnation, they confeſſed the whole of the conſpiracy as we have related it. The king and his two generals were broke upon the wheel, and four of the ringleaders were burnt alive at the ſame time, as were ſeven others the next day. Six were hung alive in chains and gibbets, and ſtarved to death, and fifty-eight others were at ſeveral times burnt alive.

diſcovered, and the ring-leaders puniſhed.

Thomas, *governor.*

GEORGE Thomas, Eſq; ſucceeded Mr. *Matthews* in the government of the *Leeward-Iſlands*. His lieutenant-governor of *Antigua* and *Montſerrat* was lord *Hatwley*, as *Gilbert Fleming*, Eſq; was of *St. Chriſtopher's*, and likewiſe lieutenant-governor of all the *Leeward-Iſlands*; the governor of *Nevis* being major *Storey*. As to the topographical hiſtory of this iſland, it differs in ſome reſpect from that of the other *Leeward-Iſlands*. It was long thought to be uninhabitable, becauſe no freſh ſprings were found upon the iſland; but this loſs was ſupplied by the induſtry of the inhabitants, who diſcovered ſome ſprings, and provided proper reſervoirs for ſaving the rain-water. *Antigua* is the beſt provided with harbours of all the *Engliſh Leeward-Iſlands*; but the approach to it is very dangerous to any but very ſkilful pilots, on account of the vaſt number of rocks that ſurround it. One of thoſe harbours is called *Five-Iſle-Harbour*, and, though difficult of acceſs, it is of great ſervice to ſhips in diſtreſs. *St. John's-Harbour*, which lies due north, would be the beſt in the iſland, were it not for an incommodious ſandy-bar that runs acroſs it. At the mouth of *St. John's-River* is a fort, which is mounted with 14 cannon; and ſeveral batteries, mounting in the whole 26 guns, are raiſed for the defence of as many landing-places. *Nonſuch-Harbour* lies on the weſt-end of the iſland, and in a ſpacious bay. *Willoughby-Bay* is almoſt

a league

a league over at the mouth, but is above two-thirds blocked up with a ſhoal, ſtretching from the north to the ſouth-point; from whence lies *Sandy Point* with an iſland in it; but between the north and ſouth-point there is an open channel, where ſhips may enter, and when entered have good riding. But the moſt convenient harbour in *Antigua*, or perhaps, in the *Weſt-Indies*, is *Engliſh-Harbour*, which is proper for careening ſhips of war, and may be improved in ſuch a manner, as to admit thoſe of the largeſt burden. At the bottom of *Falmouth-Harbour* lies *Falmouth-Town*, which is defended by *Fort-Charles* and *Monkſhill-Fort*. The latter contains a magazine of 410 muſkets and 800 bayonets, and is mounted with 30 pieces of cannon.

THE climate of *Antigua* is hotter than that of *Barbados*, and is ſo ſubject to hurricanes, that were it not for the vaſt conveniency of its ſituation and harbours, it muſt have lain a mere deſart. Sugar and tobacco are its chief commodities; but the inhabitants formerly likewiſe cultivated indigo and ginger. *Antigua* formerly lay under great diſadvantages through the want of ſkill in the planters to prepare their ſugar; but at preſent they have the art of claying it, and the iſland produces as good muſcovado ſugar as any in the *Weſt-Indies*. It is generally computed that the exports from the iſland amount to about 16,000 hogſheads of ſugar annually; but that the planters do not make rum in proportion, though it is univerſally allowed that both commodities, with proper encouragement, might be greatly encreaſed and improved. Wild cinnamon grows in the low lands of *Antigua*; and this iſland is generally ſaid to have greater plenty of veniſon upon it, than any other of the *Caribbees*; beſides its affording abundance of fowl and black cattle. *Natural hiſtory of Antigua.*

THE number of white inhabitants on *Antigua* is uncertain, but thought to be about ten thouſand; fifteen hundred of whom are able to bear arms; and the iſland in general has been unmoleſted during all the late wars with *France*. It is divided into five pariſhes, that of *St. John's-Town*, which is reckoned the capital of the north-weſt part, and conſiſts of above 200 houſes; and thoſe of *Falmouth*, *Parham*, and *Bridge Town* on the ſouth-ſide; and *St. Peter's*, which is no town, but lies almoſt in the center of the iſland.

MONTSERRAT.

MONTSERRAT was diſcovered by *Columbus* in 1493. It lies 25 miles almoſt S. S. E. from *Nevis*, and 20 W. S. W. from *Antigua*, 40 N. W. from *Guadaloupe*, and 240 from *Barbados*. *Montſerrat, its ſituation and hiſtory.*

bados. It is of an oval figure, and about three leagues in length, and the ſame in breadth, and about 18 miles in compaſs. This iſland receives its name from the ſuperſtition of the *Spaniards*, who imagined that there was a reſemblance between its appearance and that of a mountain of the ſame name in *Catalonia*, near *Barcelona* in *Old Spain*, where there is a famous chapel dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin. We know of no ſettlement made upon this iſland till the year 1632, when Sir *Thomas Warner*, who was then governor of *St. Chriſtopher's*, ſent a ſmall colony of *Engliſh* to inhabit it. When lord *Willoughby* became governor of the *Leeward-Iſlands*, *Montſerrat* was a particular object of his attention, and he ſent people to ſettle it in a regular manner, which had ſo good an effect, that for ſeveral years this iſland proſpered more than that of *Antigua*; and ſixteen years after its firſt ſettlement, its militia conſiſted of 360 white men. Though no regular hiſtory of the iſland has been preſerved, yet it is certain, that it flouriſhed in proportion as the other *Engliſh Weſt-India* iſlands did; and exported ſugar, ginger, cotton, and indigo. In a ſhort time, the inhabitants were wealthy enough to build a very handſome church, and after that another, ſo that the iſland is divided into two pariſhes, and the number of militia which at this time it can raiſe, excluſive of negroes, is ſaid to amount to above 500 men. In 1668, after the *French* had made themſelves maſters of *Antigua*, one M. *de la Barre* fell upon *Montſerrat*; and, as is ſaid, by the treachery of the ſavages became maſter of the iſland, and ſixteen pieces of cannon, and a great number of negroes and cattle. This conqueſt is ſaid to have coſt the *French* ſo dear, by the loſs of their beſt officers and men, that they ſet fire to all the principal buildings on the iſland, excepting thoſe belonging to the *Iriſh* Roman Catholics, who readily ſubmitted to their power, and took the oaths to their government. It is thought that on this occaſion forty ſugar-houſes, beſides ſeveral rich warehouſes were deſtroyed, and ſo many of the *Iriſh* multiplied upon the iſland, that it was looked upon to be an *Iriſh* colony; but it afterwards reverted to the crown of *England*. This iſland (by means which are improper here to be enquired into) was a favourite ſettlement in the reigns of *Charles* and *James* II. and was chiefly planted by *Iriſh* Roman Catholics, ſeveral of whom got large eſtates. Under colonel *Codrington*, when he was governor of the *Leeward-Iſlands*, colonel *Blackſtone* was governor of *Montſerrat*, which was almoſt deſtroyed by the earthquake that happened in 1692. When general *Codrington* undertook his expedition againſt *St. Chriſtopher's*, this iſland furniſhed

It is almoſt deſtroyed by an earthquake.

niſhed him with 300 men, who were commanded by colonel *Blackſtone*. Colonel *Hill* ſucceeded *Blackſtone* as deputy-governor of *Montſerrat*; but his health obliging him to remove to *England*, he died at *Pembroke* on the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, 1697.

Conquered by the French.

IT is thought that about this time the iſland of *Montſerrat* contained between 4 and 5000 white inhabitants, and 8000 negroes, which diſcouraged the *French* from attempting to reduce it at the time they fell upon *Nevis*. During *Park*'s government of the *Leeward-Iſlands*, *Anthony Hodges*, Eſq; was lieutenant-governor of *Montſerrat*, and, like the other lieutenant-governors, he was aſſiſted by a council and an aſſembly regularly appointed and choſen, as well as by other officers civil and military. After *Park's* arrival in the *Weſt-Indies*, intelligence being received that the *French* had a deſign upon *Montſerrat*, a ſloop was immediately ſent to Mr. *Hodges* the lieutenant-governor, to put him upon his guard, and to inform him that upon the firſt appearance of the *French*, he ſhould be aſſiſted by the men of war, and the regiment that was then lying at *Antigua*. This ſloop was intercepted by the *French*, who, upon reading the diſpatches, did not think proper to proceed in their attempt againſt *Montſerrat* at that time. Two years after, it was attacked by Monſ. *Coſſart* at the head of 3500 men, whom he landed in *Car's-Bay*. This was a force more than ſufficient for ſuch a conqueſt, and the inhabitants retired with their beſt effects to *Dodon's Fort*, which was very ſtrongly ſituated, leaving the *French* for ten days in the poſſeſſion of the reſt of the iſland. They took and burnt all the ſhipping in the road, excepting one veſſel, which made its eſcape, and then they returned to *Guadaloupe*. This violence happening at a time when the negotiations for peace were in dependence, the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries at the treaty of *Utrecht* inſiſted upon the ſufferers receiving an indemnification; and ſome ſtipulations of that kind were inſiſted in the eleventh article of that treaty: but the ſufferers never received any ſatisfaction, but what they afterwards obtained from the *Britiſh* parliament.

favourable to colonel Park.

THE people of *Montſerrat* ſeem by no means to have been ſo much exaſperated, as thoſe of *Antigua* were, againſt colonel *Park*'s government; for they even drew up addreſſes in vindication of it; and *Park*'s friends have induſtriouſly repreſented all the oppoſition he met with, to his diſcouraging the pernicious practice of ſmuggling in the iſlands under his government. Nothing remarkable happened relating to *Montſerrat*, till general *Matthews* was governor of the *Leeward Iſlands*; when, on the 30th of *June*, 1733, *Montſerrat* is almoſt deſolated by one of the moſt dreadful hurricanes ever

ever known in the *Weſt-Indies*. The effects of this ſtorm, as tranſmitted to *England*, are next to incredible; and the loſs which the iſland ſuſtained, excluſive of lives and the ſhipping, was, by a moderate computation, reckoned to be about 50,000 *l*. Soon after this, the people of *Montſerrat*, and ſome others of the *Britiſh Leeward Iſlands*, began to look with an evil eye upon the illicit trade carried on between ſome of their neighbours, the people of *Barbados* eſpecially, and the *French* and *Spaniards*. As this trade was pernicious to all government, both the *Britiſh* and *French* courts, as well as that of *Spain*, had iſſued very ſevere orders for ſuppreſſing it; and Mr. *Matthews*, when in *Montſerrat*, paſſed an act for the more effectual preventing all trade in theſe parts between his majeſty's ſubjects and the *French*. The people of *Montſerrat* exerted themſelves with a laudable zeal, and to the great benefit of their mother-country, in carrying this act into execution; for they ſeized ſeveral *French* ſmuggling veſſels, which were condemned in their courts of admiralty.

and to fair trading.

Its natural hiſtory.

THE iſland of *Montſerrat*, as to its climate, ſoil, animals, commerce, and other particulars of that kind, is pretty much the ſame with the other *Engliſh Caribbee Iſlands*. The mountains upon it produce cedars, cypreſs-tree, the iron-tree, with other woods, and ſome odoriferous ſhrubs. It is well watered and fruitful, and the planters here formerly raiſed a great deal of indigo. The ſeas ſurrounding this iſland produce ſome hideous monſters, particularly two, which, from their remarkable uglineſs, as well as the poiſonous quality of their fleſh, are called ſea-devils. The lamantine, by ſome called the ſea-cow, is found in this iſland, and generally at the entrance of freſh-water rivers. According to the accounts we have of it, it is an amphibious creature, and lives moſtly upon herbage. Its fleſh is reckoned very wholeſome food when ſalted, and they are ſo large, that two or three of them loads a canoe. Some of the *Weſt-Indians* are very fond of certain ſmall ſtones, which are ſometimes found in the head of this animal, and which they pretend, when powdered, diſſolve ſtones in the kidneys.

TABAGO.

Tabago, *its ſituation.*

TABAGO lies near forty leagues ſouth by weſt from *Barbados*, about thirty-five leagues ſouth-eaſt from *St. Vincent*, forty leagues eaſt from *Granada*, twelve leagues north-eaſt from *Trinidada*, and between thirty and forty leagues north-eaſt from the *Spaniſh Main*. It is thirty-two miles in length, from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt, and about nine

nine broad from eaſt to weſt; the whole being above ſeventy miles in circumference; ſo that it is rather larger than *Barbados*, or indeed any of our *Leeward Iſlands*; and near the north-eaſt extremity there lies a ſmall iſland, called *Little Tabago*, which is two miles in length, and the half in breadth. *Tabago* was firſt diſcovered by *Columbus*, in 1498, but we know of no ſettlement that he or any of his countrymen made upon the iſland. When an adventurous ſpirit for diſcoveries of every kind prevailed in *England* under queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Robert Dudley*, the lawful ſon of the famous earl of *Leiceſter*, in an expedition he made againſt *Trinidada*, gave the *Engliſh* government the firſt hint of peopling *Tabago*, which was then uninhabited by any *European* nation: but this propoſal met with but ſmall encouragement. *William* earl of *Pembroke*, in the year 1628, obtained a grant of this iſland, with that of *Berbuda* and *St. Bernard*. Being a great patron of new ſettlements, and conſiderably engaged in the diſcoveries and undertakings that were then on foot in *America*, there is little reaſon to doubt that he intended to people *Tabago*; but his death happening in leſs than two years after, the deſign came to nothing. About the year 1632, ſome *Zealanders* having fitted out a ſmall ſquadron for trading to thoſe iſlands, took ſo great a liking to this iſland, that upon their return home, the company of merchants to which they belonged, undertook to ſettle it, and gave it the name of *New Walcheren*, one of the moſt conſiderable iſlands in *Zealand*; and from the information of this company, that excellent *Dutch* geographer *de Laet*, has been enabled to give us better account of *Tabago* than of any of the other *Caribbee Iſlands*. The new colony in a ſhort time encreaſed to about 200, who, finding themſelves peſtered by the viſits of the *Caribbean Indians*, which they were unable to prevent, they began to erect a fort for their preſervation. The barbarians, upon this, applied themſelves for aſſiſtance to the *Spaniards*, who readily granted it; for they ſent a force upon the iſland, which demoliſhed the riſing fort, and exterminated the new colony.

planted by the Dutch. *and the* Courlanders.

IT was probably from the reſort of ſome *Dutch* merchants to *Courland*, that firſt gave the hint to *James* duke of *Courland* for ſettling *Tabago*. He was a prince of a ſtirring active diſpoſition, and finding that there was room for ſuch a ſettlement, he ſent over a colony of his own ſubjects, who fixed upon what has been ſince called *Great Courland-Bay*, and erected a ſmall regular fort, with a town, in the neighbourhood. To the fort they gave the name of *James*, in honour of their own ſovereign, who was named after *James*

I. of *Great Britain*. Here they lived ſo inoffenſively, that they remained unmoleſted, either by the *Caribbeans* or the *Spaniards*; and they found its ſoil ſo kindly, that the colony in a ſhort time had an excellent appearance. They were ſupplied, from their own country, with all kinds of utenſils, and they flouriſhed to ſuch a degree, as to awaken the jealouſy of the *Dutch*, who revived their claim upon the iſland. In 1654, two wealthy *Dutch* merchants, Meſſ. *Adrian*, and *Cornelius Lampſius*, of *Fluſhing*, fitted out ſome ſhips, who landed a conſiderable number of their countrymen upon *Tabago*; but found the *Courlanders* in no diſpoſition to yield them poſſeſſion of the iſland, which, they ſaid, they held under the authority of their own ſovereign. The *Courlanders* were too powerful to be diſpoſſeſſed; but the *Dutch* took poſſeſſion of a different part of the iſland, which is now called *Rockley-Bay*, acknowledging themſelves to be under the protection of the duke of *Courland*, who ſuffered a melancholy reverſe of fortune in *Europe*.

The former obtain the iſland.

THIS duke had obtained a neutrality in the war between *Poland* and *Sweden*; but having given umbrage to *Charles Guſtavus* of *Sweden*, he was taken priſoner in 1658, and carried firſt to *Riga*, and next to *Ivanagorod*. The news of the duke's diſaſter, who had been indefatigable in improving his country and its marine, reaching *Tabago*, the *Dutch* immediately beſieged *Fort James*, which by the mutiny of the garriſon was given up to them, and thereby they claimed poſſeſſion of the whole iſland; but ſtill promiſing to reſtore *Fort James* as ſoon as the duke ſhould recover his liberty. By this time, the court of *France*, by one of thoſe arbitrary deeds which is founded on ambition only, had inſerted *Tabago* among the other iſlands that were granted to their *Weſt-India* company; and the *Dutch* planters of *Tabago* thought that to be a good opportunity for eſtabliſhing themſelves under ſo powerful a protection. *Lampſius*, accordingly, in *Auguſt* 1662, had ſo much intereſt at the court of *France*, as to procure letters patent from *Lewis* XIV. creating him baron of *Tabago*, and they were regiſtred the year following in the parliament of *Paris*. *Lampſius*, ſoon after, prevailed upon the *Dutch Weſt-India* company to reſign to him all their right in *Tabago*, and becoming thus the proprietor of the iſland, under the crown of *France*, he ſent over Mr. *Hubert de Beveren* as his governor of the ſame. The new governor projected many public works and buildings to put the iſland upon a reſpectable footing. He called the town which his countrymen had built *Lampſinburgh*, and he gave the ſame name to the harbour, as alſo to a regular fortreſs which he erected at the

ſame time. He likewiſe built *Fort Beveren*, and laid the foundation of a new town, which he intended to call *New-Fluſhing*; beſides raiſing ſeveral other forts for the ſecurity of the colony. As to the planters, they proceeded with great ſpirit. They laid out fine cacao-walks, which ſerved equally the purpoſes of beauty and profit; they erected indigo-works and ſugar-mills; and in ſhort, *Tabago* then ſeemed in a condition to rival the moſt flouriſhing of the *Engliſh Weſt-Indian* ſettlements.

The duke of Courland re-ſumes his pretenſions upon it.

The treaty of *Oliva* having reſtored the duke of *Courland* to his liberty, he demanded of the States-General the reſtitution of *Fort James* and his eſtabliſhment at *Tabago*. This application was treated with great neglect, and the *Lampſins* ſent orders to their governor in *Tabago* to be upon his guard, and to put the iſland in the beſt poſture of defence he could. The duke finding himſelf thus injured, applied himſelf in 1664 to *Charles* II. of *England*; who, on *November* the 17th, that year, granted to him in property, the iſland of *Tobago*, on conſideration of certain ſervices reſerved to the crown of *Great Britain*; and upon condition, that none ſhall inhabit the ſaid iſland, ſave only the ſubjects of the king of *England*, and the duke of *Courland*, their heirs and ſucceſſors. This grant was duly intimated to the States-General; but this intimation had no other effect than putting the *Dutch* of *Tobago* ſtill more upon their guard; eſpecially, as a war between them and *England* appeared at that time to be unavoidable. We are deſtitute of any regular information concerning the operations of the two powers in the *Weſt-Indies*; becauſe moſt of them were undertaken by private adventurers, either *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Dutch*, who have given us no account of their proceedings. All we know is in general, that in the firſt *Dutch* war, the *Engliſh* privateers deſtroyed the *Dutch* forts and colony upon *Tabago*. In the ſucceeding war, which the *French* and the *Dutch* carried on againſt *England*, the *Engliſh* were diſpoſſeſſed in their turn of this iſland, and the *Dutch* reinſtated in it by the *French* governor of *Grenada*. It afterwards ſerved as a rendezvous for the combined fleets of the two nations, who thereby did prodigious damage to the *Engliſh* trade; inſomuch, that it was thought our *Weſt-Indian* poſſeſſions muſt have been ruined, had not the *Engliſh* admiral, Sir *John Harman*, before the end of the war, attacked and defeated their joint ſquadrons, and totally deſtroyed the remains of that of *France*, which he purſued to *St. Chriſtopher's*.

It is conquered by the French.

We are not here critically to examine the right which *Charles* II. had to grant the property of this iſland to the duke

duke of *Courland*; but it appears to have been more valid than the *French* grant, becauſe it was founded upon prior rights, and particularly upon the deed made to the earl of *Pembroke*. Notwithſtanding this, the *Dutch*, even after the defeat of their fleet, and that of their allies, not only kept poſſeſſion of *Tabago*, but fortified it, in five years time, with three ſtrong forts, and a numerous artillery, ſo that it was conſidered to be impregnable to all the force the *Engliſh* could bring againſt it. Sir *Tobias Bridges*, however, in 1673, made a deſcent upon *Tabago*, and not only plundered it, but carried of 400 of the inhabitants priſoners. The peace which ſucceeded between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* next year, left the latter once more in poſſeſſion of *Tabago*, and they even conquered from the *French* the iſland of *Cayenne*. *Lewis* XIV. was then in the height of his glory, and the vice-admiral of *France* the count *D'Etrees*, ſailing to the *Weſt-Indies* with a large armament, reconquered *Cayenne*, and appeared before *Tabago*. *James Binkes*, the admiral of *Zealand*, was then lying in *Great Rockley-Harbour* with a ſtout ſquadron of *Dutch* ſhips, which were attacked by ſea and land by the count on the 3d of *March*, 1677. The engagement was deſperate, and the count's ſhip, called the *Glorieux*, of ſeventy guns, with ſeveral others being blown up, he was obliged to retire, but not before he had deſtroyed great part of the *Dutch* ſquadron in port. This action gave the count ſo much credit with his own court, that he was reinforced with a ſtronger ſquadron towards the end of the year, to complete the reduction of the iſland. Having landed his men, he regularly inveſted the chief fort of the iſland, which he found to be ſo ſtrong, that he was obliged to bombard it. The third bomb he threw in fell upon a magazine of powder, which blew up the fortreſs, together with admiral *Binkes*, and the greateſt part of the officers and garriſon. The count then compleated the reduction of the iſland, and on the 27th of *December* the ſame year, utterly deſtroyed the *Dutch* colony upon it; an event which was celebrated by his maſter on a pompous medal ſtruck upon the occaſion.

Captain Poyntz *undertakes to ſettle it under the duke of* Courland.

WE are at a loſs to know what meaſures the court of *England* and the duke of *Courland* were taking all this time towards ſettling the iſland in terms of the duke's grant; but it is certain, that the duke was not idle, and that about the year 1682, he covenanted with one captain *John Poyntz*, for ſettling 120,000 acres of land with the ſubjects of *England* and *Courland* upon the following terms, the publication of which, as that iſland is now entirely ceded to *Great Britain*, cannot fail of being agreeable to our readers: "*Imprimis*, *His terms.* That

That 120,000 acres of land, in the ſaid iſland of *Tabago*, is given and granted to myſelf and company, and our heirs for ever; and ſeven years to be free from the payment of any rent; and after the expiration of ſeven years, each for himſelf is to pay two-pence per acre every year, to the duke, his lawful heirs and ſucceſſors. Secondly, That myſelf and company, and all the inhabitants, ſhall enjoy liberty of conſcience without interruption, Roman catholics only excepted. Thirdly, That myſelf and company, &c. are to be governed by a governor, deputy-governor, and aſſembly, to be yearly choſen by the majority of freeholder's votes of the people in the iſland, to make good and wholſome laws for the good government and defence of the ſaid iſland; and all controverſies in the premiſes, to be decided by the majority of voices."

and farther propoſals.

Mr. *Poyntz* afterwards publiſhed other propoſals for the farther encouragement of his intended colony, by which, every one who inclined to become a planter might have as much land as he pleaſed, either by leaſe or purchaſe, provided he put one white man to every fifteen acres of land, and ſo in proportion to other quantities. Mr. *Poyntz* next propoſed to give better encouragement to all ſervants upon the iſland than any that had yet been given in any *Engliſh* ſettlement in *America*. All planters, and others concerned, were to have credit given them from crop to crop for what they ſhould ſtand in need of; for which purpoſe, the company was to erect a bank, or factory, of credit in the iſland, the debtor only allowing two and a half per cent. The fourth article of encouragement was as follows: "All merchants and others, that ſhall import any negroes, or other merchandize, into the ſaid iſland, ſhall have their goods and debts inſured, and diſpoſed of for two and a half per cent. with factorage, ſtorage, and wharfage; and exported again for two and a half per cent. more. And all tradeſmen and others, that contract any debts againſt themſelves, ſhall have credit given them out of the bank or factory, from crop to crop, for two and a half per cent: and the proprietors to engage their whole intereſt for the true performance of the foreſaid premiſes." By the fifth article, ſuch perſons as contracted with the proprietors before the firſt ſhipping departed out of the river *Thames*, to ſhip off goods or people for the iſland, but had not ready money to purchaſe land, or to pay for their own and their ſervants paſſage, their goods were to be received as money.

become ineffectual.

All the mighty expectations of profit and advantage from his iſland, was built upon the fertility of its ſoil in producing tobacco and cacao-nuts; and the vaſt profit which the *Spaniards*

niards at *Trinidada*, notwithſtanding the heavy impoſt paid, made of thoſe commodities. It was particularly af that an *Engliſhman*, ſettled upon *Tabago*, could purch fifteen pounds, a negroe, who muſt coſt a *Spaniard* a dred; and that a *Spaniard* pays ſixpence or more, for thing that an *Engliſhman* could have bought for a All thoſe, and many other conſiderations, even at thi require attention. It is certain, that theſe propoſals publiſhed under the authority of the duke of *Courland* from the crown of *England*, the ſame was quietly ſul to at that time by all the powers of *Europe*; and ev *French* king refuſed to give a new grant of the iſland, he had conquered it; becauſe, as he ſaid, it belonge neutral prince who had given him no provocation: we perceive, that the States-General themſelves had ar to object to Mr. *Poyntz*'s propoſals when he republiſhe under the patronage of king *William*. The truth monarch, as we have had occaſion more than once to was not fond of encouraging any commercial ſchem claſhed with the intereſt of *Spain*.

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UPON the extinction of the *Kettler* family, dukes *land*, in the perſon of *Ferdinand*, ſon to duke *Ja* fief of the iſland of *Tabago* reverted to the crown of in 1737, and our government aſſerted its right to i *Dutch*, however, revived their claim to the iſland, a ſuffered their *Weſt-India* company to grant to one ſubjects a commiſſion for the government of *Tabago*. the court of *France*, its conduct was unaccountable t dity; for though by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, *Ta* one of the four iſlands that were declared to be neu the marquis *de Caylus*, then governor of the *French* maintained that it belonged to that crown, and e troops and men to fortify and ſettle it. The gov *Barbados* receiving undoubted intelligence of this b the treaty, ſent captain, now admiral, *Tyrrel*, in his ſhip the *Cheſterfield*, to oppoſe ſo manifeſt a violatic good faith; while the duke of *Bedford*, who was th tary of ſtate, and the earl of *Albemarle* the *Britiſh* an at *Paris*, made ſuch ſtrenuous remonſtrances on t head, that the *French* court diſavowed the proceedi *Caylus*, whom they ordered home, and commanded t

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HAVING

HAVING thus exhibited the civil and military hiſtory of *Tabago*, the reader will eaſily perceive from the various conteſts which it has occaſioned, that it muſt in itſelf be of uncommon value, which renders it the more neceſſary for us to give a deſcription of its natural and other advantages. A few *Indians*, while it was in its ſtate of neutrality, were its only ſettled inhabitants, and they lived in huts on the ſea-coaſt, towards the northern extremity of the iſland. Thoſe *Indians* are by nature far more tractable than the other *Caribbeans*; and though they are diſtractedly fond of liberty, there is no doubt, but that very paſſion might prevail with them to enjoy it, under the mild protection of a *Britiſh* government. A ſhort time, and good uſage, will reconcile them to the more poliſhed habits of life, and as they are delighted with toys and utenſils, a few preſents of that kind might in time render them extremely ſerviceable to the firſt *Britiſh* planters of the iſland. The climate of *Tabago* is far more temperate than could be expected in an iſland that is but 11 deg. 10 min. north from the equator; for the force of the ſun is diminiſhed by the ſea-breezes. The *Dutch*, when they firſt ſettled the iſland, thought that it was unwholſome; but as they proceeded in clearing it, its ſalubrity encreaſed, and this they partly attributed to the aromatic exhalations of the ſpice and gum-trees, with which the ſoil every where abounds. *Tabago* has another favourable circumſtance to recommend it, by its lying out of the tract of thoſe hurricanes that prove ſo fatal to the other *Weſt-India* iſlands; and conſequently, it is not liable to thoſe blaſts that ſometimes deſtroy the moſt promiſing harveſts upon them.

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Climate.

THE ſurface of the iſland is unequal, and agreeably diverſified with riſings and fallings; but no part of it is rugged or impaſſable, though its northweſt extremity is mountainous. It ſoil is of different kinds, but in general its mould is rich and black, and proper for producing in the greateſt plenty, whatever is raiſed in other parts of the *Weſt-Indies*. The abundance of ſprings upon the iſland contributes to its healthfulneſs, and its bays and creeks are ſo diſpoſed as to be very commodious for all kind of ſhipping. It is, however, to be remarked, that its ſituation requires fortifications to render the iſland ſecure againſt the viſits of ſavages and enemies. This is a moſt important conſideration for the government of *Great-Britain*, as, without ſuch fortifications, the natural richneſs of the iſland ſerves but to render it the more inviting to invaders. But the valuable timber which grows on *Tabago*, is, perhaps, the greateſt riches; for, beſides its producing the different kinds of wood that are to be found in

and ſoil of Tabago.

the other *Weſt-Indian* iſlands, the *Dutch* affirm, that both the
Trees. true nutmeg-tree, and the cinnamon-tree, with that which produces the real gum copal, grows upon this iſland. Though the *Dutch* can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to be deceived in the natural properties of thoſe trees, which they acknowledge to be different in ſome reſpects from thoſe in their *Eaſt Indies*, and their other *Aſiatic* plantations; yet a great doubt remains whether they are the original productions of *Tabago*, or whether they had not been imported and planted there from the *Eaſt-Indies*. Though the latter is the moſt probable opinion, yet, as the fact itſelf, which is undiſputed, evinces, that thoſe rich ſpices may be cultivated upon the iſland, it renders it an object highly deſerving the attention of the public; eſpecially, as ſugar itſelf was imported into the *Weſt-Indies* from *Europe*; and the ſame may be ſaid of other commodities that now become ſtaple ones in *America*.

Mr. *Blome*, who in the year 1687, wrote the preſent ſtate of our *American* iſlands, ſays, that the ſoil naturally produces *Indian* corn, ſuch as grows in *Virginia*, *New-York*, and *Carolina*; but that no *Engliſh* grain, excepting peas, beans, and pulſe, can be raiſed there; and that the iſland produces *Guinea* corn, *French* beans, and various kind of peas. He mentions the cuſhen-apple, which, he ſays, is both meat and drink, and that an excellent lamp-oil may be made out of its rind when green. The fig-trees upon *Tabago* are reckoned equal to thoſe in *Spain* and *Portugal*. The prickle-apple, the banana, the pomegranate, the pine-apple, and ſeveral other rich fruits, grow here. The oranges which grow here are ſaid, by our author [g], to be of three kinds, or rather to ſerve three purpoſes, the ſour or bitter one for ſauce, their flowers for eſſences, and their ſweet-ones, which here are excellent, for eating. Lemons and limes of both kinds, *viz.* ſour and ſweet, are found in plenty upon this iſland; and the marmalade, which is made of its guavas, yields to none.
Plantanes. Plantanes, that food which is ſo uſeful in ſupporting the negroes, to whom it is very agreeable, grow here of an excellent kind, as do tamarinds. Though the iſland produces great quantities of grapes, which are very delicious when eaten off the cluſter, yet we know of no wine that ever was made here; and yet it is very probable, that a little culture and perſeverance might raiſe wine equal to any in *Europe*. The cuſtard-apple, the ſour-apple, the papaw-apple, the mammee-apple, and the yellow plum are plentiful here. The cherries that grow upon the iſland are but indifferent. The cocoa-

[g] Ibid, p. 248.

nut-

nut tree grows here to ſuch perfection, that the *Indians* call it God's-tree, as producing both meat, drink, and cloathing. Muſk, cucumbers, and water-melons thrive here, as do pomkins and gourds. The inhabitants make uſe of potatoes as bread. They likewiſe have yams, carrots, turnips, parſnips, onions, and caſſada-root. The author laſt quoted [h], though he wrote almoſt fourſcore years ago, bears an ample teſtimony of all that is ſaid at preſent in favour of this iſland; for he tells us, that beſides cinnamon, it naturally produces tea, with five different ſorts of pepper, the long, the cod, the bell, the round, and the *Jamaica*; all which grow upon the iſland, without culture. Notwithſtanding this, we cannot think that thoſe are natives of *Tabago*; but they ſufficiently prove, that all the products of the *Eaſt-Indies* may be cultivated there.

Tabago *wild hogs*, and *other commodities.*

ACCORDING to the ſame author, wild hogs abounded ſo much upon *Tabago*, that the people cut off at leaſt 20,000 of them every year, without their being ſenſibly diminiſhed. The pickery of *Tabago* reſembles a hog, and it contains numbers of armadilloes, guanoes, which are of the alligator-kind; *Indian*-conies, and badgers, which are particularly fond of and familiar with men. Horſes, cows, aſſes, ſheep, deer, goats, and rabbits, were probably introduced by the *Dutch*, and their breeds are ſtill to be found upon the iſland. Its ſhores are ſtored with excellent fiſh, particularly with turtle of every kind, and mullets of a moſt delicious taſte, with other kinds unknown in *England*. In ſhort, no iſland, perhaps, in the world, can boaſt of ſuch variety of fiſhes, both ſhell and others, as *Tabago* can; ſo that it would be too tedious to particularize them. The ſame may be ſaid of their fowl, and, according to the above author, the "commodities which the country doth or may produce, are, cacao-nut, ſugar, tobacco, indico, ginger, ſarſaparilla, ſemper-vivum, bees-wax, vinillioes, natural balſam, balm, ſilk-graſs, green tar, ſoap-earth, with many curious ſhells, ſtones, markaſites, and minerals, found up and down the iſland of *Tabago*, whoſe virtue and worth are yet unknown."

[h] Ibid. p. 249.

The

The BAHAMA ISLANDS.

Diſcovery of the Bahama Iſlands,

THOSE iſlands lie the moſt eaſterly of all the *Antilles*, and to the north of the iſle of *Cuba*, and eaſt and ſouth-eaſt from the *Spaniſh Florida*, ſtretching from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, btween the 21ſt and 28th degree of north-latitude, and between 72. and 81. of weſtern-longitude[i]. By this ſituation, it is plain, they lie out of the courſe of ſhips bound for the *American* continent, which moſt probably was the reaſon why they were ſo lately taken notice of by the *Engliſh*. They were firſt diſcovered by the famous *Columbus*; and the iſland of *Guanaham*, now called the *Iſle of Providence*, is laid down in *Bry*'s map of the *Weſt Indies*, publiſhed in 1594, as are likewiſe *Bahama* and *Lucaya*; but they are mentioned in ſuch a manner, that it is plain the geographers had but very imperfect notions either of the ſituation of that, or any other of thoſe iſlands. *Benzoni*, one of the firſt navigators to *America*, ſays, that the ſailor, who firſt diſcovered land, and called out that he ſaw a fire, was denied the reward that was promiſed to the firſt diſcovery; and that he afterwards went to *Africa*, where he turned Mahometan (X). Whatever may be in this, it is pretty certain, that *Guanahani* was the firſt *American* land that was diſcovered by *Columbus*; who no ſooner approached it, than he went into his boat, and landing[k], he fell upon his knees, and moſt devoutly thanked God for making him the inſtrument of publiſhing his goſpel in the New World. He then ordered a tree to be cut down, and erected a croſs in its place, and gave it the name of *San Salvadore*, taking poſſeſſion of it in the name of his Catholic majeſty.

by Columbus.

COLUMBUS perceiving that the iſland was ſmall, and the iſlanders (who appeared to have no ſenſation but amazement

[i] Syſtem of Geography, Vol. II. p. 692.

(X) The pretext for this injuſtice, was, that *Salſedo*, a domeſtic of *Columbus*, affirmed, that his maſter, two hours before, had declared he had ſeen the ſame fire. As this declaration was not public, but communicated to a *Spaniſh* gentleman on board, the poor ſailor had a right to complain; ſo that we muſt conclude, it was either not in the power of *Columbus* (on account of the oppoſition he met with) to reward him, or that he himſelf was immeaſurably fond of the honour of being the firſt diſcoverer.

[k] BENZONI, p. 34. apud DE BRY. PETER MARTYR, ibid.

at

at the ſight of the ſhips and their new gueſts) were but poor, and gathering from their ſigns, that the little gold they had among them, came from the weſtward, or the ſouthward, he carried off with him ſome of the natives to aſſiſt him in his future diſcoveries; but it is certain, that he made no ſettlement upon *St. Salvadore*, or as it is now called, *Providence*, or any of the *Bahama Iſlands*. Though we cannot ſuppoſe thoſe to have been long unknown to the *Engliſh*, yet one captain *Sayle*, who was bound for *Carolina*, in the year 1667, is the firſt *Engliſhman* mentioned to have landed upon it, which he was obliged to do by ſtreſs of weather. Upon his return to *England* that ſame year, he made ſo favourable a report of the *Bahama Iſlands* in general to his employers, the proprietaries of *Carolina*, that ſix of them applied for, and obtained, a grant, for that of *Providence*, or as it is ſometimes called, *New Providence*, and of the *Bahama Iſlands* in general, between the latitudes of 22 and 27 degrees. The names of their firſt proprietaries were *George* duke of *Albemarle*, *William* lord *Craven*, Sir *George Carteret*, *John* lord *Berkley*, *Anthony* lord *Aſhley*, and Sir *Peter Colliton*. But tho' this was the firſt legal ſettlement made of the *Bahamas*, it appears from many evidences, that they had long before been (the iſland of *Providence* particularly) a ſhelter for pirates, and a diſorderly ſet of people, who lived either upon the wrecks of the ſhips driven upon thoſe dangerous coaſts, or by ſupplying the mariners, who approached them, with liquors and other neceſſaries.

Settled by Engliſh *proprietaries.*

CAPTAIN *Sayle*, in a ſecond viſit he paid, or was obliged to pay, to the iſland of *Providence*, diſcovered the vaſt advantage the poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands would be of to the people of *England*, and made the government ſo ſenſible of it, that they reſolved, about the year 1672, to ſend a governor and ſome ſettlers thither; and the firſt governor pitched upon was one Mr. *Chillingworth*, a gentleman of character and capacity. By this time, the natives of the *Bahamas*, though they were reckoned to be by far the moſt harmleſs of any in the *Weſt-Indies*, had been either barbarouſly butchered or carried off by the *Spaniards* and pirates; but Mr. *Chillingworth* found a far more unruly ſet of men to deal with. *England* was at that time over-run by diſſolute people of both ſexes, many of whom embraced the encouragement given by the government, by ſhipping themſelves for *New Providence*, which was repreſented as a perfect paradiſe. Thoſe meeting with the pirates and coaſters already ſettled there, the whole formed ſo ungovernable a colony, that Mr. *Chillingworth*, in endeavouring to reclaim them, was himſelf ſhipped off for *Jamaica* in Jamaica.

Chillingworth, *governor, is forcibly ſent to*

in a forcible tumultuous manner, and an unreſtrained anarchy enſued among the ſettlers.

THOSE diſorders continued for ſome years, neither the government nor the proprietaries being at the expence of checking them. At laſt, one Mr. *Clark* accepted of a pro-proprietary commiſſion to be governor. The *Spaniards*, who had fomented all the diſorders of the former colony, no ſooner underſtood that the *Engliſh* intended to reſettle the iſland, than they invaded it, deſtroyed all the ſtock, and burnt the cottages of the inhabitants; and it is ſaid, that having carried off the governor in chains, they afterwards cruelly put him to death. After this depopulation, this iſland, and all the other *Bahamas*, which are ſuppoſed to conſiſt of near 500, but moſt of them barren rocks, were abandoned, the *Engliſh* removing to *Carolina* and other ſettlements. At the time this diſaſter happened, the chief town of the iſland, which has been ſince called *Naſſau*, conſiſted of 150 houſes. Nothing could have prevailed upon the *Engliſh* government to have been at any farther expence about the *Bahamas*, but the vaſt conſequence of their ſituation, eſpecially in war-time. This was ſo evident, that before the Revolution, a great many people, both from *England* and the continent of *America*, removed thither; and by the year 1690, *New Providence* became ſo populous, that the proprietaries thought it worth their while to appoint one *Cadwallader Jones* to be their governor; and he accordingly arrived there on the 19th of *June*.

Clark, *governor*,

murdered by the Spaniards.

Jones, *governor*,

THERE is one reaſon for believing that the new coloniſts retained the ſpirit of their predeceſſors. *Jones*, by all accounts, was of a rough, arbitrary diſpoſition; and probably for that reaſon was made choice of by the proprietaries to manage ſo mutinous a ſet; and indeed it ſeems to be chiefly owing to him, that the government of the *Bahamas* was reduced into any form; for in his time, mention is made of counſellors and aſſembly-men, though we can ſay little as to their qualifications. If we are to believe the enemies of *Jones*, (eſpecially one *Bulkley*) the whole of his government was oppreſſive, treaſonable, and even ſometimes frantic (Y). But, indeed, great allowances are to be made for the genius of the people he had to govern, which might oblige him to follow meaſures that were not ſtrictly warrantable, and render him not very fond of aſſemblies. At firſt he was treated with great reſpect, but every day producing new quarrels between

(Y) This *Bulkley* wrote and publiſhed a moſt ſhocking account of his ſufferings under *Jones*, which he entitled, An Appeal to *Cæſar*.

him

him and the people of the iſland, Mr. *Bulkley*, who was his capital enemy, exhibited (before the council we ſuppoſe) a charge of high-treaſon againſt him; upon which he was arreſted, and thrown into priſon. The council, upon this, publiſhed a proclamation, informing the inhabitants of the *Bahama Iſlands*, that the government was devolved upon them and their preſident, Mr. *Gilbert Aſhley*, whom they were required to look upon as their governor. This proclamation, which was dated the 24th of *January*, was ſigned by two deputies of the proprietaries, and five of the aſſembly-men. *Jones*, who perhaps, knew his cauſe to be none of the beſt, applied to compromiſe matters with *Bulkley*, who, notwithſtanding all the offers made him, remained inexorable, and entered into a recognizance of 500 *l.* to proſecute him. *Jones*, upon this, acted as a man of ſpirit; for he aſſembled the people of the iſland, and they delivered him by main force from his impriſonment, where they placed his accuſer *Bulkley* in his room. It was no wonder if the latter, as he moſt grievouſly complains, met with very ſevere uſage under his confinement; eſpecially as it does not appear that he was backed by the council. He, however, at laſt, obtained his enlargement, upon his delivering up his books; but on the arrival of one Mr. *Graves*, with a proper commiſſion from *England*, he was put in irons, under a charge of high-treaſon, for his proceedings againſt the governor. If we are to believe his own repreſentation, ſeveral deſigns were laid to murder him; but thoſe charges moſt probably were falſe or aggravated, for he remained in cuſtody all the remaining time of *Jones*'s government.

is impriſoned; but recovers his liberty.

THE proprietaries by this time were ſenſible, that it would be highly improper to continue *Jones* longer in the government, and one Mr. *Trott* was appointed to ſucceed him. Under him Mr. *Bulkley* took his trial, and was acquitted; and, at the ſame time, *Jones* was ſuffered to depart without any cenſure. *Bulkley* afterwards applied to the *Engliſh* government for damages, which he laid at 4000 *l.* but though his papers were referred to the ſecretary of ſtate, we do not find that he obtained any compenſation. Under Mr. *Trott* the town of *Naſſau* recovered its former figure, and its houſes amounted to about 160, provided with a church, and a fort to protect the town, mounted with 28 guns, beſides demi-culverins. Before this fort could be built, the ſhip of the famous pirate *Avery*, which carried 46 guns, and 100 ſtout men, arrived at *Providence*; and though, if he had landed, the governor could not have oppoſed him with more than 70 men, yet his crew paid for all the refreſhments they called for,

Trott, governor.

prizes into a fire-ſhip, by which he attempted to burn the *Roſe* frigate which narrowly eſcaped, while *Vane* and fifty of his men got off in a ſloop. When *Rogers* landed, he found upon the iſland about 300 men capable of bearing arms; many of whom had been pirates themſelves, and none of them under any apprehenſions from that wicked fraternity; but all of them very determined to defend themſelves againſt the *French* and *Spaniards*, which, by the aſſiſtance of an hundred regulars *Rogers* brought along with him, they were ſoon in a condition to do. The firſt meaſure of *Rogers*'s government was to take poſſeſſion of the ruined fort, and to read his majeſty's commiſſion to him, as governor, in the preſence of all the inhabitants of the iſland. It muſt be acknowledged, that the plan upon which he acted was as moderate as it was wiſe; for he admitted to the benefit of the proclamation about 200 of the remaining pirates who ſurrendered themſelves. In ſettling his council, that he might reſtore a form of government to the iſland, he nominated ſix adventurers who attended him from *England*, and had the good fortune to meet with ſix inhabitants of the iſland who pretended they never had been pirates, with whom he filled up the remaining number. He himſelf had been appointed captain of the independent company which came with him; and the judge of the admiralty, the collector of the cuſtoms, the chief juſtice, the ſecretary, the regiſter, the provoſt-marſhal, and the naval officers, had their commiſſions from *England*; and the colony throve ſo well that it ſoon amounted to about 1500 whites.

The iſland cleared of pirates,

As the *Spaniards* had but two years before delivered a memorial to the governor and council of *Jamaica*, claiming the property of the *Bahama Iſlands* as belonging to his catholic majeſty; the chief care of the inhabitants was to prepare againſt a *Spaniſh* invaſion, and this led them to work inceſſantly upon the new fortifications of the iſland, and to form themſelves into three militia companies, who regularly did duty at *Naſſau* guard-houſe. Another fort was erected at the harbour-mouth, a good guard-ſhip was provided for the road, and the ground all about *Naſſau-Town* perfectly cleared. *Eleuthera* and *Harbour-Iſlands* were likewiſe peopled, and put in a poſture of defence; and in a ſhort time, the town of *Naſſau* conſiſted of about 300 houſes, the materials for building being there very plentiful. But the induſtry of the inhabitants was chiefly confined to military matters; for being bred up in habits of idleneſs, they paid too little attention to the cultivation of the excellent ſoil of their iſland, and were obliged to bring many of the neceſſaries of life from

claimed by the Spaniards.

England, or the *American* continent. Mr. *Rogers*, about the year 1721, returned to *England*, to ſollicit ſome freſh ſupplies that had been promiſed him, but never had arrived. Having a thorough knowledge of the intereſts and importance of the iſlands he governed; the commiſſioners of trade received his repreſentations very favourably, and the matter being brought before the privy-council, his majeſty was pleaſed to give him a new commiſſion as governor of the *Bahama-Iſlands*, with a ſalary of 400 *l.* a year, and to appoint him to the command of a free company in the iſland of *Providence*.

Memorial of Rogers.

THE repreſentations he gave in to the board of trade very juſtly obſerved, that the *Bahama-Iſlands* lying near to *Hiſpaniola*, and to the noted port of *Havanna*, in the iſland of *Cuba*, where the *Spaniſh* galleons and flota always rendezvous before they return to *Europe*; having the gulph of *Florida* to the weſt, and the *Windward-Paſſage* to the eaſt of them; their ſituation in time of peace is capable of great improvement in trade, and has always been a good retreat for diſabled ſhips, blown from various parts of the continent of *America*. It was farther obſerved, that in time of war, the *Britiſh* cruizers and privateers, ſtationed at the *Bahama Iſlands*, are more capable to obſtruct and annoy the *Spaniſh* trade homeward-bound in time of war, than all that are ſtationed at the reſt of the *Britiſh* colonies in *America*; and that they were very proper for the reception of ſmall cruizers, not exceeding forty guns, while the harbour of *Port-Royal*, which was then the ſouthermoſt frontier of the *Britiſh* poſſeſſions on the continent, and lying on the other ſide of the gulph of *Florida*, was capable of receiving the largeſt ſhips; and thoſe two ſtations were much more proper than that of *Jamaica*, either for annoying the enemy, or protecting our northern colonies and our ſugar-iſlands

Fitzwilliams, *governor.*

THE *Spaniards* ſeemed to be fully ſenſible of all the truths contained in this repreſentation; for according to the account left us by Mr. *Rogers* himſelf, who ſuffered greatly in his private affairs, by exerting himſelf, as he did, for the intereſt of his government, they fitted out two expeditions againſt the *Bahamas* at the expence of 100,000 *l.* and attacked the *Bahamas* with 2000 men, whom Mr. *Rogers* defeated, and burnt two of their ſhips of war in their retreat, without having any ſupport from the other colonies, but what he engaged on his own perſonal credit. He died within two or three years after his return to his government. He was ſucceeded by one captain *Fitzwilliams*; but in the year 1736, the independent company quartered at fort *Naſſau* mutinied on

account of the ſmallneſs of their pay, they having no augmentation as the companies at *Jamaica* have. The mutineers at firſt were formidable, for they ſeized the fort, fired upon the governor and his attendants, broke open and plundered the ſtorehouſe, and would have made themſelves maſters of the magazine, had they not been prevented by the activity of the governor. At laſt they ſeized a ſmall ſloop in the harbour, and releaſing a *French* ſailor from priſon to be their pilot, they ſet ſail; but next morning being purſued, they were all taken and brought back to *Providence*, where they were tried and convicted, and twelve of their leaders, with the *Frenchman*, were hanged. Since that time, the hiſtory of *New Providence* affords us nothing remarkable, only that it continues ſtill on the thriving hand, and was of great benefit to the *Britiſh* trade, during the late war between *France* and *Spain*. We ſhall now proceed to give ſome farther account of the *Bahama-Iſlands*, which is the more neceſſary, becauſe it is univerſally agreed that a ſufficient attention has not been paid to their importance and value.

MR. *Tinney* ſuperſeded captain *Rogers* in the government of the *Bahama-Iſlands*; but he being replaced upon *Tinney's* death, *Rogers* ſucceeded him, but he died in 1733; and upon the reſignation of *Fitzwilliams*, his ſucceſſor, *John Tinker*, Eſq; was appointed governor.

Natural hiſtory of the Bahamas.

THE largeſt of thoſe iſlands is *Bahama*, which gives name to all the others. It is ſeated in lat. 26. 45. north, and is diſtant above fifteen leagues from the peninſula of *Florida*. According to the beſt accounts it is fifty miles in length, and in ſome parts ſixteen in breadth. Though the iſland is well-watered, the ſoil fruitful, and the air ſerene, yet it was inhabited only by a few ſtragglers, who ſubſiſt by ſelling neceſſaries to the ſhips which the currents drive upon their coaſt. This iſland formerly produced guaiacum, ſarſaparilla, and red wood; all which are ſaid to have been entirely deſtroyed by the *Spaniards*; and the inhabitants are obliged to bring all their ſubſiſtence and neceſſaries from *Carolina*, excepting ſome white fowl, and a particular kind of rabbit which they rear. The ſtraits of *Bahama*, which the *Britiſh* fleet ſo happily cleared in the laſt expedition againſt the *Havannah*, are well known to navigators for the dangers and difficulties that attend the paſſing them. We have already mentioned *Eleuthera* and *Harbour-Iſland*, and can ſay nothing particular as to the reſt of them, though many of them are ſaid to be large, fruitful, and well watered, eſpecially thoſe of *Lucayonequa*, *Andros*, *Cigateo*, *Yumeta*, *Samana*, *Mayaguana*, *Yuma*, or *Exuma*, *Ynagua*, *Caicos*, and *Triangulo*. Thoſe iſlands, through the dangers

dangers attending the navigation to them, are ſo little known, that it is uncertain whether they are inhabited; ſome navigators affirming, that ſeveral of them are ſtill peopled by the *Spaniards*; and others, that the deſcendants of the original natives are yet to be found upon them. We have little to add to the natural hiſtory of thoſe iſlands, only that it appears from ſome papers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, that whales have been found dead on the ſhore here, with ſperm all over their bodies; but the writer ſays, that he never heard of one of thoſe whales being killed, ſo fierce and active are they when alive. A ſperma ceti whale when dead is computed to be worth ſeveral hundred pounds. Some ambergreaſe, of which our forefathers made ſo great account, has been found on the coaſt of the *Bahamas*; but many of the fiſhes taken on the ſame coaſts, are either hurtful to the health or poiſonous in themſelves.

The BERMUDAS, *or* SUMMER-ISLANDS.

IT is uncertain, nor is it indeed material, whether one *John Bermudas* a *Spaniard*, or one *Henry May* an *Engliſhman*, was the firſt *European* diſcoverer of thoſe iſlands, which, according to our beſt information, lay at ſuch a diſtance from the continent of *America*, that they were out of the reach of the *Indian* navigation; and therefore, at their firſt diſcovery, they were found to be entirely uninhabited. It is certain, that the *Spaniards* never took poſſeſſion of them, though the catholic king gave in 1572, a gift of them to one of his ſubjects. As to *May*, he was ſhipwrecked upon *St. George*'s, one of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe iſlands; and with the cedar which they felled there, aſſiſted by the wreck of their own ſhip, he and his companions built a new one, which carried them to *Europe*, where they publiſhed their obſervations and accounts of the *Burmudas-Iſlands*. When lord *Delawar* was made governor of *Virginia*, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Sommers*, and captain *Newport* were appointed to be his deputy-governors; but the ſhip in which they were being ſeparated from the reſt of their ſquadron, was wrecked on the *Bermudas*; and the governors diſagreeing among themſelves, built each of them a new ſhip of the cedar growing upon the iſlands, in which they ſeverally ſailed to *Virginia*, where they arrived in about fourteen days, the crews of all the three ſhips conſiſting of about an hundred and fifty men. When they arrived at *Virginia*, that colony was in ſo great diſtreſs, that the lord *Dewar*, upon the report which his deputy-governors made of

Diſcovery of the Bermudas-Iſlands,

by the Engliſh.

the plenty they found in the *Bermudas*, diſpatched Sir *George Sommers* to bring proviſions from thence to *Virginia* in the ſame ſhip which carried him from *Bermudas*, and which had not one ounce of iron about it, excepting one bolt in its keel. Sir *George*, after a painful voyage, at laſt reached the *Bermudas*, where, ſoon after his arrival, he died, leaving his name to the iſlands, and his orders for his attendants to return with black hogs to the colony of *Virginia*. The crew neglected to fulfil this part of his will, and ſet ſail in their cedar-ſhips for *England*, where they landed at *Whitchurch* in *Dorſetſhire*.

who abandoned them.

They are re-inhabited.

NOTWITHSTANDING this dereliction of the *Bermudas*, it was not without *Engliſh* inhabitants. Two *Engliſhmen*, *Carter* and *Waters*, being apprehenſive of puniſhment for their crimes, had ſecreted themſelves in the woods from their fellows, when Sir *George* and his company were firſt ſhipwrecked on the iſland; and had lived upon the productions of the ſoil of *St. George*'s iſland, where they had likewiſe built a hut. Upon the ſecond arrival of Sir *George*, they enticed one *Chard* to remain with them; but differing about the ſovereignty of the iſland, *Chard* and *Waters* were on the point of cutting one another's throats, when they were prevented by the prudence of *Carter*. Soon after, they had the good fortune to find on the coaſt the greateſt piece of ambergreaſe ever known, weighing about eighty pounds, beſides other pieces, which, in thoſe days, were ſufficient, if properly diſpoſed of, to have made each of them maſter of a large eſtate. Where they were, this ambergreaſe was uſeleſs, and therefore they came to the deſperate reſolution of carrying themſelves and it, in a boat, to *Virginia*, or to *Newfoundland*, in hopes of being able to ſell it.

and their property given to the Virginia *company.*

WE know not by what right the property of *Bermudas* was tranſmitted to the *Virginia* company; but it is certain that they claimed it, and ſold it to 120 perſons of their own ſociety, who obtained a charter from king *James* for their poſſeſſing it. This new *Bermudas* company, as it was called, fitted out a ſhip with ſixty planters on board, to ſettle upon the *Bermudas*, under the government of one Mr. *Richard Moor*, who was a plain ſenſible man, and by profeſſion a carpenter, by which he was very well qualified for his truſt. The new colony arrived upon *St. George*'s iſland juſt at the time when the three mariners were ready to ſet ſail in their boat with their ambergreaſe, which *Moor* having diſcovered, he immediately ſeized and diſpoſed of it for the benefit of the company, though we cannot ſee what right they could have

to

to the poor men's fortunate acquisition. So valuable a booty gave vast spirit to the new company, and the adventurers settled themselves upon *St. George*'s island, where they raised cabins. As to Mr. *Moor*, he was indefatigable in his duty, and carried on the fortifying and planting the island with incredible diligence; for we are told, that he not only built eight or nine forts, or rather blockhouses, but enured the settlers to martial discipline.

Moore, *governor.*

BEFORE the first year of his government was expired, Mr. *Moore* received a new supply of provisions and planters from *England*; and he planned out the town of *St. George* as it now stands. In a short time, the plantation, by the seasonable supplies it received from *England*, was enabled to answer the company's expences, by returns in several sorts of drugs, ambergrease, cedar, tobacco, and other commodities. The fame of the settlement awakened the jealousy of the *Spaniards*, who appeared off *St. George*'s with some vessels, which being fired upon by the *English*, they sheered off, though the *English*, at that time, were so unprovided for a defence, that they had not above one barrel of powder on the whole island. During *Moor*'s government, the *Bermudas* islands were visited with the loathsome plague of rats; which had been imported into it in *European* ships. This vermin multiplied so much in *St. George*'s, that they even covered the ground, and had nests in the trees. They destroyed all the fruits and corn within doors; and they encreased to such a degree, that *St. George*'s at last was unable to maintain them, and they swam over to the neighbouring islands, where they committed the like havock. This calamity lasted, but we suppose not in the same degree, for five years, and at last it ceased all of a sudden.

Tucker, *governor.*

UPON the expiration of *Moor*'s term of government, which was but for three years, he was succeeded by captain *Daniel Tucker*, who improved all *Moor*'s schemes for the benefit of the island, and particularly encouraged the culture of tobacco. Being a severe disciplinarian, he held those under him to such duty, that five of them planned the boldest enterprize that perhaps ever was carried into execution. Their names were, *Barker*, who is said to have been a gentleman; another *Barker*, a joiner; *Goodwin*, a ship-carpenter; *Pact*, a sailor, and *Saunders*, who planned the enterprize. Their management was as artful as their design was bold. Understanding that the governor was deterred from taking the pleasure of fishing in an open boat, on account of the dangers attending it, they proposed building for him one of a particular

Wonderful escape of five Englishmen *in an open boat.*

cular conſtruction (Z), which they accordingly did, in a ſecret part of the iſland; but when the governor came to view his boat, he underſtood that the builders had put to ſea in it. The intelligence was true; for the adventurers having provided themſelves with the few neceſſaries they wanted, ſailed for *England*; and, notwithſtanding the ſtorms they encountered, their being plundered by a *French* privateer, and the incredible miſeries they underwent, they landed in forty-two days-time, at *Cork*, in *Ireland*, where they were generouſly relieved and entertained by the earl of *Thomond*.

Butler, *governor.*

In 1619, captain *Tucker*, whoſe adminiſtration was of infinite ſervice to thoſe iſlands, reſigned his government to captain *Butler*. By this time, the high character which the *Summer Iſlands* bore in *England*, rendered it faſhionable for men of the higheſt rank to encourage their ſettlement; and ſeveral of the firſt nobility of *England* had purchaſed plantations among them. Captain *Butler* brought over with him 500 paſſengers, who became planters on the iſlands, and raiſed a monument to the memory of Sir *George Sommers*. The iſland was now ſo populous, (for it contained above 1000 whites) that captain *Butler* applied himſelf to give it a new conſtitution of government, by introducing an aſſembly; the government, till this time, being adminiſtered only in the name of the governor and council. A body of laws were likewiſe drawn up, as agreeable to the laws of *England*, as the ſituation of the iſland would admit of. One Mr. *Barnard* ſucceeded captain *Butler* as governor, but died ſix weeks after his arrival upon the iſland; upon which, the council made choice of Mr. *Harriſon* to be governor, till a new one ſhould be appointed. No fewer than 3000 *Engliſh* were now ſettled in the *Bermudas*, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction had curioſity enough to take ſhort trips from *England* to viſit it. Among thoſe was Mr. *Waller*, the poet, a man of fortune, who being embroiled with the parliament, and the commonwealth of *England*, ſpent ſome months in the *Summer Iſlands*, which he has celebrated in one of his poems, as being the moſt delicious ſpot in the creation. Some have doubted, whether the poet ever was in the *Summer Iſlands*; but the fact ſeems now to be aſcertained, and indeed the picture he gives of them, though none of the beſt of his works, is too characteriſtical not to be drawn from an original. The

(Z) In a Latin inſcription upon *Blome*'s map of the *Bermudas*, the boat is ſaid to have been open above, and about three tons burden, for ſo we underſtand the words, *Trium doliorum majorum capacitatis.*

dangers

dangers attending the navigation, notwithſtanding the untowardly ſituation of the iſlands, through their diſtance from the *American* continent, ſeems to have been the chief, if not the only reaſon, why the *Bermudas* did not become the beſt peopled iſlands belonging to *England*; and we are told, that ſome years ago, they contained no fewer than 10,000 whites.

Proſperity of the iſland.

THE chief adventurers of diſtinction in ſettling the *Bermudas Iſlands*, were, the marquis of *Hamilton*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, the earls of *Devonſhire*, *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, and *Southampton*, and Sir *Edwin Sands*. One Mr. *Norwood*, a ſurveyor, was ſent from *England* to partition out the iſlands, which he did into eight diſtricts, or, as he called them, tribes; each tribe bearing the name of one of thoſe proprietors, and was divided into fifty ſhares; every ſhare, one with another, conſiſted of about twenty-five acres, and the value of each ſhare [1], is ſaid to have been from 300 to 500 *l.* proclamation-money; but no beauty, or fertility of climate or ſoil, can compenſate the want of trade. The *Summer Iſlands* dwindled in their population ſo much, that it is reckoned they do not now contain above 5000 whites; nor, indeed, did the inhabitants ever diſcover any great ſpirit of commerce. Some years after the Revolution took place, they ſent over to king *William* a very loyal addreſs, which was preſented to him by Sir *William Trumbal*, one of his principal ſecretaries of ſtate, together with the aſſociation, for the ſupport of his government, ſigned by the governor, council, aſſembly and principal inhabitants. In 1698, *Samuel Day*, Eſq; was, by the ſame king, appointed lieutenant-governor of the *Summer Iſlands*, where he arrived in the *Maidſtone* man of war. Two years after, he was ſucceeded by captain *Bennet*. *Alured Popple*, Eſq; formerly ſecretary to the board of trade and plantations, was appointed lieutenant-governor in 1737; and in 1747, he was ſucceeded by his brother, *William Popple*, Eſq; who died in his paſſage to *England*, 1764.

Day, *governor.*

Bennet, *governor.*

IN the reign of king *George* I. the famous dean *Berkley*, afterwards biſhop of *Cloyne*, the greateſt metaphyſical genius of his age, formed a plan for founding in *Bermudas* a college or ſeminary, for the education of the *Britiſh American* youth, which he himſelf propoſed to ſuperintend. As the neglect of education in *America* had been long complained of, and the dean's abilities, as well as virtues, were univerſally reſpected, his plan was eſpouſed by the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel; and they aſſiſted him in obtaining a patent for it from the crown. In conſequence of this patent,

Account of dean Berkley's *ineffectual project.*

[1] DOUGLAS's Summary, Vol. I. p. 147.

the dean engaged three fellows of *Trinity College*, in *Dublin*, to accompany him, as did ſeveral other public-ſpirited perſons of diſtinction, and at a very conſiderable expence of his private fortune, he purchaſed a noble library, and hired a ſhip, which was to carry him and his friends to the *Bermudas*. Nothing can give us a ſtronger proof than this project does, of the fallibility of human genius, when depending upon reading and information alone, without the aſſiſtance of experience, for the execution of a great project. The dean and his friends were enamoured with the Elyſian deſcriptions of the *Summer Iſlands*, from which all luxury was debarred; where the air was pure; the manners of the inhabitants untainted, and where no objects could preſent themſelves to divert the attention from ſtudy. After a tedious winter-paſſage, he was obliged to put in at *Rhode-Iſland*, in *New England*; where, upon a little cool reflection, he was convinced how impracticable his project was. People of great weight in *England* were, at the bottom, no friends to a plan, which they thought might engroſs too much of that time, and too many of thoſe abilities, that ought to be dedicated to the purſuits of commerce. Beſides this, he learned upon better information, that the iſland was often inacceſſible through ſtorms, and deſtitute of moſt of thoſe good qualities for which it had been celebrated by the authors he conſulted. Thoſe, and a variety of other conſiderations, determined him to drop his plan; and, after generouſly beſtowing a large part of his library upon the colleges of *Maſſachuſet's-Bay* and *Connecticut*, he and his friends returned to *England*.

Natural hiſtory of the Summer-Iſlands.

BERMUDAS is in 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude, about 65 deg. weſt from *London*, lies 200 to 300 leagues diſtance from the neareſt lands, *viz. New England*, *Virginia*, *South Carolina*, and *Providence*, or the *Bahama Iſlands*. The tide flows five feet, in narrow channels and turnings, requiring a good pilot[m]. The whole number of the iſlands, called the *Bermudas*, are ſaid to be near 400, a few of which only are habitable. The principal is *St. George*'s, which is not above ſixteen miles in length, and three at moſt in breadth. It is univerſally agreed, that the nature of this and the other *Bermudas Iſlands* has undergone a moſt ſurpriſing alteration for the worſe ſince they were firſt diſcovered, the air being now much more inclement, and the ſoil much more barren than formerly. This is aſcribed to the cutting down thoſe fine ſpreading cedar-trees, for which thoſe iſlands were famous, and which ſheltered them from the blaſts of the north wind,

[m] Ibid.

and

and at the ſame time protected the under-growth of the delicate plants and herbs. In ſhort, the *Summer Iſlands* are now far from being deſirable ſpots, and their natural productions are but juſt ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, who chiefly, perhaps for that reaſon, are deemed to be temperate and lively, even to a proverb. The tobacco they raiſed was, upon experience, found to be inferior to that growing in the other *American Iſlands*, and therefore that trade is now almoſt at an end in the *Bermudas*. Their ambergreaſe trade has decreaſed in proportion, as likewiſe has their whale trade; though the perquiſites upon it form part of the governor's revenue, he having about 10*l.* for every whale that is caught.

THE *Bermudas Iſlands*, however, might ſtill produce ſome valuable commodities, were they properly cultivated. There is here found, about three or four feet below the ſurface, a white chalk-ſtone, which they export, and is eaſily chiſſeled, for building gentlemen's houſes in the *Weſt-Indies*. Their palmetto-leaves, if properly manufactured, might turn to excellent account in making hats for women, and their oranges are ſtill valuable; but the chief reſource of the inhabitants for ſubſiſtence, conſiſts in their remains of the cedar-wood, of which they fabricate ſmall ſloops, with the aſſiſtance of *New England* white-pine; and they ſell many of them in our *American* plantations, where they are highly prized. Their turtle-catching trade is of vaſt ſervice for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, and they are ſtill able to rear great variety of tame-fowl, wild ones abounding in vaſt plenty. All the attempts to eſtabliſh a regular whale-fiſhery in the *Summer Iſlands* have hitherto proved ineffectual; and even the black hog breed, which probably was left here by the *Spaniards*, is greatly diminiſhed. The water on the iſland (excepting that which falls from the clouds, and is preſerved in ciſterns) is brackiſh; and at preſent the ſame diſeaſes reign there as in the other *Antilles Iſlands*; ſo that an inhabitant of the *Bermudas* will find difficulty in bringing himſelf to believe that he is living upon the ſpot that *Waller* celebrates.

JAMAICA.

WHEN *Columbus* returned to *Spain* from his firſt voyage, in which he diſcovered *America*, he was greatly caeſſed by that king, who gave him the command of a conſiderable ſquadron, on board of which, beſides ſailors, were 500 men, moſt of them artizans, and proper for ſettling colonies. *Diſcovery of* Jamaica *by* Columbus.

lonies. He likewiſe carried along with him uſeful *European* quadrupeds of all kinds for breeding, with all manner of utenſils. In his voyage he ſtopt at no iſland till he came to *Hiſpaniola*, where he found all the *Spaniards* he had left there dead; but, upon enquiry, he had reaſon for believing, that they had drawn their fates upon themſelves from the natives, whom they moſt cruelly oppreſſed, even to the violation of their beds, and putting them to death when they offered to complain. Some of his attendants were for taking a ſevere revenge; but *Columbus*, who was naturally juſt and humane, ſuffered the matter to reſt. *Columbus*, leaving his brother *Bartholomew* to command in *Hiſpaniola*, went on board three of his ſhips to make new diſcoveries; and among other iſlands, he landed upon *Jamaica* [n], which lies between the 75th and 79th degrees of weſt longitude from *London*, and is between 17 and 19 degrees diſtant from the equinoctial. In this navigation, he found the natives to be of ſo different diſpoſitions, ſome receiving him friendly, and others oppoſing his landing, which was the caſe when he approached to *Jamaica*; but, upon a diſcharge of the *Spaniſh* croſs-bows among them, they became tractable, and even brought them goods to barter. It does not appear, that at his firſt diſcovering *Jamaica*, he made any ſettlement upon it, becauſe he was obliged to return to *Hiſpaniola*, where the *Spaniards* he had left on that iſland were guilty of the moſt abominable exceſſes; but we are told, that a young inhabitant of *Jamaica* became ſo fond of the *Spaniards*, that he accompanied *Columbus* when he firſt departed from the iſland, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of his relations.

As to the word *Jamaica*, it is probably *Indian*, becauſe *Oviedo* mentions a river in *Hiſpaniola* of that name: but the *Spaniſh*, as well as the *French* writers of voyages and *American* hiſtories, are very inaccurate as to the etymologies. It is pretty certain that *Columbus* entertained ſo favourable an opinion of *Jamaica*, that he marked it out as an eſtate to his family. In 1504, as *Columbus* was returning from *Spain* to *America*, he found his ſhips in ſuch diſtreſs, that he was obliged to run them into the iſland, after having been debarred by *Bobadilla*, whom he had left governor of *Hiſpaniola*, from landing on that iſland. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he had but two ſhips remaining of four; and their crews were thin and ſickly. To add to his misfortunes, one *Franciſco Porez*, who commanded one of his ſhips, formed a party againſt him; and having purchaſed ſome canoes of the na-

His difficulties upon the iſland, from which he eſcapes.

[n] Benzoni, apud de Bry, p. 38.

tives,

tives [o], attempted to ſail for *Hiſpaniola*. *Benzoni* [p] ſays, *Porez* finding the *Indian* canoes he had provided too ſlight to carry him to *Hiſpaniola*, was obliged to return to *Jamaica*, where a battle enſued between him and *Columbus*, in which the latter was victorious, and *Porez* was made priſoner. From the whole complection of this affair, it is moſt likely, that the difference was compromiſed, and that *Columbus* ſuffered *Porez* and his friends to remove to *Hiſpaniola*. It is on all hands agreed, that *Columbus* was in the utmoſt diſtreſs; his ſhips were ſo worm eaten, and ſo leaky, that they were filled with water to their very decks; ſo that he was obliged to lodge his men in ſheds on their poops and forecaſtles. The natives hearing that he had been abandoned by the greateſt part of his men, became very ſhy, ſo that *Columbus* was cautious of ſuffering any of the *Spaniards* to go on ſhore. Famine, however, obliged him to invite the *Indians* by all means to traffick, being utterly unable, through his weakneſs, to force them. *Benzoni* gives us, on this occaſion [q], an inſtance of that admirable preſence of mind which attended *Columbus* in all his undertakings: he ſays, that the natives having built a hut in the neighbourhood of the *Spaniſh* ſhips, *Columbus* called to them from on board, and informed them, that unleſs they furniſhed him and his men with proviſions, they would be ſoon viſited with a peſtilence, that would deſtroy every ſoul of them; and as a ſign of the truth of his declaration, which he pretended came from heaven, he told them, that in two days time, the moon (which he knew was then to ſuffer an eclipſe) would wear a bloody viſage, naming the very hour when this would happen. The thing fell out exactly as *Columbus* had foretold, and the *Indians* were ſo much aſtoniſhed at the truth of the prediction, that they not only furniſhed him with all the proviſions he wanted, but implored his pardon, and begged that he would not leave them with any marks of his reſentment. The great difficulty, however, ſtill remained, how to tranſport himſelf and his men to *Hiſpaniola*, none of his own ſhips being in a condition to undertake ſuch a voyage. At laſt, he engaged *Diego Mendez*, his ſteward, to embark on board an *Indian* canoe, with ten of the natives, whom he hired for the ſervice, by exorbitant rewards. Thoſe ſavages, who were well acquainted with that navigation, carried *Mendez* to *Hiſpaniola*, where he bought one ſhip for the uſe of *Columbus*; and *Ovando*, the governor of the iſland, ordered another to be fitted out, to bring *Columbus* and his men from *Jamaica*, which

[o] Ibid. p. 63. [p] Ibid. [q] Ibid.

thev

they accordingly did. His Catholic majeſty rewarded *Mendez* for his difficult and dangerous expedition, very nobly, and gave him leave to carry, in his armorial bearing, the canoe in which he ſailed.

Jamaica *peopled by the* Spaniards,

AFTER *Columbus* had refreſhed himſelf and his men for ſome days at *Hiſpaniola*, he ſet ſail for *Spain*, where he died ſoon after his arrival. Some authors, particularly *de Laet*, are of opinion, that while *Columbus* reſided upon *Jamaica*, he built, or rather planned out, the town of *Metilla*, which is by no means unlikely, when we conſider, that the natives were fully reconciled to him before he left the iſland. It is certain, that his ſon and family conſidering *Jamaica* as their own property, built upon it *St. Jago de la Vega*, and ſeveral other towns, which were abandoned, on account of the advantages attending the ſituation of *St. Jago*, which encreaſed in buildings and people ſo greatly, that it is ſaid, in a ſhort time, to have contained 1700 houſes, 2 churches, 2 chapels, and an abbey. The court of *Spain*, notwithſtanding its ingratitude to the father, granted both the government and property of *Jamaica* to his family, and his ſon *Diego Columbus* was its firſt *European* governor, with the magnificent title of duke of *la Vega*. But the deſcendants of the great *Columbus* degenerated from his virtues, and fell into all the vices and indolence of their countrymen. Having no idea of any *Weſt Indian* acquiſition that did not produce gold and ſilver, they neglected all improvements upon *Jamaica*, and ſtudied only to raiſe their rents, and oppreſs the planters. *Columbus* himſelf had preferred this iſland, on account of its ſituation, and its being the moſt populous of any he had met with in *America*; but his deſcendants, or their ſubſtitutes, murdered 60,000 of thoſe natives, under tortures ſo exquiſite, that the relation of them is unfit for Chriſtian ears.

WE know little of the particulars of the *Spaniſh* traffick, while they held *Jamaica*. Some wealth, however, muſt have been among them, becauſe, in 1596, Sir *Anthony Shirley*, who had the command of a ſquadron off the continent of *America*, landed upon *Jamaica*, where he took and plundered the town of *St. Jago*. In 1635, colonel *Jackſon*, in his paſſage from the *Leeward Iſlands*, landed 500 men upon *Jamaica*: and after driving, as is ſaid, 2000 *Spaniards* from their works at *Paſſage-Fort*, he took the town of *St. Jago*, with the loſs of forty men, and divided its plunder with his ſoldiers. He received, at the ſame time, a conſiderable ſum, to ranſom it from being burnt down.

BUT

BUT the moſt conſiderable revolution that *Jamaica* underwent, was during *Cromwell*'s uſurpation in *England*. He had wrong and narrow notions concerning the intereſt of *Europe*, and he fell in with the vulgar way of thinking (to which he was indeed partly impelled by the neceſſities of his government) that the acquiſition of treaſure ought to be his great object; and as none was ſo ready as that of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, he lived in a kind of perpetual warfare with that crown. But by this time, the object of the *Engliſh* national jealouſy ought to have been changed from the houſe of *Auſtria* to that of *Bourbon*, which laſt, under the adminiſtrations of the cardinals *Richelieu* and *Mazarine*, had been attempting to lay, for many years, the foundations of univerſal monarchy. *Cromwell*, not attentive to this momentous conſideration, was perſuaded by *Mazarine*, to fit out, from *England*, an expedition, for the conqueſt of *Hiſpaniola*. This expedition was the more to his liking, as it was extremely popular in *England*; and even many of the royal party, who were diſguſted at the treatment their king had received from the court of *Madrid*, embarked in it, to the number, ſome ſay, of 2000. The command of the expedition was given to colonel *Venables* and admiral *Penn*; and they ſailed from *England* with at leaſt 7000 land troops on board, great part of whom was compoſed of *Cromwell*'s veterans. This force was greatly augmented by the people of *Barbados*, and the other *Leeward Iſlands*; and on the 13th of *April*, the fleet landed upon *Hiſpaniola*, in ſight of the town of *St. Domingo*. The numbers who landed under *Venables*, (who was ſuſpected of a warm ſide towards the royal party) are ſaid to have been 7000, beſides a troop of horſe; but by means of misfortunes, which are foreign to this part of our hiſtory, they were repulſed; and *Venables* reimbarked his men. The ſhame of returning unſucceſsful to *England*, rather than any regular plan that had been formed, put into the thoughts of the *Engliſh* officers, who ſtill commanded 10,000 men, an expedition againſt *Jamaica*, which was inſtantaneouſly reſolved on, before the *Spaniards* there could have any intelligence of the repulſe of the *Engliſh* at *Hiſpaniola*.

invaded by the Engliſh;

ON the 2d of *May* the *Engliſh* landed on *Jamaica*, and it being determined immediately to attack *St. Jago*, proclamation was made that every man ſhould ſhoot his neighbour dead, if he ſhould ſee him attempt to fly. The *Spaniards* at *St. Jago*, being in no condition to oppoſe the force that was advancing againſt them, after a very ſlight reſiſtance, propoſed to capitulate and to deliver up the city; and in the mean

who conquer it, under Cromwell.

mean time, they furniſhed the *Engliſh* with freſh proviſions, and the choiceſt productions of the iſland. *Venables* has been blamed for ſuffering the people of *St. Jago* to amuſe him as they did, but we think, without foundation, conſidering the precarioufneſs of the conqueſt, and how neceſſary it was for him to ſave his men; to omit mentioning that, as he had no commiſſion to attack *Jamaica*, he muſt have anſwered with his head any ill ſucceſs he met with. Thoſe conſiderations more than probably determined him to treat with the *Spaniards*; and it is not at all unlikely, that the latter, during the time of the negotiation, ſecured, in the more inland parts, their beſt effects; ſo that when the *Engliſh* came to take poſſeſſion of *St. Jago*, they found nothing there but bare walls.

NOTWITHSTANDING this diſappointment, they were in poſſeſſion of the capital of the iſland, and in fact of the iſland itſelf; for tho' the *Spaniards* in parties ſometimes attempted to ſurprize them from the woods, yet they never appeared in a body, and at laſt found means to tranſport themſelves and their effects to *Cuba*. The reduction of *Jamaica*, with ſo little loſs on the part of the invaders, aſtoniſhed the *Spaniſh* government. The viceroy of *Mexico*, underſtanding that the mulattoes and negroes belonging to the *Spaniards* of *Jamaica*, had been left in the woods there, ſent orders to the governor of *Cuba*, to ſupply the exiles with whatever was neceſſary for taking repoſſeſſion of their iſland, and promiſed to ſupport them with a proportionable land force. They accordingly returned thither, but lived diſperſed in the woods, in ſo miſerable a manner, that the 500 land troops which were ſent to their aſſiſtance, refuſed to aſſociate themſelves with them, and fortified themſelves in the northern part of the iſland at a place called *St. Chereras*, where they ſoon received very conſiderable reinforcements. In the mean while, the *Engliſh*, who have the beſt colonizing genius of any people in the world, had begun to plant the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt parts of the iſland, of which colonel *Doyly* was left governor with 3000 men, and a large ſquadron of ſhips commanded by vice-admiral *Goodſon*, while *Penn* and *Venables* returned to *England*.

Doyly, *governor*;

THEIR ſucceſs at *Jamaica* had not abated *Cromwell*'s reſentment for their failure at *Hiſpaniola*, and it was greatly encreaſed by his being informed of the true principles of the two commanders, who were no ſooner landed than they were committed priſoners to the tower of *London*; from which they were ſoon after delivered with abundance of honour, and without any trial; and *Venables* afterwards became eminently inſtrumental in reſtoring *Charles* II. *Cromwell* reſolving to

truſt no officer recommended by *Venables*, ſent over major *Sedgewick* to ſuperſede *Doyly* in his command, with a reinforcement of 1000 men. In the mean while, the *Spaniards*, who had fortified themſelves at *St. Chereras*, had been reinforced with thirty companies, beſides artillery and proviſions from *Cuba* and the continent, and had thrown up ſeveral formidable works at *Rio Nuevo*, in the precinct of *St. Mary*. *Doyly* attacked them in their fortifications, from whence he drove them in a few days with great loſs, and he then demoliſhed them. They next attempted to make a ſtand at *Point Pedro*, from which they were likewiſe driven; and thus the *Engliſh*, under *Doyly*, being far inferior in numbers to the *Spaniards*, re-eſtabliſhed the character of their national valour which had ſuffered at *Hiſpaniola*. As to the *Spaniards*; being driven from place to place, they were obliged at laſt to embark on board their ſhips, and to return to *Cuba*, leaving the quiet poſſeſſion of *Jamaica* to the *Engliſh*.

ſuperſeded by Sedgewick, *who dies*;

THE *Spaniſh* negroes and mulattoes, however, ſtill kept the woods and mountains, where they ſubſiſted by game and plunder. Part of them perceiving that they had been abandoned by the *Spaniſh* regulars, they murdered the governor who had been put over them, and choſe one of their own number. All this while, they were hunted and cut off by the *Engliſh* like ſo many wild beaſts. Finding that they could hold out no longer, they ſent a deputation to governor *Doyly*, who received them into favour, upon their delivering up their arms; but another party of them ſtill ſubſiſted, and were headed by ſome of the old *Spaniſh* inhabitants. The ſubmitting negroes, who were much fonder of their new maſters than they had been of their old, were very uſeful in clearing the iſland of thoſe remains of the *Spaniards*, who were entirely rooted out, and not above twenty or thirty of their negroes in a years time was left upon the iſland; but they knew the inland part of it ſo well that they could not be diſlodged; and afterwards proved very dangerous enemies to the iſland. *Doyly*, though a declared royaliſt, ſtill kept the command of the iſland, and acted with equal wiſdom and reſolution; major *Sedgewick* having died a few days after his arrival. But while the colony was improving beyond all example, being well ſupplied from their mother-country with all kind of neceſſaries, a ſpirit of mutiny, headed by one colonel *Raymond*, and lieutenant-colonel *Tyſon*, got into the army. It is probable, that the mutineers were encouraged by their knowing how diſagreeable *Doyley* was to *Cromwell*; but he had the courage to bring them both to a court-martial, where they were ſentenced to be ſhot to death, which

War with the negroes.

was

was accordingly executed. *Cromwell*, by this time ſent order to colonel *Brayne* in *Scotland*, to embark with 1000 men from *Port Patrick*, and to ſail to *Jamaica*, where he was to ſuperſede *Doyley* in the government, but that gentleman likewiſe died ſoon after his arrival at *Jamaica*; and it is very remarkable, that *Doyly* remained governor of the iſland at the time of the Reſtoration.

and by Brayne, *who dies likewiſe.*

Vaſt improvement of the colony.

As the firſt *Engliſh* planters of *Jamaica* were compoſed of men of various ſects, parties, and opinions, but moſt of them accuſtomed to a military life, either by ſea or land, we are not to expect among them any uniform ſyſtem of conduct. The example and authority of *Doyley* had, indeed, done wonders; and ſome of *Cromwell*'s vetérans, as well as the royaliſts, were become excellent planters; others, who never had been habituated to civil life, entered as cruizers and privateers againſt the *Spaniards*, whom, even while there was peace between the two crowns, they robbed of immenſe ſums, which were all ſpent at *Jamaica*. This, together with the thriving ſtate of the colony, raiſed its character in the *Weſt-Indies* ſo greatly, that ſeveral eminent planters repaired thither from *Barbados*, as being the preferable iſland. Colonel *Doyley*, about the time of the Reſtoration, was ſucceeded by lord *Windſor* as governor of *Jamaica*. We know little of his lordſhip's adminiſtration; for in 1663, he was ſucceeded by Sir *Thomas Modiford*. This gentleman having made a great eſtate at *Barbados*, removed to *Jamaica* to better it, as did ſeveral other wealthy planters. *Jamaica* had, by this time, increaſed its inhabitants to the number of between 17 and 18,000 *Engliſh*; but its chief trade, as we have already hinted, conſiſted in their depredations upon the *Spaniards*, which, as there is too much reaſon to believe, were winked at by the governor.

Modiford, *governor.*

As *Modiford* knew, perhaps, beyond any man of his time, the intereſts of the *Engliſh Weſt-Indies*, he introduced into *Jamaica*, the art of making ſugars, of planting cocoa-groves, and erecting ſalt-works; ſo that the arts of induſtry began to prevail over the antient habits of the planters, and the iſland wore a new face; but this reformation was not univerſal. Many of the old planters were too much in love with their old cuſtom to abandon them; and hence ſprung up that race of pirates, for they were no better, called buccaneers, whom it is neceſſary to give ſome account of, as their proceedings makes ſo great a figure in the hiſtory of the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. But we are to obſerve, that thoſe buccaneers were not entirely of *Jamaica* breed; for they conſiſted of adventurers of all nations, and they reſorted

to *Jamaica*, chiefly on account of the vaſt conveniency of its ſituation for robbing the *Spaniards*. *Barbados*, and our other iſlands, furniſhed their quotas for this deſperate ſociety; and when aſſembled, they bound themſelves down to certain regulations and ſubordinances that would have done honour to a more virtuous inſtitution.

Riſe of the buccaneers of Jamaica.

A *Portugueſe* pirate founded the fraternity; but being drowned as he was conducting his prize to *Jamaica*, he was ſucceeded by a *Dutchman* of *Braſil*, who is therefore called *Braſilliano*. This *Dutchman*, and his companion buccaneers, were at once profligate and prodigal. Being choſen the head of a mutiny, when but a private man, he ran away with a ſhip, and intercepted and took a rich *Spaniſh* veſſel, homewardbound, the contents of which being moſtly in ready money, they ſquandered at *Jamaica* in the moſt taſteleſs extravagance; and ſo ingenious were they in the arts of diſſipation, that one of the common men is ſaid to have ſpent 3000 pieces of eight in a month. When their treaſure was gone, they again went to ſea and took another prize; but they were maſtered upon the coaſt of *Campeachy*, and being condemned to be hanged, they had addreſs enough to get their ſentence mitigated to their ſerving in the gallies, from whence they eſcaped, and returned to *Jamaica*, where they continued to purſue their former piratical practices. One *Scot*, a *Welchman*, who plundered *Campeachy*, and *Mansfield*, an *Engliſhman*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this depredatory war; and another *Engliſhman*, *Davis*, brought from the ſack of *Nicaraqua* above 50,000 pieces of eight to *Jamaica* for his own ſhare of the plunder. He then formed an expedition againſt *St. Auguſtine*, and ſucceeded, though there was in the caſtle a garriſon of 200 men. But the moſt diſtinguiſhed of all the buccaneers was a *Welchman*, one *Henry* (afterwards Sir *Henry*) *Morgan*. When young, being of a roving diſpoſition, he went to *Barbados*, from whence he removed to *Jamaica*, where he commenced pirate, and was more than commonly ſucceſsful in making prizes of *Spaniſh* veſſels. He ſerved as *Mansfield*'s lieutenant in the expedition againſt *St. Catharine*'s, which they attacked and took with fifteen ſhips and five hundred men. *Mansfield* and his companions conſidered this iſland as now being their property, and he left upon it one *Simon*, with an hundred men, to be its governor. The pirates were ſo elevated by this conqueſt, that they would have proceeded againſt *Panama* itſelf, had they not underſtood that the *Spaniards* were provided to receive them; upon which they retired to the iſland of *Tortuga*, in the gulph of *Mexico*, about fifteen miles from the continent.

their hiſtory.

Hiſtory of Sir Henry Morgan.

By this time, *Modiford* was ſucceeded in the government of *Jamaica* by Sir *Thomas Lynch*, and the complaints entered by the court of *Spain* againſt the buccaneers being too flagrant to be ſtifled, *Modiford* had been ſent for home in cuſtody, and *Lynch* had orders to check them; but thoſe freebooters not conceiving that any practices could be illegal that brought in money to themſelves and *Jamaica*, had the confidence even to propoſe to *Lynch* to make a ſettlement upon the iſle of *St. Catharine's*, which demand being refuſed them, *Mansfield* retired in diſcontent to *Tortuga*, where he died, and *Simon* was obliged to yield up his government by capitulation to the *Spaniſh* governor of *Coſta Rica*. After this, *Morgan* became the head of all the pirates in the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſhewed unparallelled boldneſs and courage in his profeſſion. His firſt expedition was againſt *Puerto del Principe*, which he took, and divided 50,000 pieces of eight among his followers. But his men being compoſed of various nations, the *French* here abandoned him on account of one of their countrymen being killed.

It muſt be acknowledged, that it is extremely difficult to reconcile the behaviour of the court of *England* towards that of *Spain* at this time to the principles of good faith, without ſuppoſing that the government of *England* and that of *Jamaica* had ſeparate intereſts. It is true, the *Spaniards* had laid many claims to places, and to excluſive rights of commerce in *America*, which the *Engliſh* never had ſubmitted to; but ſtill a good correſpondence had been always kept up between the two crowns, and each had mutually promiſed to the other a redreſs of its grievances. But this was no eaſy matter, as they were found to be ſo complicated, that many diſpatches paſſed between *Jamaica* and *England*, before any one point could be ſettled. The *Spaniards*, for inſtance, as we have ſeen in our hiſtory of the other iſlands, claimed, and ſometimes attacked ſeveral of them, that were the undoubted property of the crown of *England*, and the *Engliſh* laid claim to the right of cutting logwood in *Campeachy*, and upon the bay of *Honduras*, of which they ſaid they were the firſt diſcoverers. This claim became a very ſerious affair, and the proofs and depoſitions on that head, which were ſent over to *England* by the government of *Jamaica*, were ſo ſtrong in favour of the *Engliſh*, that the affair then remained undecided. The *Spaniards*, however, ſtill continued to make prize of all the *Engliſh* ſhips, and ſometimes to cut off their crews, which touched at the bay of *Campeachy*, or upon *Honduras*, which the *Engliſh* conſidered as ſo many robberies and murders. In ſhort, the matter remained in ſuch a ſtate of indeciſion, that it came before the *Britiſh* parliament, who referred it to the Board

Diſputes between England *and* Spain.

Board of Trade and Plantations; and part of their report was, "That the bay of *Campeachy* might ſo far be called the property of *England*, that the *Engliſh* for ſome years before, as well as after the *American* treaty in 1670, enjoyed an uninterrupted liberty of cutting logwood in the *Laguna de Terminos*, (which lies at the bottom of the bay) and other places not inhabited by the *Spaniards* in the province of *Yucatan*; either through right, ſufferance, or indulgence. That the ſaid treaty even eſtabliſhed a right in the *Britiſh* crown to the ſaid *Laguna*, and parts adjacent, which had been for ſome years before, as well as at the time of the treaty, in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*; and that though the right of the *Engliſh* crown to the ſaid *Laguna* ſhould not be inſiſted on, the ſame liberty was actually granted and confirmed by the treaty of commerce at *Utrecht*."

WE have been the more explicit on this head, becauſe, not only many foreign hiſtorians, but ſeveral of our own writers, have been very free in charging our government, in general, with authorizing acts of piracy againſt the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*. The tameneſs of the adminiſtration under *Charles* and *James* II. towards the *French* and *Spaniards*, in not refuting theſe accuſations, gave them but too much countenance; though, upon the whole, the inſolence and injuſtice of the *Spaniards* were, at leaſt, equal to the irregularities and rapaciouſneſs of our buccaneers. It is true, we cannot venture to ſay any thing with regard to the legality of that commiſſion from the governor and council of *Jamaica*, under which *Morgan* is ſaid to have acted; if our court was ſerious in its profeſſions towards that of *Spain*. *Morgan*'s laſt expedition was againſt *Puerto Velo*, a rich city in the diſtrict of *Panama*, which he likewiſe took and its plunder, beſides other rich merchandize, amounted to 250,000 pieces of eight; all which centered in *Jamaica*, to the vaſt emolument of the induſtrious inhabitants, as well as of their mother-country. After this ſucceſsful expedition, *Morgan* became a kind of an *American* naval power, ſo that in a little time he was at the head of fifteen ſhips and 900 men. He paſſed through the *Spaniſh* ſettlements, and even made an attempt upon *Hiſpaniola*, but with no ſucceſs; but at laſt he attacked and took the town of *Maracaibo* upon the *Terra firma*, where, beſides deſtroying three *Spaniſh* men of war in the harbour, the booty he made was equal to what he got at *Puerto Velo*.

Morgan *conquers* Panama, *and other places in the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies.

BUT *Morgan*, with all the habits of a pirate, was without a ſpot of a ſquandering diſpoſition; and he more than once endangered his life by witholding from his men what they con-

conceived to be their juſt due. Notwithſtanding this, the fame of his ſucceſſes and good fortune was ſuch, that at his rendezvous next year at *Tortuga*, he found his men encreaſed to 2000, and his ſhips to thirty-ſeven. Imagining himſelf to be invincible with ſuch a force, he projected the conqueſt of *Panama* itſelf. To facilitate this enterprize he again took poſſeſſion of *St. Catharine's Iſland*, while *Brodely* made himſelf maſter of *Fort Chagre*, to ſecure his retreat, and which *Brodely* held with a garriſon of 500 men. *Morgan* then with the remainder, which conſiſted of about 1400, all of them ſtout, experienced, reſolute free-booters, marched againſt *Panama*. The inhabitants of that city had never been famous for their courage, but they oppoſed *Morgan* with more ſpirit than was expected from them. Nothing could equal the diſcouragements that *Morgan* encountered in this expedition. Finding that the river, by which he was to approach the city, was impaſſable by his large ſhips, he was obliged to leave another detachment to take care of his fleet and artillery, and to embark part of his men on board canoes and ſmall boats, while others marched by land under moſt inconceivable miſeries from the heat of the climate, and want of proviſions, for ſix days time. Being joined in one body, they were oppoſed by the governor of *Panama*, with four regiments of foot and two ſquadrons of horſe, and a brisk action enſued, in which the *Spaniards* were defeated with the loſs of 600 men. The victors, without giving their enemies time to recover, preſſed towards the city, and after ſome diſpute, without the aſſiſtance of artillery or ſcaling-ladders, they mounted the walls and became maſters of *Panama*.

It muſt be acknowledged, that *Morgan* made uſe of his ſucceſs with no great moderation; and ſome part of his conduct, on this occaſion, ſeems to have been very black; for it is ſaid, that after he was maſter of the town, he ſet it on fire without conſulting any of his men; and this he probably did the better to conceal the true amount of the plunder he had ſecured for himſelf. The number of houſes in *Panama*, which were generally built of cedar and very magnificent, are ſaid to have been 7000, but this account is probably exaggerated, beſides 200 warehouſes. *Morgan* made war, not as a pirate, but as a lawful conqueror in one reſpect, which was, that he was in no hurry to abandon his conqueſt, for he remained four or five months in *Panama*, where he laid the adjacent country under contribution, and gave out his orders with the utmoſt coolneſs, in which he was punctually obeyed by his men. He did not leave *Panama* before the 24th of *February*, 1671; and it is ſaid, that the gold, ſilver, and the

the precious ſpoils of the city, loaded 175 beaſts of burden; and his priſoners amounted to 600, whom he obliged to ranſom themſelves. In his retreat he plundered the town of *Cruz*, and blew up the fortifications of *Chagre*. When he came to divide the immenſe booty he had made among his men, each ſhare did not amount to above fifty pounds a man. This exaſperated them afreſh againſt their commander, whom they accuſed of having defrauded them. *Morgan*, perceiving that their diſcontents might end in a mutiny, made choice of four ſhips, whoſe crews he had ſecured to himſelf, and ſailed with them to *Jamaica*, leaving the bulk of his companions at *Chagre*. The air of reſolution and authority with which he acted on this occaſion, diſconcerted the other buccaneers ſo greatly, that they did not offer to purſue him; and it is ſaid, that he carried into *Jamaica* 400,000 pieces of eight upon his own account.

His views.

IT is impoſſible to ſay with any preciſion, at this diſtance of time, and amidſt the uncertainty of private information, what *Morgan*'s real views were, had every thing ſucceeded with him as he could have wiſhed; but, by the beſt authorities we have been able to collect, he ſeems to have had a notion of erecting the iſland of *St. Catharine's* into a ſettlement, of which he himſelf was to have been the proprietor, or rather the ſovereign. The buccaneers were to have formed the chief ſtrength of the iſland, and to have ſubſiſted themſelves, and, indeed, all the other *Engliſh Weſt-Indies*, upon the ſpoils of the *Spaniſh* commerce, with whom they were to have had a perpetual war, as the *Algerines* have now with the ſtate of *Malta*. *Morgan*'s amazing ſucceſs againſt *Panama*, and the weakneſs of the *Spaniſh* monarchy at home, may be eaſily ſuppoſed to have rendered this project very practicable in his eyes; but an event took place in *Europe*, which diſhed all his hopes. Ever ſince the Reſtoration, the courts of *England* and *Spain* had laboured earneſtly for fixing a treaty of commerce both in *Europe* and *America* that might remove all complaints on either ſide. The *Engliſh* [r] miniſters had ſtruggled hard to eſtabliſh a trade with *Campeachy* and *Buenos Ayres*, which might have opened a communication even with *Peru* and *Chili*. They likewiſe propoſed [s], that three *Engliſh* ſhips ſhould go with the flota from *Seville* to the *Indies*, and return with it to *Seville* again, and as many with the galeons. The *Spaniards* were deaf to all thoſe and many other propoſals, which the *Engliſh* firmly inſiſted upon, and would have obtained, had it not been for the interpoſition of the

[r] ARLINGTON's Letters, Vol. II. p. 98. [s] Ibid. p. 100.

French, who were jealous of our gaining ſuch advantages, and had influence enough to prevail with *Charles* II. to withdraw his claims, to which it was thought he was even induced by a large ſum paid him. A pacific ſyſtem then took place, and in the year 1667, a general treaty of commerce was concluded between *Spain* and *England*, comprehending the intereſts of both crowns in *Europe* as well as in *America*. In 1670, the *Spaniards* finding that the excluſive ſtipulations againſt trading with their dominions in *America*, were not ſufficiently ſtrong by the late treaty, they obtained another, which they called the *American* treaty, becauſe its articles were confined to *America* only. At the time this laſt treaty was concluded, *Charles* was entirely diſpoſed to put a ſtop to the depredations of the buccaneers, and *John* lord *Vaughan* ſuperſeded Sir *Thomas Lynch* in the government of *Jamaica*, who was ſent for home, to anſwer for his conduct in encouraging the pirates. There is ſome reaſon for believing that when *Morgan* was upon his expedition againſt *Panama*, he had intelligence of what had paſſed between the courts of *England* and *Spain*; for he no ſooner landed on *Jamaica*, than he declared his intention to give over the profeſſion of buccaneering.

He ſettles in Jamaica.

THOUGH *Vaughan* had brought over with him ſtrict injunctions for putting a ſtop to the piracies againſt the *Spaniards*, yet he ſeems to have brought with him likewiſe a pardon for all that had paſſed, which had been embraced by *Morgan*; for we are told, that about this time, he received the honour of knighthood, on account of his incomparable valour; and he was made one of the commiſſioners of the admiralty at *Jamaica*, where he had purchaſed a large eſtate, and was carrying on very conſiderable improvements. But *Jamaica*, at this time, laboured under the ſame misfortune as *Barbados*, by the inſtitution of the royal *African* company of *England*, whoſe ſhips, aſſiſted by thoſe of the crown, ſeized upon all *Jamaica* veſſels which they found trading to *Guinea*, *Angola*, and *South Barbary*. This company, under pretence of their charter, committed terrible depredations upon the *Jamaica* trade; and as the importation of negroes was ſo capital a point with all our ſugar-iſlands, it muſt have ruined them, had not the *African* company been laid open by parliament. The meaſure itſelf was a mere ſtrain of prerogative, by which the court pretended to eſtabliſh excluſive rights; but the *Engliſh* ſugar-planters had the ſpirit to oppoſe them; and in ſome caſes that were tried before the *Weſt-Indian* judicatories, they got the better.

An

AN incident, which happened at this time, was of great ſervice to *Jamaica*, and is thought to have been prejudicial to our *Weſt-India* trade in general. A compromiſe had been entered into between *England* and *Holland*, that the former ſhould cede to the latter a very flouriſhing eſtabliſhment, which its ſubjects had in *Surinam*, in conſideration of certain ceſſions made by the *Dutch* in *New England* and *New York*. This meaſure ſeems likewiſe to have been dictated by the duke of *York*, for the benefit of his *North American* friends. Three *Engliſh* commiſſioners, Mr. *Cranfield*, Mr. *Dukenfield*, and Mr. *Brent*, were ſent over to execute the treaty, and to put the *Dutch* in poſſeſſion. The *Engliſh* ſettlement at *Surinam*, conſiſted of above 1500 planters, beſides their families, who carried on a very conſiderable trade in ſugar, and other *Weſt-Indian* commodities. The evacuation was accordingly performed, not more to the detriment of the *Engliſh*, than to the advantage of the *Dutch*, who thereby acquired a moſt gainful ſugar-trade. The *Surinam Engliſh* were received by lord *Vaughan*, governor of *Jamaica*, and ſettled in *St. Eliza-beth's* precinct, where lands were aſſigned them to cultivate. But though this exchange might be of no detriment to certain individuals, yer it was of general prejudice to the *Engliſh* ſugar-trade; great part of which fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, who, in a ſhort time, improved their new colony to an amazing degree.

Evacuation of Surinam *by the* Engliſh.

LORD *Vaughan* left the government of *Jamaica* with no great credit, for his generoſity and public ſpirit; and was ſucceeded in 1678, by *Charles* earl of *Carliſle*. During this nobleman's adminiſtration, the people of *Jamaica* were infeſted with the ſame apprehenſions that then filled all *England*, as if the *French*, the *Iriſh* Roman catholics, and the *Engliſh* papiſts, had entered into a conſpiracy for exterminating the proteſtants. The neighbourhood of M. *D'Eſtrées* to *Jamaica* with a ſtrong *French* ſquadron, did not a little encreaſe their alarms; and the chief employment of lord *Carliſle*, during his government, was in preparing to receive the enemy, or in endeavouring to remove the apprehenſions of the iſlanders. Lord *Carliſle's* health diſagreeing with the air of *Jamaica*, he returned to *England* in 1680, leaving Sir *Henry Morgan* to be his deputy-governor. This gentleman, to make amends for his former conduct, was extremely vigilant againſt the pirates; and ſurprized, in *Cow-Bay*, a pirate ſloop, commanded by a noted pirate, one *Everſon*, a *Dutchman*, but manned by *Engliſh*. The captain was killed, but the crew being taken, were ſent to *Carthagena*, there to be tried, and puniſhed by the *Spaniſh* governor, for the depreda-

Lord Carliſle, *governor, and Sir* Henry Morgan *his deputy.*

tions againſt his countrymen; no full proof of which could be obtained in *Jamaica*.

Lynch, *governor.*

In 1682, Sir *Thomas Lynch*, who, with all his faults, was a warm loyaliſt, was again appointed to the government of *Jamaica*. About this time, the panic of the popiſh plot had worn off in *England*, where the court-party had got an entire aſcendency; and a preſbyterian plot, equally ridiculous, was introduced in its room. Sir *Thomas* did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to celebrate the triumphs of the royal party; and the aſſemby of the iſland gave a ſtill more ſubſtantial proof of their loyalty, by continuing his majeſty's revenue in the iſland for twenty one years. Sir *Thomas* was not in other reſpects wanting in the duties of a good governor; and to wipe off the ſuſpicions he had formerly incurred, of encouraging pirates, he exerted himſelf the more remarkably in ſuppreſſing them. All the great ſervices that had been performed by Sir *Henry Morgan*, could not prevent his being ſent home priſoner, though it is evident, that the money he had acquired was his chief crime. He pleaded the commiſſion of the governor and council of *Jamaica*, and the public thanks they had returned to him, in defence of what he had done; but this did not prevent his undergoing a long miniſterial proſecution, without being brought to a trial, to the ruin of his health, and the prejudice of his private fortune.

Under Sir *Thomas Lynch*, ſeveral excellent laws paſſed for the good of the iſland; all which were printed and publiſhed. But notwithſtanding all the cares of Sir *Thomas*, the *French*, *Dutch*, and ſome *Engliſh* pirates, ſtill continued to infeſt thoſe ſeas; many of them being provided with commiſſions from the *French* king, who was then at war with the *Spaniards*. The *Ruby* and the *Guernſey*, *Engliſh* men of war, were perpetually cruizing to the windward to ſuppreſs them; and the governor fitted out for the ſame purpoſe, a galley of fifty-four oars, of a curious conſtruction, which was of vaſt ſervice in ſcouring the coaſt. The *Engliſh* commanders, however, were greatly difficulted how to behave towards ſuch of the pirates, though they knew them to be ſo, who carried *French* commiſſions, and who never offered any violence to the ſubjects of *England*. One *Laurens*, and one *Michael Tankers*, a *Dutchman*, headed them; and on the 14th of *December*, 1683, they came to a regular engagement with the *Spaniards*, who had fitted out three ſhips of war againſt them at *Carthagena*; one of 40, one of 36, and the other of 20 guns. The event was, that the pirates, with the loſs of no more than 14 men, took all the three ſhips, and killed 400 of the *Spaniards*. The *French* king ſoon found that no be-

The pirates continue their practices.

nefit

nefit accrued to himſelf, or his ſubjects, by his granting commiſſions to thoſe pirates, who, whenever they had an opportunity, robbed all nations equally; and therefore he diſpatched orders for all his governors in *America*, to recall all *French* commiſſions that had been granted to thoſe freebooters, who, after that, were to be deemed as common pirates.

CHARLES II. ſome time before his death, appointed colonel *Hender Moleſworth* to ſucceed Sir *Thomas Lynch* in the government of *Jamaica*; and it fell to this colonel to proclaim king *James*'s acceſſion in that iſland, which he did with great ſolemnity, and, at the ſame time, tranſmitted to him a moſt loyal congratulatory addreſs. Soon after, a poſt-office was erected in *Jamaica*, and the duke of *Albemarle* being appointed governor of that iſland by king *James*, he ſet ſail with his dutcheſs on board, on the 12th of *September*, 1687. This nobleman, who was ſon to the reſtoring duke, had diſſipated, or mortgaged, a large fortune, by his intemperance and extravagance; but having received a conſiderable recruit of treaſure, by employing Sir *William Phipps* in fiſhing up the *Spaniſh* wrecks, which we have mentioned in the hiſtory of *New England*, he was in great hopes of purſuing the like diſcoveries to vaſt advantage, and is ſaid to have ſollicited his government from the king, who the more readily granted his requeſt, as his grace was known to be averſe to the eſtabliſhment of popery. The prevailing reports of vaſt numbers of rich *Spaniſh* ſhips having been wrecked in thoſe ſeas, and whoſe treaſures were recoverable, made his appointment to this government very agreeable to all the adventurers of thoſe iſlands; and he landed, with his dutcheſs, from on board the *Aſſiſtance* man of war in *November*, 1687. This year a moſt dreadful earthquake happened at *Jamaica*, and was felt over all the iſland. Though it laſted but about a minute, yet it damaged a vaſt number of houſes, and ruined many works; but the memory of it was effaced by a more dreadful calamity of the ſame nature, which happened a few years after. The ſad conſequences of thoſe earthquakes had been frequent ſince the *Engliſh* took poſſeſſion of this iſland; becauſe they had neglected the wiſe precautions of the *Spaniards*, who built their houſes very low, with light roofs, and of piles driven deep into the ground, ſo as to prevent the inhabitants from being buried in the ruins; but the *Engliſh*, on the other hand, built their houſes ſtrong and ſubſtantial.

Moleſworth, *governor.*

Duke of Albemarle, *governor.*

THE connections which *James* II. had formed with all the Roman catholic powers on the continent, rendered him very pliable as to any conceſſions demanded of him, with regard to his *American* dominions. He, therefore, during the government

Proclamation againſt pirates,

vernment of the earl of *Albemarle* in *Jamaica*, granted a commiſſion to Sir *Robert Holmes*, for the ſuppreſſion of piracies in *America*; and Sir *Robert* carried over with him a proclamation to the ſame effect, which was publiſhed by his agent Mr. *Lynch*, not only at *Jamaica*, but in all the *Spaniſh* ports of *South America*, with permiſſion of that court. It is certain, that at this time, and for ſeveral years before, the vaſt ignorance of the court of *Madrid* in commercial affairs, gave great advantages to the *Engliſh Weſt-Indies*. Thoſe were engroſſed partly by freebooters, and partly by private ſubjects; and this had given king *James*, when duke of *York*, the firſt idea of forming an *African* company, which was alone to reap all the benefit ariſing from the importation of negroes. The benefits ariſing from this trade to the *Engliſh*, were derived from the immenſe duties impoſed upon the importation of negroes by the *Spaniſh* court, and which amounted to 120 pieces of eight for every ſlave imported, from 15 to 25 years of age, and other ages in proportion. The aſſientiſts, who entered into this contract with the *Spaniſh* government, were under no obligation to bring thoſe negroes from *Africa*, of which trade they had little or no notion; but were allowed to purchaſe them from the ſubjects of any power not at war with the crown of *Spain*; and in thoſe days, the *African* company had an immenſe profit when they ſold to the *Spaniards* for 20 *l.* a ſlave, whom the aſſientiſts could diſpoſe of for double the money, beſides the vaſt duty paid for ſuch ſlave to the Catholic king.

ON the other hand, the *Engliſh* merchants and planters thought it unjuſt in the higheſt degree, that they ſhould be excluded from the privilege of importing negroes; and ſuch importations had, ever ſince the royal *African* charter paſſed, been deemed at the court of *England* as ſo many acts of piracy, which *Holmes* was now ſent over to ſuppreſs. According to a diſpatch from Sir *William Godolphin* to ſecretary *Coventry*, this introduction of negroes to *Barbados* and *Jamaica*, muſt have brought into the *Engliſh African* company, a neat gain of four hundred and twenty thouſand pieces of eight yearly. While this affair was in agitation, the duke of *Albemarle*, governor of *Jamaica*, died in that iſland, as is given out, by the effects of his intemperance in drinking *Madeira* wine. Upon his death, colonel *Hender Moleſworth* was, by the council and aſſembly of *Jamaica*, again appointed governor. After the Revolution, the maxims of king *William*'s government in favour of the *Spaniſh* intereſt in *America*, went

dated Madrid, May 15, 1678.

[t] ARLINGTON's Letters, Vol. II. p. 398.

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:ven beyond thoſe of the family of *Stuart*; and a convention was actually entered into by don *Santiago del Caſtillo*, (who was afterwards knighted by king *William*) on the part of *Spain* and the *Engliſh*, for the latter ſupplying the *Spaniards* with negroes; and don *Santiago* was appointed the *Spaniſh* commiſſary at *Jamaica* for the execution of the treaty.

In 1690, king *William* appointed the earl of *Inchiquin* to the government of *Jamaica*, for which he embarked in *May* that year. On the 29th of *June* following, a dangerous conſpiracy broke out amongſt the negroes of the iſland. One Mr. *Sutton* had a large plantation in the mountains, where the old natives of the iſland, with the remains of the *Spaniſh* ſlaves, ſtill continued to reſide, as all means to reduce them had proved ineffectual. Thoſe having debauched Mr. *Sutton*'s negroes, they attacked his houſe, to the number of 400, ſeized upon twenty muſkets, with other arms in proportion, and a large quantity of powder and ball, and killed the houſekeeper. They are likewiſe ſaid to have made themſelves maſters of four ſmall field-pieces. This large magazine of arms was certainly very improperly lodged, unleſs it had been better guarded, in ſo dangerous a neighbourhood. The rebellious negroes now thought to carry all before them, and they marched to an adjoining plantation, where they were diſappointed in being joined by their countrymen, who all of them fled to the woods. By this time, the white inhabitants were alarmed, and about fifty of them, horſe and foot, getting under arms, checked the progreſs of the rebels, while other parties taking the field, they were ſurrounded and attacked next day both in front and rear. The rebels at firſt endeavoured to defend themſelves, and ſet fire to the ſugar-canes, to favour their retreat; but they were ſo briſkly purſued, that they were either killed, or forced to throw down their arms; ſo that very few of them eſcaped periſhing, either by the ſword or the halter. This and the like inſurrections were the more dangerous, as at this time the war was raging with great violence between *France* and *England*. In 1691, intelligence was received, that a vaſt number of *French* were attempting a ſettlement upon *Hiſpaniola*, where they had ſeveral ſhips. This intelligence was not without foundation. The remains of the freebooters of all nations, perceiving that they had now no longer acceſs to *Jamaica*, or any of the *Engliſh* ſettlements, caſt their eyes upon *Hiſpaniola*, as the moſt inviting place in all the *Weſt Indies* for their reception. Nothing could be more agreeable to the ſecret views of the court of *France*, than ſuch a deſign; and they were favoured in it beyond their expectations, by the indolence and cowardice

Lord Inchiquin, governor.

A rebellion of the negroes ſuppreſſed.

dice of the *Spaniards*, who had abandoned one half of the iſland, in hopes of ſecuring to themſelves the poſſeſſion of the other. Many of the *French* inhabitants of the *Leſſer Antilles* joined in the ſame ſcheme, and attended the adventurers, who now loſt the names of buccaneers and pirates in that of *French* privateers, acting under a commiſſion from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

LORD *Inchiquin* had orders, if poſſible, to diſlodge the *French* from this new ſettlement. With that view, he ſent the *Swan* and *Guernſey* men of war, the *Quaker* ketch, and a large tranſport, with 900 men, commanded by captain *O'Brian*, to *Hiſpaniola*. Great expectations were raiſed from this armament, but they were far from being anſwered. All that the *Engliſh* could do, was to deſtroy or take a few inconſiderable ſhips at ſea, and a few ſtill more inconſiderable works at land; the *French* having foreſeen and prepared for their reception. On the 7th of *June*, 1692, *Jamaica* was viſited with one of the moſt dreadful ſcourges that any iſland ever ſuffered, an earthquake. The town of *Port-Royal* there was incomparably the fineſt and the moſt populous of any in the *Weſt-Indies*, but was deſtroyed by this earthquake, which it is impoſſible to deſcribe ſo well as in the words of the ſufferers themſelves, who were preſent, and who tranſmitted their accounts of it to the Royal Society, who publiſhed them in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

Account of a dreadful earthquake.

Philoſoph. Tranſ. Vol. II. p. 402.

"I loſt, ſays one of them, all my people and goods, my wife, and two men, Mrs. *B.* and her daughter. One white maid eſcaped, who gave me an account, that her miſtreſs was in her cloſet, two pair of ſtairs high, and ſhe was ſent into the garret, where was Mrs. *B.* and her daughter, when ſhe felt the earthquake, and bid her take up the child and run down; but turning about, met the water at the top of the garret-ſtairs, for the houſe ſunk downright, and is now near thirty feet under water. My ſon and I went that morning to *Liguania*: the earthquake took us in the mid-way between that and *Port-Royal*, where we were near being overwhelmed by a ſwift rolling ſea, ſix feet above the ſurface, without any wind. Being forced back to *Liguania*, we found all the houſes even with the ground, not a place to put our heads in but negroes huts. The earth continues to ſhake (*June* 20th) five or ſix times in twenty-four hours; and, often trembling, great part of the mountains fell down, and falls down daily." Another writer, in the ſame collection, gives us a ſtill more lively deſcription of the earthquake: "Before eleven and twelve, ſays he, we felt the tavern where I then was ſhake, and ſaw the bricks begin to riſe in the

he floor. At the ſame time we heard a noiſe in the ſtreets :ry, an earthquake, and immediately we ran out of the ıouſe, where we ſaw all people with lifted-up hands, begging God's aſſiſtance. We continued running up the ſtreet, while ɔn either ſide of us we ſaw the houſes, ſome ſwallowed up, ɔthers thrown on heaps; the ſand in the ſtreet riſing like the waves of the ſea, lifting up all perſons that ſtood upon it, and mmediately dropping down into pits. At the ſame time, a lood of water broke in, and rolled theſe poor ſouls over and ɔver, ſome catching hold of beams and rafters of houſes; ɔthers were found in the ſand that appeared when the water was drained away, with their legs and arms out. Sixteen or eighteen of us, who beheld this diſmal ſight, ſtood on a ſmall piece of ground, which, thanks be to God, did not ſink. As ſoon as the violent ſhake was over, every man was deſirous to know if any part of his family was left alive. I endeavoured to go towards my houſe upon the ruins of the houſes that were floating upon the water, but could not. At length I got a canoe, and rowed up the great ſea-ſide towards my houſe, where I ſaw ſeveral men and women floating upon the wreck out at ſea; and as many of them as I could, I took into the boat, and ſtill rowed on till I came where I thought my houſe ſtood, but could hear of neither my wife nor family. Next morning, I went from one ſhip to another, till at laſt it pleaſed God I met with my wife and two of my negroes. She told me, when ſhe felt the houſe ſhake, ſhe ran out, and called all the houſe to do the ſame. She was no ſooner out, but the ſand lifted up, and her negro-woman graſping about her, they both dropt into the earth together, when at the very inſtant the water came in, rolled them over and over, till at length they caught hold of a beam, where they hung till a boat came from a *Spaniſh* veſſel and took them up."

THE other particulars of this dreadful calamity were, that the wharfs of *Port-Royal* ſunk down at once with the loſs of many of the moſt eminent merchants; and water, to the depth of ſeveral fathom, filled the ſpace where the ſtreet had ſtood. According to ſome credible accounts, the earth in its openings ſwallowed up people, and threw out their bodies in other parts of the town, and this, with ſuch rapidity, that ſome of them lived after. About 1000 acres, to the north of the town, ſunk, mountains were ſplit, and plantations removed half a mile from the places where they formerly ſtood; and all this, with ſuch loſs of lives, that no fewer than 2000 blacks and whites are ſaid to have periſhed in the town. The ſhips in the harbour had their ſhare in this diſaſter, for

ſeveral

ſeveral of them were overſet and loſt; and the motion of the ſea even carried the *Swan* frigate over the tops of houſes, but without overſetting, by which ſhe was the inſtrument of ſaving many lives. The reſt of the iſland ſuffered in proportion; and ſcarce a houſe in it was left undemoliſhed, or undamaged. In ſhort, it entirely changed, not only its improved, but natural appearance; ſcarce a mountain, or piece of ground ſtanding where it formerly did. Upon the whole, this earthquake was a mere wreck of nature, and its horrors were ſuch as cannot be deſcribed.

and peſtilence.

WHEN the firſt ſhock was over at *Port-Royal*, the clergyman deſired the people to aſſemble with him, and implore the Divine forgiveneſs, which they did. Some miſcreant ſailors, and others of the iſland, took that opportunity of robbing the houſes of the wretched inhabitants, when a ſecond ſhock happened, by which many of thoſe villains were ſwallowed up; but the earthquake itſelf, calamitous as it was, was far leſs ruinous to the iſland than its conſequences were. The whole ſyſtem of the air and ſoil was changed, and ſuch putrid ſmells iſſued from the apertures that had been made, that it is thought no fewer than 3000 white inhabitants died of peſtilential diſeaſes. As to the loſs in goods and property which this earthquake occaſioned to the merchants and planters, it is not to be calculated; but the aſſembly humanely paſſed an act, exempting ſome of the chief ſufferers from paying large ſums as cuſtoms for wine that had been deſtroyed. Before the people of *Jamaica* had time to recover themſelves, the *French* landed 300 men on the north ſide of the iſland; but the *Guernſey* man of war, and ſome other ſloops, who had done notable ſervice in ſaving the inhabitants during the earthquake, being apprized of the deſcent, burnt their ſhips, and deſtroyed or took all the men they had landed, excepting 18, who were carried off in a ſloop.

The French *invade* Jamaica.

Death of lord Inchiquin.

In the year 1692, lord *Inchiquin* died in *Jamaica*, where an annual faſt was inſtituted in commemoration of the late dreadful earthquake. King *William* appointed colonel *William Beeſton* to ſucceed him in his government, and gave him the honour of knighthood. Upon his arrival on the iſland, he endeavoured to prove himſelf worthy of his government, by enquiring into, and remedying a number of abuſes that had prevailed during that of his predeceſſor. Next year, the people of *Jamaica*, notwithſtanding the incredible damage they ſuſtained by the late earthquake, had been ſo induſtrious as to ſend a fleet of merchantmen from thence to *England*, under the convoy of the *Mordaunt* man of war; but they were unfor-

unfortunately caſt away on the rocks near *Cuba*. There are few inſtances in hiſtory of a ſet of private merchants who had ſuſtained ſo many loſſes as thoſe of *Jamaica* had done; ſupporting themſelves ſo well as they did without any public retribution, which it does not appear they ever had ſollicited. They knew of what vaſt importance their iſland was to the mother-country; and therefore, they believed, with reaſon, that their friends would ſupport them. They choſe three agents in *England*, Mr. *Gilbert* (afterwards Sir *Gilbert*) *Heathcot*, Mr. *Bartholomew Gracedieu*, and Mr. *John Tutt*, merchants in *London*; and a ſum of money was immediately remitted to them, as a conſideration for their ſolliciting the public affairs of *Jamaica*. At the ſame time, a committee of the gentlemen of the iſland was choſen to manage the correſpondence with them. Their names were, *Samuel Bernard*, *Nicholas Law*, *James Bradſhaw*, *William Hutchinſon*, *Thomas Clark*, *James Baniſter*, and *Modiford Freeman*, Eſqrs.

WHILE *Jamaica* was thus in a manner emerging from its calamities, the *French* were meditating to reduce it by one blow. They received no ſmall encouragement for this from certain perſons, *Iriſh* eſpecially, who being friends of the abdicated government in *England*, perſuaded them that the people of the iſland longed for a revolution, and to return to their obedience to the *Stuart* family. Though nothing could be more diſtant from the views of *France* than this ſuggeſtion, yet it was encouraged by M. *du Caſſe*, who was at this time appointed governor of the *French* part of *Hiſpaniola*. He had ſome time before taken the *Falcon* frigate, and carried it into *Petit Guaves*, from whence captain *Elliot* making his eſcape in a canoe, arrived at *Port-Royal* in 1694, and informed Sir *William Beeſton* of the ſtorm impending againſt *Jamaica*; and that three men of war, of fifty guns each, had arrived, a little time before, from *Old France*, where the government did not doubt of making a complete conqueſt of an iſland that had lately ſuffered ſo much. Sir *William* immediately aſſembled the council, who paſſed the proper reſolutions for putting the iſland in a poſture of defence, and that the principal forces of the iſland ſhould be aſſembled for the defence of *Port-Royal*, where it was underſtood the *French* were to make their firſt attempt.

THE intelligence proved true; for on the 17th of *June* following, the three *French* men of war we have already mentioned, attended by about ſeventeen ſail of privateer ſloops and tranſports, appeared off the iſland. Of thoſe, eight remained about *Port Morant*, and the reſt anchored at *Cow-Bay*, about ſeven leagues to the windward of *Port Royal*. *The French defeated in their deſcent upon Jamaica.*

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Du Caſſe having landed his troops, proceeded in a manner that would have diſgraced their predeceſſors, the buccaneers; for they made war upon cattle. After plundering and burning all the open part of the country eaſtward, they butchered all the ſheep and cows they could meet with, and as a more compendious manner of deſtruction, many of them being driven into houſes, were ſacrificed in the flames. Some *Engliſhmen* who fell into their hands were tortured, that they might diſcover their effects, and they exerciſed even the diabolical ſpirit of drawing the dead from their graves, and obliging women to ſubmit to the luſts of their negroes. Both diviſions of their fleet were guilty of the ſame inhumanities, and would have continued them in St. *Mary*'s and St. *George*'s, where they landed, had they not been deterred by the appearance of ſome *Engliſh* forces, upon which they retreated to their ſhips.

Two days after they landed, the *French* admiral's ſhip, commanded by M. *Rollon*, parted from her anchors, as did another of their fleet; and they landed ſome men in *Blackfield-Bay*. Here a ſharp ſkirmiſh enſued between them, and an *Engliſh* officer, major *Ardroſs*, who killed a number of their men, and forced the remainder, without carrying off with them the proviſions they had landed, to retreat to their ſhips. Finding it in vain to attempt any thing farther in the open part of the iſland, all their ſhips rendezvouſed at *Port Merant*, from whence they ſailed on the 16th of *July*. On the 17th, they came in ſight of *Port-Royal*, and landing their men, they filled all the neighbourhood with their fires, that they might ſtrike the *Engliſh* with the greater terror of their numbers. Returning, however, in the night to their ſhips, they were ſeen on the 18th ſtanding to the weſt of *Port-Royal*, by which it was conjectured that they intended to land from *Carliſle-Bay* in *Vere Pariſh*. Upon this, two troops of horſe, two regiments of *St. Catherine*'s, and part of thoſe of *Clarendon* and *St. Elizabeth*, were ordered to obſerve their motions, and to curb the exceſſes they had been guilty of in other parts of the iſland. The *French* that very afternoon anchored in *Carliſle-Bay*; and landing about 1500 men, they attacked an *Engliſh* breaſt-work defended by about 200 men. A very ſharp action enſued, in which the *Engliſh*, after loſing a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, and lieutenant, beſides having ſome of their beſt officers wounded, being overpowered by numbers, retreated, but not till after they had killed more of their enemies than they themſelves loſt. The *Engliſh*, upon their retreat, which was acroſs a river, found themſelves reinforced by ſome companies of foot, and a few horſe, who

who had marched thirty miles the day before, renewed the charge, and not only checked the purſuit of the *French*, but drove them back with very conſiderable loſs, though not without ſome to themſelves, for ſeveral more of their men and officers were wounded, and ſome of both were killed.

THE two following days thoſe actions paſſed in ſkirmiſhes; but the day after, which was the 22d of *July*, the *French* attacked a houſe belonging to one Mr. *Hubbard*, a poſt of ſome conſequence. The place had no more than twenty-five people to defend it, who beat off the *French*, but next day they brought againſt it a greater number of men and ſome cannon. In the mean while, major *Lloyd*, the *Engliſh* commandant in that quarter, after reinforcing the garriſon of the houſe, made ſuch diſpoſitions on the flanks of the *French* with the reſt of his men, that had they advanced to aſſault the place, they muſt have been cut off. The *French* either ſaw or ſuſpected this, and finding they had already ſuffered conſiderably in their numbers, and that the *Jamaicans* behaved with far more ſpirit and courage than they expected, came to a reſolution to re-imbark, and to abandon the iſland, which they did on the 24th. *Du Caſſe* ſailed with three of his capital ſhips to *France*, where he magnified the importance of his ſervices in *Jamaica*, while ſeventeen others completed their wooding and watering with great hurry at *Port Morant*, where they even ſet on ſhore the few priſoners they had made. In this expedition, it was computed that the *French* had about 500 men killed, and that at leaſt an equal number died of diſeaſes. Of the *Engliſh* not above 100, Jews and negroes included, were killed or wounded. King *William* was ſo ſenſible of the importance of captain *Elliot*'s early intelligence, that he preſented him with a medal and chain of 100 *l.* value, beſides 500 *l.* in money; and recommended him for preferment to the lords of the admiralty. Each of the people who eſcaped with him were preſented with 50 *l.*

and re-imbark.

Capt. Elliot *rewarded.*

As it was of the utmoſt importance to king *William*'s government that *Jamaica* ſhould not fall into the hands of the *French*, the adminiſtration at home had taken great care that the iſland ſhould be properly reinforced, which drew from the council and aſſembly an addreſs to his majeſty, moſt gratefully acknowledging his majeſty's royal care of them, "in ordering a ſpeedy relief and aſſiſtance to be ſent thither, for the defence and ſecurity of their perſons and eſtates againſt a cruel and barbarous enemy; who, in their late attempt upon that iſland, had no other advantage over them, but what was owing to the inequality of their numbers, and not to the valour of their men, which chiefly ſhewed itſelf in burning de-

Wilmot *and* Lilliſton's *expedition.*

ſerted plantations, murdering priſoners in cold blood, and offering indignity to women." By this ſpecimen, the reader may form ſome idea of the inhuman manner in which the *French* have always made war. As it was well known they were perpetually forming new ſchemes againſt the *Engliſh Weſt-Indies*, *Jamaica* in particular, his majeſty ordered a force of 1200 men, under colonel *Lilliſton*, to be ſent to that iſland in 1694. This was thought to be a bold meaſure, at a time when the nation itſelf was every day expecting an invaſion from *France*; but the king was intent not only upon protecting *Jamaica*, but upon diſpoſſeſſing the *French* of the quarter they had uſurped in *Hiſpaniola*. No ſooner was *Lilliſton* landed, than the governor of *Jamaica* ſent off the *Swan* frigate to *Hiſpaniola* to inform the *Spaniards*, and to concert meaſures for ſupporting the deſcent that was to be made upon the *French* part of the iſland. It was agreed, that the governor of *St. Domingo*, the capital of the iſland, ſhould march with the *Spaniards* to *Manchaneel-Bay*, on the north-ſide of the iſland, where ſhips were to wait for them.

THE marine part of the expedition was committed to captain *Wilmot*, who was commodore of a ſquadron of *Engliſh* ſhips at *Jamaica*; and he ſailed, with *Lilliſton* and the land forces on board, for *St. Domingo*, where the abovementioned plan was confirmed, and from thence to *Cape François*, the chief ſettlement which the *French* had in *Hiſpaniola*. *Lilliſton* landed ſome men within three leagues of the *Cape*, while *Wilmot* bore up within cannon ſhot of the fort. This was on the 18th of *June*, and the enemy kept a briſk fire upon all the *Engliſh*, who approached the ſhore, both from their cannon and muſketry. Three attacks were then formed againſt the fort, one by the land-forces, another by a body of ſeamen, who were to land likewiſe, and another by the ſhips who were to batter it. *Wilmot*, in endeavouring to find a place for landing his men, narrowly eſcaped falling into an ambuſcade of the *French*, who were placed at the corner of a bay, and who fired ſmartly upon him, but without doing any execution. Next night, he returned to the ſame place with an additional ſtrength, which daunted the *French* ſo much, that they immediately blew up their fort, ſet fire to their town, and without carrying off, or ſpoiling forty pieces of cannon, with which their works were mounted, they marched off in the dark. Next day the *Engliſh* entered the town and plundered it.

PORT *Paix*, the ſtrongeſt ſettlement the *French* had in *Hiſpaniola*, was the next object of the *Engliſh*, and it proved a matter of more difficulty than the reduction of *Cape Fran-*

poſts. From the ſeveral narratives that have been publiſhed of this expedition, it appears, as if neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Engliſh* land-forces contributed much to its ſucceſs. *Wilmot* waited for ſome days expecting their arrival; but being diſappointed, he landed a party of his ſeamen about five miles to the eaſtward of *Port Paix*; where, driving before him the *French* who oppoſed his landing, and who retired to their fort, he deſtroyed their plantations to its very walls. This fort was ſituated at the bottom of a bay, on a flat rocky hill, which ſloped towards the ſea, but was ſteep on the land-ſide. It had four baſtions, its walls were very ſtrong, and built in form of a ſquare, mounting fourteen pieces of cannon. From this deſcription it appears, that the place could not be taken without a regular ſiege. Intelligence coming that the land-forces were at hand, *Wilmot* put aſhore 400 ſeamen, and four days were employed in landing the heavy artillery. On the 21ſt, ſome cannon and mortars were landed on the weſt ſide of the caſtle; and by the 27th, the *Engliſh* played upon it moſt furiouſly from the batteries; ſo that the *French* themſelves ſoon ſaw that it was untenable. This intelligence coming on the third of *July* to the knowledge of colonel *Lilliſton* and captain *Wilmot*, they reſolved to intercept the fugitives. The *French* who marched out of the fort amounted to 310, excluſive of 200 negroes armed, and 150 unarmed. Having left the fort, they were attacked by the ambuſcade of *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, who killed all who did not ſurrender themſelves priſoners, who were not above the number of 150, both *French* and negroes, and amongſt the ſlain were almoſt the whole of the *French* officers. The *Engliſh*, after this, entered and demoliſhed the caſtle, but carried off the ſtores, proviſions, and artillery, to the number of 80 pieces of cannon, beſides other conſiderable plunder.

againſt the French in Hiſpaniola.

SUCH, in general, is the account of this expedition againſt the *French* of *Hiſpaniola*; but particulars have been ſo variouſly related, and with ſuch ſeeming evidences of truth on both ſides, that we have not ventured to deſcend much into them. *Wilmot* accuſed the *Spaniards* and the *Engliſh* ſoldiers for not doing their duty; and they recriminated upon him by charging him with treachery and avarice, with expoſing them wantonly to danger on all occaſions, and with-holding from them even their neceſſary allowances. Perhaps, both parties were to blame from that ſpirit of diſagreement that then ſubſiſted between the land and ſea-ſervices; but it was on all hands agreed, that the *Engliſh* officers acquitted themſelves with great honour, and that the expedition itſelf terminated highly to the intereſt of *England*. It muſt, however,

ever, be acknowledged, that it might have been much more ſo, had *Wilmot* literally followed his inſtructions, which were to proceed againſt *Petit Guaves*, and to deſtroy in his return the *French* fiſheries on the banks of *Newfoundland*; but, it is ſaid, that the proſpect of plunder induced him to proceed as he did. He died in his return to *England*, where his fleet arrived in a moſt miſerable condition.

Negroes made free. THE iſland of *Jamaica* continued ſtill to be peſtered by the rebellious negroes, in concert with the original negroes and inhabitants of the woods. Several attempts had been made to ſuppreſs them; and this very year the inhabitants fitted out two ſloops of war, and raiſed 260 men for that ſervice, at the expence of 4300 *l.* of which 750 *l.* was chearfully given by the Jews, who had by this time acquired great property in the iſland. Garriſons were likewiſe put into *Fort William* and *Port Morant*; and gentlemen of credit on the iſland were appointed by an act of aſſembly to collect and receive the money, and to ſuperintend the diſpoſal of it. The ſame year five gentlemen, viz. *Richard Lloyd*, *Francis Roſe*, *James Baniſter*, *Thomas Bindles*, and *John Walters*, Eſqrs. were appointed commiſſioners to execute an act of the aſſembly for giving freedom to all negroe ſlaves who could prove that they had done any remarkable ſervice againſt the *French*. This was a very wiſe and generous meaſure, and for the more ready execution of it, ſub-commiſſioners were appointed all over the iſland.

Pointis *appears before* Jamaica. BY thoſe wiſe and many other, regulations, *Jamaica* proſpered ſo greatly, that in the year 1696, when the *French* admiral, Monſ. *Pointis*, was on his famous expedition againſt *Carthagena*, he appeared off *Jamaica*, where the ſight of his powerful ſquadron, far from intimidating the inhabitants, made them wiſh he would attempt a landing. In an inſtant, all the poſts of the iſland were manned; and though *Pointis* had on board 2000 buccaneers, all of them uſed to deſperate ſervices, yet the *Jamaicans* made ſo good a ſhew, that he paſſed by without attempting any thing againſt their iſland. This was the more extraordinary, as moſt of the men whom *Liliſton* had brought were now dead, either by the hardſhips they had ſuffered in the expedition, or the diſeaſes they had contracted. By this time, the court of *England* hearing of *Pointis*'s deſtination, had ordered admiral *Nevil*, who was joined by a *Dutch* ſquadron, to follow him; but *Pointis* had then ſucceeded againſt *Carthagena*, where he found a booty of eight millions of crowns; and all that *Nevil* could do in his voyage to *Jamaica*, where he was to go aſhore for intelligence, was to take a *French* privateer. He arrived at that

nd on the 16th of *May*, and ſailed again on the 25th. *intis* receiving intelligence of his being in thoſe ſeas, after iſhing his buſineſs at *Carthagena*, bore away for the *Bahama nds*; but on the 22d of *May*, he fell in with the com- ed ſquadron. *Pointis* made the beſt of his way to eſcape, ich he did, with wonderful good fortune; but the *Engliſh* k and carried into *Jamaica* one of his richeſt ſhips, being ued at 200,000 *l.* During the chace, both the *Engliſh* and *tch* rear-admirals ſprang their fore-top-maſts, which diſ- ed them from proceeding. *Nevil* then directed his courſe *Carthagena*; but before his arrival there, it had been a ond time plundered by the *French* buccaneers, who alledg- what indeed was true, that *Pointis* and his officers had de- uded them of their due, though the ſucceſs of the expedi- n had been chiefly owing to them.

NEVIL thus finding *Carthagena* in a manner abandoned, *is purſued* in directed his courſe for *Jamaica*. In a few days he diſ- *by admi-* vered eight ſail of *French* ſhips, of which he ran two *ral* Nevil, round, took two others, and the reſt eſcaped. When he ived at *Jamaica*, he was prevailed upon by Sir *William ſton*, to form a plan for attacking *Petit Guaves*, under r-admiral *Meeſe*, which was accordingly taken, plundered, reduced to aſhes. *Nevil*, at the ſame time, ſet ſail for *Havannah*, in conſequence of his maſter's inſtructions, to the *Spaniſh* galleons under his convoy, and to bring n ſafe to *Europe*; but king *William* had a much better nion of the *Spaniards*, than they had of the *Engliſh*, or of ſelf; for both the governor of the *Havannah*, and the eral of the plate-fleet, were ſo far from truſting it to his , that they refuſed to admit him into the harbour. Upon *but in* *Nevil* made the beſt of his way through the gulph of *vain.* ida to *Virginia*, where he died of heart-break. He was ceeded by captain *Dilkes*, who, on the 24th of *October*, ght back his ſhattered ſquadron to *Portſmouth*, to the no l diſappointment and mortification of the people of *Eng-*

As to *Pointis*, he was far more fortunate; he eſcaped cond time from an *Engliſh* ſquadron, commanded by cap- (afterwards Sir *John*) *Norris*, which he found lying at or in the bay of *St. John's*, in *Newfoundland*; and a third , from a ſquadron under captain *Harlow*, which he out- d, though his ſhips were foul and leaky, and thoſe of his nies had juſt put to ſea. But we are now upon the eve n event, the moſt critical, not only to the *Engliſh*, but *Spaniſh* empire in *America*; and which having hitherto n but little underſtood by *Engliſh* writers, and miſrepre-

sented by others, we shall endeavour to explain with all possible succinctness.

An account of the Scots colony at Darien.

THE *Scots*, during the reign of king *William*, not only considered themselves as an independent people, but as being entitled to the highest favours which that monarch could grant them, by their early and ready joining in the Revolution. As they were not destitute of a spirit of enterprize, various methods had been proposed for raising themselves by trade; and one *Paterson*, a visionary projector, and a *Scotchman*, but settled in *England*, having become acquainted with *Dampier*, and other *West-Indian* adventurers in *London*, was by them informed, that the isthmus of *Darien*, the most important spot in *America*, was possessed by an independent people, who were irreconcileable to the persons and government of the *Spaniards*, and who would most undoubtedly grant a settlement in their country to any *European* people, who would assist them against the encroachments of that nation. *Paterson*, though a low-bred man, found means to discourse with several people of rank upon the same subject; and making himself master of every particular concerning it, he immediately formed a project, not only for peopling this precious spot with his countrymen, but for raising in *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, and other states, more than sufficient subscriptions for carrying it into execution. We are to inform our readers at the same time, that upon this project was grafted another, for a trade between *Scotland* and *Africa*, notwithstanding the charter of the royal *African* company in *England*.

An act of parliament passes for erecting it.

THOUGH nothing could be more chimerical or impracticable than the plan of this undertaking, yet the encouragement that it met with is incredible; the whole being founded on the independency of the *Scots* and that of the *Darien Indians*. The marquis of *Tweedale* was, at that time, the royal commissioner or viceroy for *Scotland*; and he and his friends were actually surprised into passing, with all requisite formalities, an act, "for erecting a company, to be called the company of *Scotland*, trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*, with great immunities, *viz.* of being custom-free for above twenty years; and that all ships, which should be taken or damaged by any other nation, to be made good at his majesty's charge." By those two great encouragements, the *Scots*, who were embarked in this project, were enabled to undersell their neighbours, and the adventurers were always sure of public protection, and even indemnification. The reader may perceive, that the title of this act comprehended three quarters of the globe, *Africa*, and the *East*, as well as the *West*, *Indies*. This was a shallow device for enlarging their scheme, and inviting

adventurers; but, at the ſame time, it multiplied their enemies, among whom the chief were the old and new *Eaſt-India* companies in *England*. The act of parliament, however, having paſſed for this extraordinary eſtabliſhment, it became a very ſerious matter; and king *William*, when he heard the uſes that were to be made of it, was ſo aſtoniſhed, that he publickly ſaid, with unuſual warmth, that "he had been ill-ſerved in *Scotland*."

THE ferment, which the act itſelf occaſioned in *England*, became univerſal: and his majeſty was applied to by petitions and remonſtrances from all nations, who complained of the *Scotch* project, as being utterly inconſiſtent with their commercial rights. The *Engliſh*, eſpecially the *Eaſt-India* company, inſiſted upon their being preſerved in the poſſeſſion of thoſe privileges for which they had paid ſo dear. The *Dutch* were alarmed, leſt the *Scots* ſhould ſupplant them in their gainful, but illicit, trade with the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. Even the *French* king, notwithſtanding his enmity to *England*, offered his fleet for diſlodging the *Scots* from any ſettlement they ſhould make in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt-Indies*; but of all complaints on this occaſion, the loudeſt came from the *Spaniards*, who were well acquainted with the deſign of the *Scots*. All thoſe remonſtrances did not invalidate the act of parliament, and the *Scots* met with uncommon ſucceſs in raiſing ſubſcriptions, particularly in *Hamburgh*, where 100,000 *l.* ſterling was ſuppoſed to be ſubſcribed. This alarmed the *Engliſh* parliament itſelf, and on the 14th of *December*, both houſes joined in a very ſtrong addreſs on that ſubject, remonſtrating that the late *Scotch* act of parliament, if carried into execution, muſt abſolutely deſtroy the moſt valuable branches of the *Engliſh* commerce.

It alarms the king and parliament of England.

HIS majeſty was at this time in a moſt undeſireable ſituation; he could not diſown the act, and if he did not, he muſt break with the *Engliſh*, with whom he then ſtood upon very indifferent terms. In anſwer to the addreſs, he repeated what he had ſaid before, "that he had been ill-ſerved in *Scotland*, but he hoped ſome remedies might be found, to prevent the inconveniencies that might ariſe from the act." Though by thoſe expreſſions, and by his majeſty's turning out of their poſts all who had been inſtrumental in procuring the act, the *Scots* might have eaſily foreſeen its fate; yet they went madly on, as if no method, if it could not be repealed, could have been found out to evade it. The king perceiving they were reſolved to proceed, ſhewed his diſapprobation, by ſending orders to Sir *Paul Rycaut*, the *Engliſh* reſident at *Hamburgh*, and his envoy at the court of *Lunenburgh*, to join

in a memorial, which was to be delivered to the ſenate of *Hamburgh*, threatening them with his majeſty's higheſt diſpleaſure, if they joined with the ſenate in any treaty of commerce whatever. This memorial was preſented at the very time when the hopes of the *Scots* were at the higheſt; and it produced an addreſs to the king from the council of the *Scotch* company, in pretty ſevere terms. This addreſs farther embarraſſed his majeſty, who ordered the two *Scotch* ſecretaries of ſtate to ſignify to the company, that he would give orders to his envoy at the court of *Lunenburgh*, and his reſident at *Hamburgh*, not to make uſe of his majeſty's name or authority, for obſtructing the company in the proſecution of their trade with the inhabitants of the city. But thoſe inhabitants dared to do nothing, but by the approbation of the ſenate; and thus the *Scots* all of a ſudden failed in their great expectations at *Hamburgh*, as well as in *England*. Some of the *Hamburgh* merchants, indeed, ſeemed inclined to continue their ſubſcriptions, but were ſoon obliged to deſiſt. This produced addreſſes upon addreſſes from the company, and even from the parliament of *Scotland*, (where the whole nation ſeemed to be unanimous in ſupport of the project) to the king, but without their receiving any ſatisfactory anſwers. Their diſappointment was far from damping their zeal; they ſubſcribed 400,000 *l.* ſterling to the company, no rank or degree of men among them being free from the infection. Noble offices and warehouſes were erected, and four ſhips, the ſmalleſt carrying ſixty guns, were built at an immenſe expence for the uſe of the colony, beſides tenders and tranſports.

King William's *orders to his miniſters at* Hamburgh *againſt the* Scotch *ſubſcriptions.*

TILL thoſe ſhips were built, their deſtination had never been publiſhed by the directors of the company, and *Paterſon*'s ſcheme for the *Scots* ſettling the iſthmus of *Darien*, was now firſt openly avowed. Three of their ſhips, and two tenders, with about 1200 choice men on board, ſailed from the *Frith*, and about the middle of *November*, 1698, they landed ſafe with the loſs of but few of their men, in the bay of *Darien*, where they immediately took poſſeſſion of *St. Catharine's Iſland*, which we have already mentioned, then called the *Golden Iſland*. This they fortified to great advantage, its port being large and capacious enough for ſhips of the greateſt burden, and at the ſame time extremely ſecure. The fort built here mounted fifty guns, and its garriſon conſiſted of 600 men. To do the *Scots* juſtice, they proceeded in a regular manner in their ſettlement. The firſt thing they did, was, to enter into an alliance with the inhabitants, and the king (as he is called) of *Darien*, who diſclaimed all de-

The Scots *land at* Darien.

dependence upon, or league with, the *Spaniards*. Intelligence of this arriving in *Scotland*, the council-general of the company there laid before his majeſty the proceedings of their colony; and, to induce him to protect it, informed him, that they had undoubted intelligence of the *French* deſigning to ſettle the ſame country, had they not been prevented by the *Scots*; and that they had in every thing acted according to the conditions required in the act of parliament, and by their letters-patents.

AT the time this repreſentation was laid before the king, a very preſſing memorial was preſented by the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador (who was perſonally obnoxious to his majeſty) upon the ſame head. Though it muſt be acknowledged, that the proceedings of the *Scotch* company, as founded on their act of parliament, (ſuppoſing them to be an independent people, as they certainly were) were irreproachable; yet the united intereſt of all *Europe* required their being cruſhed. The king, who was entirely of that opinion, complained of his not having been made acquainted with the deſtination of the *Scotch* ſhips, and refuſed, by the earl of *Seafield*, the ſecretary of ſtate for that kingdom, to give them any countenance or protection, till the place of their ſettlement was fully known. The people of *Jamaica*, of all the *Engliſh Weſt-Indians*, had the greateſt reaſon to be alarmed at the progreſs of the *Scots*; for though both were under the ſame king, yet the oppoſition the latter had met with at *London*, had exaſperated them greatly at their *Engliſh* brethren. It was evident, from the ſituation of the *Scotch* colony, that if properly ſupported, it would, ſome time or other, be in a condition to give law to all *America*, eſpecially as their new harbour was declared a free-port; and this muſt not only thin *Jamaica*, and the other *Engliſh* iſlands, of their inhabitants, but drain them of their money. The *Jamaicans* were ſoon delivered from their apprehenſions by the following proclamation, which was very ſecretly ſent over, being publiſhed in their iſland.

Proclamation againſt the Scotch adventurers.

"By the honourable Sir *William Beeſton*, knight, governor and commander in chief for his majeſty in the iſland of *Jamaica*, and of the territories and dependencies of the ſame, and admiral thereof."

"Whereas I have received orders from his majeſty, by the right honourable *James Vernon*, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, importing, that his majeſty was not informed of the intentions and deſigns of the *Scots*, in peopling *Darien*, which is contrary to the peace between his majeſty and his allies, commanding me not to afford them any aſſiſtance: in compliance therewith, in his majeſty's name, and by his order,

order, I do ſtrictly charge and require all and every his majeſty's ſubjects, that upon no pretence whatſoever, they hold any correſpondence with the *Scots* aforeſaid, or give them any aſſiſtance with arms, ammunition, proviſion, or any thing whatſoever, either by themſeves, or any other for them; nor aſſiſt them with any of their ſhipping, or of the *Engliſh* nation's, upon pain of his majeſty's diſpleaſure, and ſuffering the ſevereſt puniſhment. Given under my hand and ſeal of arms, the 9th of *April*, 1699, and in the 11th year of the reign of *William* III. king of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and lord of *Jamaica*, defender of the faith."

THE like proclamation was publiſhed by the governors of *Barbados*, *New York*, and *New England*. In the mean while, the new ſettlement of *Darien* had been attacked by the *Spaniſh* governor of *Santa Maria*, whom they defeated with the loſs of 100 of his men, and made himſelf priſoner. But an enemy, of a much more powerful nature, began then to invade the new coloniſts. Great part of their proviſions had been conſumed before they left their native country, ſo that they were now threatened with famine; and when they applied for relief to the *Engliſh* colonies, the proclamation was produced as their anſwer; though, before the proclamation was publiſhed, the people of *Jamaica* were ready enough in ſupplying the colony with proviſions and turtle, and others, perhaps, would have traded clandeſtinely with them, even after the proclamation. But the coloniſts were either unable or unwilling to anſwer their exorbitant demands. Thus, in fact, this ill-concerted expedition, after filling the mother-country with the moſt unbounded hopes, came to nothing, becauſe it was not properly ſupplied and ſupported; and the ſettlers were obliged to abandon the ſpot, which had promiſed them ſuch immenſe riches. Their miſeries, even after quitting *Darien*, were inexpreſſible. Such of them as came on ſhore at *Jamaica*, were conſidered in little better light than that of hoſtile pirates; and, though famine was painted in their faces, they received no other relief but what they paid for in the goods which ſtill remained in their hands, at above fifty per cent. diſcount (A). In the mean time, ſcarcely had the firſt ſettlers abandoned *Darien*, when they were ſucceeded by a freſh recruit; but the chief ſhip, which carried their proviſions, being burnt by accident, and having no place on the globe, from whence they could draw ſubſiſtence, but

(A) The new cloathing of their ſoldiers, which was of red cloth, was ſold for half a crown a coat, and all other wearing apparel in proportion.

from

from their native country, they too were obliged to quit the ſettlement. A third embarkation, better provided than any of the two former had been, for colonizing, landed ſoon after; but that alſo miſcarried, through the factions and diviſions of thoſe who had the management of it; ſo that they were not able to reſiſt even the feeble force of the *Spaniards*, and they too, under the protection of a capitulation, abandoned the colony. *whoſe ſcheme miſcarries.*

IT is foreign for us to particularize the prodigious ferment which the miſcarriage of this colony occaſioned all over *Scotland*. Perhaps, the capital misfortune of the whole lay in the danger of the court of *Spain* confiſcating all the *Engliſh* effects in that country, which, at that time, were far more conſiderable than ever they have been ſince; and therefore the *Engliſh* mercantile intereſt in general engaged to oppoſe it. But even this obſtacle, ſtrong as it was, might not have defeated the ſcheme, had it not been for the particular ſituation of the affairs of *Europe* at that time, which ſoon after took a turn very different from what had been foreſeen by his majeſty or his *Engliſh* miniſters, who little thought that a branch of the houſe of *Bourbon* was to ſucceed to the *Spaniſh* monarchy in *America* as well as in *Europe*. *Jamaica* ſeems to have been the only *Engliſh* colony, who gained by the miſcarriage of the *Scotch* ſettlement. Many of the adventurers choſe to ſettle there, rather than be expoſed to farther troubles, which contributed to the population of the iſland; and being in general a ſtrong hardy race, they were very uſeful in their ſugar-works, and other manufactures, while not a few of them ſerved as overſeers and tutors to young planters. *Reflection.*

THE *French* ſtill continued their preparations againſt the *Engliſh*, and during the *Scotch* ſettlement at *Darien*, they had fourteen men of war at *Petit Guaves*, ſome of them 70 gun ſhips, with which they gave out they intended a deſcent upon the *Havannah*; but that their views were defeated by the unforeſeen preparations of the *Spaniards*. By this time *Port-Royal* had been rebuilt as well as the late devaſtation of the earthquake, could admit of, and the aſſembly paſſed an act for fortifying it, which obliged the governor to remove thither from *Spaniſh-Town*, that he might ſuperintend the works. The government of *England* being of opinion, that the *French* ſtill had an eye upon *Jamaica*, in 1699 ſent thither admiral *Bembow* with a conſiderable ſquadron of men of war, but during his paſſage, infectious diſtempers made great havock among his crews and officers. Upon their arrival at *Jamaica*, the ſurvivors recovered their health, and the iſland was then conſidered as being in a high pitch of proſperity, not- PortRoyal *rebuilt.*

Death of Sir William Beeſton. notwithſtanding two *Engliſh* men of war were caſt away near *Hiſpaniola*, and *Fort Charles* in *Port-Royal* was blown up by accident. Sir *William Beeſton* died upon the iſland in 1700, and was ſucceeded in *April* 1701, as governor, by major-general *Selwyn*.

Selwyn, *governor.*

THE ſucceſſion of the duke of *Anjou* to the undivided monarchy of *Spain* now taking place, it was naturally concluded that a war between *Great-Britain* and the two branches of the *Bourbon* family muſt ſoon enſue, and this made admiral *Bembow*, who was then upon the iſland, extremely active and ſolicitous upon every meaſure that could contribute to its ſecurity by ſea. *Selwyn* died ſoon after his arrival at *Port Royal*. Upon his death, *Peter Beckford*, Eſq; was appointed by the council to be lieutenant-governor; and he celebrated in a ſignal manner the ſad obſequies of king *William*, and the joyful acceſſion of queen *Anne* to the throne. No ſooner did the expected war between *England* and *France* break out, than *Bembow* exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, by making diſpoſitions of his cruiſers and men of war for the annoyance of the *French* and their trade. He diſpatched ſome of his ſhips towards *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*, where they made a very rich prize; while he himſelf ſailed with the reſt of his ſquadron to intercept a *French* fleet, which had been fitted out under M. *Du Caſſe* againſt the *Engliſh Weſt-Indian* iſlands. One of the *Engliſh* men of war had the good fortune to ſend the *Gloriana*, a *Spaniſh* man of war, bound for *St. Domingo* and *Carthagena*, a prize into *Port-Royal*. In the mean while, the admiral, with ſeven of his beſt ſhips, put the *French* and *Spaniards* into dreadful conſternation by cruizing off *Leogane* and *Petit Guaves*. Here the enemy was obliged to blow up one of their 40 gun ſhips, which he had driven aſhore; he burnt two of their beſt merchant-ſhips; and the *Colcheſter*, on the 14th of *Auguſt* 1702, brought into *Port Royal* ſeveral rich prizes. The addreſs ſent over by the council and aſſembly of *Jamaica*, which was tranſmitted to her majeſty, and preſented by Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, and Sir *Bartholomew Gracedieu*, ſeems to have put her majeſty in mind, that a governor was ſtill wanting for *Jamaica*, and the appointment fell upon the earl of *Peterborough*, who was inveſted with fuller powers than any other governor had ever been. The reputation of this nobleman made his appointment highly acceptable to the inhabitants of *Jamaica*.

Beckford, *governor.*

Hiſtory of Bembow's *engagement with* Du Caſſe.

THE brave vice-admiral *Bembow* ſtill continued ſtationed at *Jamaica*, and, on the 11th of *July* 1702, he ſailed from *Port-Royal*, to join rear admiral *Whetſtone*; but on the 14th, having undoubted intelligence that *Du Caſſe*, with the *French* ſqua-

ſquadron, was expected in thoſe ſeas, he failed to fight him. In his voyage thither, he deſtroyed a *French* 50 gun ſhip, and took eight or ten merchantmen. On the 15th of *Auguſt* he came in ſight of *Du Caſſe* who was bearing towards *Carthagena*. *Bembow*'s force was as follows; the *Breda*, captain *Fog*, of 70 guns, on board of which he was himſelf; the *Defiance*, captain *Richard Kirby*, commander, of 64 guns; the *Windſor*, captain *John Conſtable*, of 60 guns; the *Greenwich*, captain *Cooper Wade*, of 54 guns; the *Ruby*, captain *George Walton*, of 48 guns; the *Pendennis*, captain *Thomas Hudſon*, of 48 guns; and the *Falmouth*, captain *Samuel Vincent*, of 48 guns. *Du Caſſe* had under him four large ſhips of war, from 66 to 70 guns, with a *Dutch* fly-boat of about 30 guns, a tranſport full of ſoldiers, a ſloop, and three ſmaller veſſels; and the engagement which enſued happened near *St. Martha*, on the 19th of the ſame month. The diſpoſition which *Bembow* had ordered for the engagement being formed, he was extremely uneaſy at ſeeing the *Defiance* and the *Windſor* ſo backward in anſwering the ſignals for their falling into the line of battle; but all the ſucceeding night he kept up with the enemy, in expectation of the *Defiance* coming into its ſtation, which was a-breaſt of the headmoſt ſhip. At laſt, the *Falmouth*, the *Windſor*, and the *Defiance* engaged, and the *Breda* was obliged to do the ſame. The *Defiance* and the *Windſor*, after receiving ſome broadſides from the enemy, broke out of the line, and conſequently out of danger, and left the admiral to bear all the fire of the ſternmoſt ſhips of the *French*. Night coming on, he perceived that the *French* wanted to eſcape, but he reſolved to purſue them, and himſelf to lead the chace; for which purpoſe he formed a new line of battle, in hopes that his cowardly captains might be prevailed upon to ſecond him. The *French* continued ſtill retreating; but on the 20th, the admiral was within gun-ſhot of the enemy, ſeconded by the *Ruby* only, his other ſhips being from three to five miles a-ſtern of him. A kind of a running fight in this manner continued for two or three days, till the *Ruby* was ſo much ſhattered that ſhe was towed off, while the *Defiance* and *Windſor*, though within point-blank of the enemy's rear-ſhip, never fired a gun. The admiral, however, continued to maintain the fight moſt gallantly, and the *French* as induſtriouſly endeavoured to avoid it. This running engagement continued till the 24th, the *Ruby* being ordered for *Port-Royal*, and the admiral being then ſeconded only by the *Falmouth*. The engagement then recommenced with great fury, till *Bembow*'s right leg was, by a chain-ſhot, ſhivered into pieces; ſo that he

was

was carried to his cabin; but he immediately ordered himſelf to be brought upon deck, in a cradle, and gallantly maintained the fight. By this time, one of the largeſt *French* ſhips was rendered a wreck, and four ſail of the *Engliſh* ſquadron poured their broadſides into her; but then retreated without the leaſt regard to the ſignal of battle. The enemy upon this took heart, and attacked the admiral ſo briſkly, that he was obliged to lay by and refit his ſhip, and he took that opportunity of expoſtulating with his cowardly captains, whom he ſent for on board, upon their behaviour. Though nothing could be more certain, than that the whole of the *French* fleet muſt have been deſtroyed or taken, had the courage of the *Engliſh* admiral been ſeconded; and though it was evident, that the *French* made their utmoſt efforts to eſcape, yet the other captains concurred with *Kirby* in adviſing him to deſiſt from engaging farther, on account of the ſuperiority of the *French*. *Bembow* eaſily perceived from this concerted piece of cowardice, that he was to expect no aſſiſtance from his captains, while his own and another ſhip could not continue the engagement againſt all the *French* ſquadron, eſpecially as he himſelf had not only loſt a leg, but had been wounded in the face and arm, in an attempt made by the *French* admiral to board him; and therefore, with the utmoſt reluctance, he returned to *Jamaica*.

Cowardice of his officers;

FULL of rage and juſt reſentment, *Bembow* on the 6th of *October* iſſued a commiſſion to rear admiral *Whetſtone*, and ſome captains, for trying *Kirby*, *Conſtable*, *Wade*, and *Hudſon*, for cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty. The court, upon the fulleſt proof, after ſitting four days, condemned *Kirby* and *Wade* to be ſhot to death; but their ſentence was reſpited till her majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. They were accordingly ſent home to *England* in the *Briſtol* man of war; and the queen not only confirmed the ſentence, but ſent orders to the ſea-ports, that whenever they ſhould arrive their ſentence ſhould be executed without their being ſuffered to come on ſhore, which was accordingly done. *Hudſon* had died before the trial. *Conſtable* was cleared of cowardice, but was caſhiered the ſervice, as being guilty of the other crimes, and ſentenced to be impriſoned during her majeſty's pleaſure. It appeared in the courſe of thoſe trials, that *Bembow*'s haughty behaviour had produced a general confederacy of his captains againſt him, in which even the gallant captain *Walton*, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo bravely in the ſervice, concurred during an hour of intoxication; but, upon ſober reflection, renouncing the engagement, he fought with a courage equal to that of *Bembow* himſelf, till his

two of whom are puniſhed with death.

his ſhip was diſabled. *Fog* and *Vincent* were convicted of having ſigned a paper not to ſerve under *Bembow*; but all other circumſtances appearing highly in their favour, they were only proviſionally ſuſpended.

It muſt be acknowledged, that the *Engliſh* never loſt a fairer opportunity than they did, by the cowardice of thoſe captains, of diſabling the *French* in the *Weſt-Indies*; and, conſequently, of cutting them off from all the nerves of war, by preventing the tranſportation of the *Spaniſh* treaſure to *Europe*. *Bembow* was ſenſible of this, eſpecially when he received the following billet, diſpatched from *Du Caſſe* after his arrival at *Carthagena*: "Sir, I had little hope on *Monday* laſt but to have ſupped in your cabin; but, it pleaſed God to order it otherwiſe. I am thankful for it. As for thoſe cowardly captains who deſerted you, hang them up; for, by God, they deſerve it. Yours, *Du Caſſe*." In his letter to his wife, he told her, that "the loſs of his leg did not trouble him half ſo much, as the villainous treachery of ſome of the captains under him, which hindered him from totally deſtroying the *French* ſquadron." Melancholy at laſt co-operated with the wounds of this brave admiral, and he died when he was but fifty years of age; during which, he had raiſed himſelf from the loweſt to the higheſt offices in the navy, on the 4th of *November* 1702. Upon his death, rear admiral *Whetſtone* took upon him the command of the ſquadron at *Jamaica*, where the ſpirit of privateering was now very ſtrong among the inhabitants. A ſmall ſquadron from thence attacked a place about twelve leagues from *Carthagena*, called *Toulon*, which they plundered and burnt. They then ſailed to *Caledonia* the late *Scotch* ſettlement, and going up the river *Darien*, they found all to be true that the *Scots* had reported concerning the averſion of the *Indians* of that iſthmus to the *Spaniards*; for they joined the *Engliſh* in their ſearch of the mines of *Santa Cruz*, near *Santa Maria*. On the 9th day of their march, the whole of the *Engliſh* being 400, they ſurprized an out-guard of ten *Spaniards*, and though they took nine of them, yet the tenth eſcaping, alarmed the inhabitants of *Santa Maria*, who retired from thence with all their treaſure and beſt effects. Though this was a diſappointment to the *Engliſh*, yet they attacked and took the fort and the mine, and ſet ſeventy negroes, whom they found there, to work upon the ſame; by which in twenty-one days time, they got above eighty pounds weight of gold-duſt, beſides diſcovering ſome parcels of plate, which had been buried by the inhabitants. When they departed, they burnt the town all but the church, and they carried off the negroes. As gold was the

Du Caſſe's *letter to* Bembow.

Jamaica *privateers.*

the ſole object of the adventurers, ſome of them went farther up the river, in ſearch of another mine, while two of their ſloops landed near *Trinidada*, which they took, plundered, and burnt, after making a very conſiderable booty.

Lord Peterborough, *governor, and* Handiſide, *lieutenant-governor.* Port-Royal *burnt.*

LORD *Peterborough*, who, upon the death of major-general *Selwyn*, had been appointed governor of *Jamaica*, never went to that iſland, for reaſons, which do not fall under our conſideration. But in 1703, colonel *Handiſide* was appointed lieutenant-governor of *Jamaica* by the crown. It was, during his time, that the town of *Port-Royal*, in *January*, 1703-4, was burnt to the ground. It was then in very flouriſhing circumſtances: but being built on a narrow neck of land, ſurrounded by the ſea, the houſes crouded, and the ſtreets narrow, no aſſiſtance could be given to ſtop the conflagration; ſo that the inhabitants loſt ſome of their effects, but the merchants ſaved their warehouſes and magazines, by the help of boats, together with their books and money, and of the ſhipping, only one brigantine and ſloop, which were at anchor in the harbour, were burnt. The lieutenant-governor loſt no time in relieving the ſufferers; and calling the aſſembly, they approved of all he had done, and reimburſed his expences, but at the ſame time they voted, that *Port-Royal* ſhould not be rebuilt, and that the inhabitants ſhould remove to *Kingſton*, which was laid out in a more advantageous manner, and was ſoon inhabited to the full.

THE iſland of *Jamaica* loſt at this time, through miſmanagement at home, the faireſt opportunity that it ever had of enriching itſelf. All reſtraints were now taken off from the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, which the inhabitants were at liberty to attack and to plunder; but this could not be done without over-awing the *French* marine. Prince *George* of *Denmark* was then lord-high-admiral of *England*, and being totally unacquainted with maritime affairs, he acted by the advice of a council, who were as intereſted as he was ignorant. Vice-admiral *Graydon*, a man unſkilled in his profeſſion, and brutal in his manners, was one of their favourites, and it was reſolved to ſend him with a ſquadron of men of war to *Jamaica*. The true deſign of his expedition was to diſpoſſeſs the *French* of *Placentia*, and the *Newfoundland* trade; but for that purpoſe, he was to collect all the force he could upon *Jamaica* and the other *Weſt-Indian* iſlands. It ſeems to be pretty certain, that the *French* at this time had their agents in the *Engliſh* admiralty, and that *Graydon*, who was more than a tory, was backward in provoking them. He ſet ſail from *Plymouth* on the 13th of *March*, with the *Reſolution*, the

the *Montague*, the *Nonſuch*, and the *Blackwall*, with tranſports, ſtoreſhips and merchantmen, and the regiment of brigadier *Columbine*, who died in his paſſage, on board. The fifth day after he ſailed, he fell in with *Du Caſſe*'s ſquadron, which had juſt eſcaped from that of *Bembow*, and was very foul and leaky. Captain *Cleland*, of the *Montague*, attacked the ſternmoſt of the *French* ſhips; but, upon the firſt firing, the vice-admiral threw out a ſignal to call him off, by which *Du Caſſe*'s ſquadron got ſafe into *Breſt* with all his treaſure. *Graydon* pretended the urgency of his orders, and the neceſſity he was under to proceed, to excuſe this ſhameful conduct, and in this he was publickly juſtified by the admiralty. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he diſguſted all the inhabitants both of that and the other *Weſt-India* iſlands by his conduct, of which they ſent over complaints to *England*. Having collected all the ſtrength he could there, he ſailed for *Placentia*, but his fleet was diſperſed for thirty days in a fog, and when it re-aſſembled, it was concluded, in a council of war, that the *French* were too well prepared at *Placentia* to be attacked; upon which he returned to *England*. By this time, the houſe of peers had voted, "That his behaviour, in letting the four *French* ſhips eſcape, was a prejudice to her majeſty's ſervice, and a great diſhonour to the nation; and that his proceedings in *Jamaica* had been a great diſcouragement to the inhabitants of that iſland, and prejudicial to her majeſty's ſervice." They likewiſe "made an humble addreſs to her majeſty, that Mr. *Graydon* might not be employed any more in her ſervice; but, having been acquainted, ſince the report made to them from their committee, that Mr. *Graydon* was diſcharged, they beſought her majeſty that he might be employed no more in her ſervice."

Admiral Graydon's miſconduct.

ADMIRAL *Whetſtone*, at this time, had cruiſed for five weeks on the coaſts of *Hiſpaniola*, in hopes of intercepting a large fleet of merchant-ſhips coming under a convoy from *Old France*. Being diſappointed in this expectation, he ſent captain *Vincent*, who had behaved ſo bravely in *Bembow*'s engagement with *Du Caſſe*, with one half of his ſhips to the ſouthward, while he himſelf, with the other half, kept to the northward. Three *French* privateers, in endeavouring to avoid captain *Vincent*, fell in with the admiral, who ſunk two of them, and took the third; while captain *Vincent* was equally ſucceſsful upon another part of the coaſt, where he deſtroyed four *French* privateers. The deſtruction of thoſe privateers was a fortunate circumſtance for *Jamaica*; for they were appointed to carry 500 men to land upon ſome part of that iſland, and to plunder it. The loſs of the *French*, upon this

occaſion, was very conſiderable; and the more ſo, as they had no more privateers in thoſe ſeas, the *Engliſh* carrying off 120 priſoners. Thoſe and other ſucceſſes againſt the *French* went far towards clearing the *Engliſh Weſt-Indies* of their privateers. This facilitated a clandeſtine commerce between the *Jamaicans* and the *Spaniards*, to the great enriching of the former; and on the 7th of *May*, 1704, admiral *Whetſtone*, who had returned to *England*, arrived at *Jamaica* with ſix ſhips of war, for the protection of the iſland, having a convoy of merchantmen under him. While he remained in thoſe ſeas, he was very ſucceſsful againſt the *French*; and beſides the privateers he took, he deſtroyed an enemy's ſhip of 46 guns. The privateers of *Jamaica* were equally ſucceſsful, by taking ſeveral very rich prizes, *Spaniſh* as well as *French*. In *January*, 1705-6, two *Engliſh* men of war, the *Briſtol* and *Folkſtone*, fell in with two *French* men of war, which had, under their convoy, ten ſail of merchant-ſhips, all of them richly laden. *Anderſon*, who was the *Engliſh* commodore, attacked the convoy, but ſuffered the men of war to eſcape, and arrived at *Jamaica* with ſix of the *French* merchantmen, his prizes. The flagrancy of this conduct brought *Anderſon* and his officers to a trial, and they were adjudged by the admiral to loſe their commiſſions.

Succeſs of the Jamaica *privateers.*

THE miſmanagements in the marine which ſtill prevailed at the *Engliſh* admiralty board, undoubtedly gave great handles for oppreſſing the people of *Jamaica*. Though *Graydon* had been diſmiſſed for his miſconduct and brutal behaviour in that iſland, yet his puniſhment was not adequate to his offences, and this encouraged others to imitate his example. Captain *Kerr*, who had been left to command the ſquadron at *Jamaica*, when *Whetſtone* returned to *England*, was ſuſpected of being in a correſpondence with the *French*, by the vaſt number of rich *Spaniſh* prizes which he let ſlip, and by his tyranny over all the ſea-faring part of the iſland. The *Jamaicans*, however, had the ſpirit to employ a ſollicitor to proſecute him in *England*, which he did with ſuch effect that his commiſſion was taken from him, and the inſtruments of his tyranny were puniſhed. The *Jamaicans*, at this time, were not much better pleaſed with the conduct of their governor *Handaſide*, whom they accuſed of being entirely under the direction of one *Rigby*, who ſet the governor and the aſſembly at variance in 1711. This *Rigby* had monopolized into his own hands ſeveral of the moſt lucrative employments in the iſland. This had produced a bill againſt ſuch engroſſments, which paſſed the aſſembly, but was diſallowed of in *England*; but at laſt it was confirmed, after ſome alterations had

had been made in it. *Peter Beckford*, junior, was then ſpeaker of the aſſembly; but it was in ſo ill a humour with the governor, that ſeveral motions were made, which he diſliked ſo much, that he more than once attempted to leave the chair; but he was held forcibly in it by ſome members, who drew their ſwords, and ſhut the doors of the aſſembly-houſe. *Peter Beckford* the elder, father to the ſpeaker, hearing of this, went to the governor, and told him they were murdering his ſon. The governor, upon this, took along with him the two centinels that ſtood at his gate, forced open the doors of the houſe, and diſſolved the aſſembly, in the queen's name. This act of reſolution prevented the continuance of the riot; but the fright is ſaid to have had a fatal effect on old Mr. *Beckford*, whom it killed either that, or the next, day. The differences between the governor and the aſſembly ſtill continuing, it was reſolved at court to ſend over a new governor to *Jamaica*, and the appointment fell upon the lord *Archibald Hamilton*, brother to duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*.

Lord Archibald Hamilton, governor.

As the laſt mentioned nobleman was extremely obnoxious to the whigs, on account of his ſuppoſed attachment to the Pretender's intereſt, his brother's appointment to the government of *Jamaica* was very diſagreeable to that party. He arrived at *Jamaica* in *July* 1711; but found the people in ſo bad a humour, that he was obliged to put off the meeting of the aſſembly. To this it is ſaid, he was adviſed by *Rigby*, and by one *Broderick* the attorney-general, who had been imported into *Jamaica* from *Montſerrat*, and other violent tories, particularly one *Stewart*, a phyſician. Though the peace between *France* and *England* was, by this time, far advanced, yet hoſtilities ſtill continued between the two nations in the *Weſt-Indies*; and *Coſſart*, a *French* admiral, after making a deſcent upon *Montſerrat*, threatened the ſame upon *Jamaica*. The univerſal conſternation which this ſpread, for ſome time ſuſpended party-heats. The *London* merchant-ſhips were detained for the defence of the iſland, and an embargo was laid on all other ſhipping. This proved fatal to many of them; for the apprehenſions of *Coſſart* were ſcarcely blown over, when the iſland was invaded by a moſt dreadful hurricane of wind, lightning, and rain. This happened on the 28th of *Auguſt*, 1712; and though the ſtorm laſted but ſix hours, yet ſeveral ſhips belonging to *London* and *Briſtol*, were deſtroyed, as were fourteen belonging to the iſland. Even the king's ſhips at *Kingſton* and *Port-Royal*, were greatly damaged: vaſt numbers of houſes and warehouſes were blown down or ſhattered, paſt repair. Many valuable goods were ſpoiled by the deluges of rain which fell, and the reſt the

A hurricane.

miſchief that was done, was beyond eſtimation. Trees were blown down by the roots, and the canes and proviſions for the negroes, were, in general, deſtroyed all over the iſland; but the greateſt loſs conſiſted in that of 400 ſailors, who were drowned in the harbours of *Port-Royal* and *Kingſton*, and numbers of perſons, who were killed by the fall of houſes and ſugar-works.

THE calamity which this hurricane occaſioned made the inhabitants of *Jamaica* apprehenſive that the *French* would take advantage of it to invade their iſland; and on the 1ſt of *September*, 1712, martial law was proclaimed, and all the inhabitants were muſtered under arms. On the 18th of the ſame month, another hurricane happened, which laſted from eight at night till noon next day. The *Jamaicans* had ſo often felt the dreadful effects of thoſe hurricanes, that they were equally alarmed for the ſafety of their own ſhips of war, as at the deſtination of the *French*. The *Defiance* or the *Centurion* man of war was then cruiſing off *St. Martha* and *Carthagena*, and the *Jamaicans* ſoon had the conſolation to know, not only that they had rid out the ſtorm, but that the *French* ſhips had been ſo ſhattered by it, as to be obliged to quit thoſe ſeas. The great numbers of *Scotch* and *Iriſh* gentlemen, who expected to make their fortunes under the new governor, and who attended him to *Jamaica*, gave diſguſt to the inhabitants, as indeed their political principles did to all who wiſhed well to the houſe of *Hanover*. It was no wonder, if to ſupply ſo many hungry adventurers, ſome arbitrary acts of government were committed, particularly by ſeizing lands and tenements of the owners, under pretext of their not having a legal title to them, and that they had eſcheated to the crown. This practice was the more oppreſſive, as ſeveral families thereby loſt their eſtates, which they had purchaſed upon the faith of their having a valid title to them, and had laid out their whole ſubſtance upon their improvement. *Rigby*, whom we have already mentioned, and *Broderick*, the attorney-general, were accuſed as being the prompters of thoſe iniquitous proceedings. That they were flagrant, appears by a letter, complaining of the government of the iſland, publiſhed in 1714, in the following terms: "The mal-practices of Mr. *Rigby*, his confederates, abettors, and tools, have been ſo groſsly fraudulent and oppreſſive, to the manifeſt prejudice both of the queen and the ſubject, that in the eſcheating of eſtates, whether juſtly eſcheatable or not, the private compoſition given to the governors, beſides what theſe eſcheat-parties have got themſelves, has oftener than once amounted to near three hundred times

Oppreſſions.

as much as the pretended trifling value, though upon oath of ſuch eſtates brought to the queen's account." Thoſe practices at laſt became ſo crying, that the aſſembly interpoſed, and paſſed three acts; the firſt was chiefly levelled at Mr. *Rigby*, and was for preventing any one perſon holding two or more offices and poſts in the iſland: the ſecond was for regulating exorbitant fees; and the third for quieting men's poſſeſſions, and preventing vexatious ſuits at law.

RIGBY being ſecretary of ſtate, as well as provoſt-marſhal, it was his office to tranſmit to the government of *England*, under the broad ſeal of the iſland, all the acts that were ſent home for ratification. So ſecure was this officer of his intereſt at court, that when he tranſmitted thoſe acts he affixed no broad ſeal to them; by which omiſſion, the ratifications of them were delayed, and in danger of being entirely loſt. The truth is, the iſland, at this time, was in a moſt deplorable condition. Its governors, who for many years before, had been bred either in the army or to the ſea, preſided in chancery, where their will was their law. The chief juſtice, who preſided in their law-courts, had a few years before been a cabin-boy, and having loſt the ſhip he afterwards got the command of, he married a planter's widow, and became a judge; and all the other judges and juſtices in the iſland were of the ſame caſt. It was to make way for ſuch, that colonel *Haywood* was removed from being chief juſtice, and a member of the council, though a perſon of great intereſt in the iſland; as were Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair*. A diſpute about money advanced for the maintenance of colonel *Handaſide*'s regiment, and two independent companies of foot on the iſland, having been referred by the aſſembly to a committee, of which Mr. *Chaplin* was chairman; they reported their opinion, that the ſaid money had been raiſed without law, and without the public faith having been given for it; and the aſſembly in conſequence reſolved, that the ſame was no public debt. This proceeding, though the aſſembly thereby did no more than aſſert their own undoubted right of granting money, coſt Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair*, who was ſtrenuous on the ſame ſide, their ſeats at the council-board.

and abuſes of the government of Jamaica.

THE inhabitants of *Jamaica* had more reaſon than any other *Britiſh* ſubjects to complain of the peace of *Utrecht*, and the Aſſiento contract that followed, with the *Spaniards*; which, in fact, eſtabliſhed a new intereſt in *Great Britain*, incompatible with that of our *Weſt-Indies*, and of *Jamaica* in particular. Though it is evident, that the *Spaniards* and the *French*, at that time, would have granted almoſt any conceſſions in point of trade to their *Weſt-Indies*, in favour

which is injured by the peace of Utrecht.

of *Great Britain*; yet our miniſters were in ſo violent a hurry to make peace, that all ſtipulations of that kind were overlooked, and the whole of that trade was ſuffered to remain on the footing of the *American* treaty in 1670; by which all commerce between the *Engliſh* and the *Spaniſh* ſettlements in *America* was entirely prohibited. This, together with the ſuſpenſion of arms between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, created an inexpreſſible trouble to the people of *Jamaica*. Their privateers became now no better than pirates, and were treated as ſuch by the *French* and *Spaniards*, who charged them with carrying off from *Hiſpaniola*, negroes, indigo, and other goods to a very conſiderable amount. A complaint of this was made by the *Spaniſh* governor of *St. Domingo*, while the people of *Jamaica*, with equal juſtice complained, that they had been robbed by the *French* and *Spaniards* to the amount of 200,000 pieces of eight, after the ſaid ſuſpenſion had taken place.

IT happened unfortunately, both for the iſland and the governor, ſoon after the concluſion of the peace of *Utrecht*, that the ſhips of war which had been ſtationed at *Jamaica* for its preſervation, had been called home; and this rendered it neceſſary for the *Jamaicans* to apply for ſome ſafeguard againſt the vaſt ſwarms of *French* and *Spaniſh* privateers, not to mention their own, that were then cruiſing about, and indiſcriminately made prize of whatever came in their way. The merchants, therefore, and the chief inhabitants of the iſland, applied to lord *Archibald Hamilton*, to grant commiſſions to certain commanders of ſhips, in the nature of letters of marque, for the ſecurity of the iſland againſt thoſe free-booters; which he accordingly did. Some of thoſe commiſſions being abuſed, and made uſe of for robbing the *Spaniards*, and other wicked purpoſes, a great clamour was raiſed againſt lord *Archibald*, which was encreaſed when ſeveral of the inhabitants of *Jamaica* fitted out ſloops for fiſhing upon the wrecks of ſome rich *Spaniſh* ſhips that had been loſt upon the coaſt of *Florida* and the *Bahama-Iſlands*.

Piracies frequent.

THOUGH this laſt had been a common practice, and great eſtates had been raiſed from it, not only by Sir *William Phipps*, whom we have often mentioned, but by other perſons; yet the *Spaniſh* governor of *Cuba* complained of it as an infraction of the treaties between the two crowns; and ſent one captain *Juan de la Vallee*, deputy of the *Spaniſh* council of commerce, to demand ſatisfaction. His complaint conſiſted of two parts: the firſt was, that the *Britiſh* ſubjects had robbed the *Spaniards* of part of the wreck, while it was in poſſeſſion of the latter; and the ſecond reclaimed the money which had been already

ready fiſhed up. This affair was for ſome time in agitation; and, in the beginning of the year 1715, while lord *Archibald Hamilton* was ſtill governor, it came before the council, whoſe opinion was, "that as to ſuch part of the flota ſhips, wrecked on the coaſt of *Florida*, as remained in the poſſeſſion of the ſubjects of his Moſt Catholic majeſty, of which it is pretended they were diſpoſſeſſed, it is the opinion of his excellency and the council, that the diſpoſſeſſors are robbers, and ought to be puniſhed; but concerning ſuch part of the ſaid flotas, if any, lying derelict, the ſubjects of his Catholic Majeſty were not drove and forced out of poſſeſſion, but it belonged to the firſt occupant." Though this report is poſſibly not without its difficulties, yet it was agreeable to the practice of the *Weſt-Indies*; nor do we know of any ſatisfaction the *Spaniards* ever received as to the laſt article, though they did as to the firſt. The *Engliſh*, in the mean while, complained with equal juſtice of the *Spaniards*, whom they accuſed of having robbed them of far greater ſums than the *Spaniards* had pretended they loſt; though their loſſes upon the iſland of *Cuba* itſelf, had been admitted and liquidated by the *Engliſh* government to the ſum of 200,000 pieces of eight; but the *Engliſh* claims were diſregarded.

THE acceſſion of the *Hanover* family to the throne of *Great Britain*, gave a new turn to the government and politics of *Jamaica*. The gentlemen there, who were in the Revolution intereſt, heartily joined in the ſolemnity of king *George* the Firſt's proclamation, and they reſolved to raiſe a joint purſe of 1000 *l.* to be employed on agency in *England*, for obtaining redreſs of their grievances. Thoſe were of ſo vague a nature, that many of lord *Archibald Hamilton*'s friends concurred in the ſubſcription; and one Mr. *Bendiſh* was appointed agent. As to the governor himſelf, he certainly had been guilty of no irregularities, becauſe he had always acted according to the advice of his council, and had done nothing in which he was not warranted by the practices of the moſt unexceptionable of his predeceſſors; but he was, by the prevailing party at home, ſuperſeded in his government by colonel *Haywood*; though ſeveral of his friends had ſtill great credit both in the council and the aſſembly. At the time of colonel *Haywood*'s appointment, Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair* were reſtored to their ſeats in the council, and a new council was named, who, though only by a majority of one member, put the late governor lord *Archibald Hamilton* under arreſt, upon a charge of having encouraged piracy. This, unloubtedly, was a moſt infamous abuſe of power, and the chief manager againſt lord *Archibald* was one Dr. *Samuel*

Lord Archibald Hamilton, *turned out.*

Haywood *governor.*

Page, an ignorant, illiterate, quack, but clerk of the council, though he could ſcarcely write a ſentence of common *Engliſh*. Lord *Archibald* was ſent priſoner to *England*. Beſides the forementioned charge, another was brought againſt him, of his having permitted the council to amend money-bills. But he was fully cleared from this charge by the teſtimony of the Board of Trade, who acknowledged, that they had recommended to him to take care that the council ſhould not be denied any right of amending money-bills. As to the charge againſt him of encouraging piracy, it turned out greatly to his lordſhip's honour, for he proved that his conduct had directly the contrary tendency. Upon which he was firſt admitted to bail, and then fully acquitted.

It appears, as if colonel *Haywood* had been appointed only as an occaſional governor; for even before lord *Archibald Hamilton* was put under arreſt, his majeſty had conferred the government of *Jamaica* upon *Nicholas Lawes*, Eſq; an eminent planter of that iſland, whom he knighted at the ſame time. This nomination was extremely agreeable not only to the people of the iſland, but to all the friends of our *Weſt-Indian* ſettlements, as it was looked upon as a kind of omen, that thoſe colonies would no longer ſerve as retreats, where broken gameſters, and ſpendthrift courtiers, were ſent to repair their ſhattered fortunes. When Sir *Nicholas Lawes* arrived at his government, the remains of the pirates and buccaneers had done infinite prejudice to the *Engliſh* trade, and always found a ready aſylum in the *Spaniſh* ſettlements as ſoon as they profeſſed themſelves to be of the Roman Catholic religion. The chief of thoſe villains was one *Toutch*, commonly called *Blackbeard*, a native of *Jamaica*, who was killed in an engagement upon the coaſt of *Virginia*, one *Nicholas Brown*, and one *Chriſtopher Winter*, which two laſt took refuge under the *Spaniſh* governor of *Trinidada*. When *Lawes* came to *Jamaica*, he found three *Engliſh* men of war of forty guns each, upon that ſtation, viz. the *Diamond*, the *Adventure*, and the *Ludlow-Caſtle*; but as we had then a war with *Spain*, it was neceſſary to revive the execution of martial law, and to conſider the military ſtate of the iſland. For this purpoſe he ſummoned an aſſembly, whom he informed that he had taken care to repair the fortifications of *Port-Royal*; and added, "I think the rock-line, and the decayed port of *Carliſle-Bay*, worth your immediate conſideration. I have addreſſed the miniſter at home, for an engineer to be ſent upon the eſtabliſhment, to overſee the works, and direct where to raiſe new ones." Soon after this, the *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding the peace that had been lately concluded, not only

Martial law revived.

only refuſed to give any ſatisfaction for their former depredations upon *Britiſh* ſubjects, but every day committed freſh ones. This occaſioned Sir *Nicholas Lawes* to apply to commodore *Vernon* for an officer to be ſent to the governor of *Trinidada* in *Cuba*, to demand ſatisfaction from the alcaides of that place; and captain *Chamberlain* was appointed to that commiſſion, whom the governor charged with the following letter.

Pirates reclaimed by the Engliſh.

Gentlemen,

" The frequent depredations, robberies, and other acts of violence, which are daily committed on the king my royal maſter's ſubjects, by banditti's, who pretend to have a commiſſion from you, and in reality are ſheltered by you, is the occaſion of my ſending the bearer, captain *Chamberlain*, commander of his majeſty's ſnow, *Happy*, to demand ſatisfaction for the robberies your people have committed on the king's ſubjects of this iſland, by thoſe traitors *Nicholas Brown*, and *Chriſtopher Winter*, to whom you have given protection. Theſe proceedings are not only a breach of the law of nations, but muſt appear to the world of a very extraordinary nature, when conſidered that the ſubjects of a prince in amity with another, ſhould encourage ſuch vile practices. I have had long patience, and declined uſing any violent meaſures to obtain ſatisfaction, hoping, the ceſſation of arms ſo happily concluded between our ſovereigns would have put a ſtop to theſe diſorders; but I find the port of *Trinidado* a receptacle for villains of all nations.

" I therefore aſſure you, in the king my maſter's name, if I meet with any of your rogues upon the coaſts of this iſland, they ſhall be hanged without mercy. I demand of you to make ample ſatisfaction to captain *Chamberlain*, for all the negroes which the ſaid *Brown* and *Winter* have taken from theſe iſlands ſince the ſuſpenſion of arms, and that you will deliver up to the bearer ſuch *Engliſhmen* as are detained at *Trinidado*; and that you forbear granting commiſſions to, or ſuffer any ſuch notorious villians to be equipped from your port, otherwiſe thoſe I can meet with ſhall be treated as pirates."

The letter from Mr. *Joſeph Lawes*, was as follows:

Gentlemen,

" I am ſent by commodore *Vernon*, commander in chief of all his majeſty's ſhips in the *Weſt-Indies*, to demand, in the king our maſter's name, all the veſſels, with their effects; and alſo the negroes taken from *Jamaica* ſince the ſuſpenſion of arms; likewiſe all *Engliſhmen* now detained, or otherwiſe re-

the iſland, that the poor inhabitants are utterly unable to put themſelves in a poſture of defence without ſome aid. We humbly beſeech your majeſty to ſend us ſuch aids of guns, fire-arms, carriages, and ammunition, and ſuch a number of ſhips of war, as your majeſty in your wiſdom ſhall think neceſſary." It is incredible, that during this hurricane (which though perhaps leſs violent than ſome preceding ones, did more damage to the iſland on account of its additional works and riches) many wretches plied about the ſcenes of public calamity, to pilfer whatever they could lay hold of belonging to the ſufferers; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the governor could recover any part of the embezzled goods, by ordering the provoſt-general to ſeize them for the uſe of the right owners.

Relief ordered to the iſland.

UPON the repreſentation contained in the addreſs from *Jamaica*, the government of *England* ordered twelve ſhips of war to be put in commiſſion for the *Weſt-Indies*, and on board of them all kinds of neceſſaries and proviſions for the ſupply and relief of that and the other *Britiſh* iſlands which had ſuffered by the late hurricane. During that calamity, ſome of the *Britiſh* ſhips, particularly the *Launceſton* man of war, captain *Chandler* commander, the *Adventure*, and the *Mermaid* had been at ſea, by which they eſcaped the ſtorm; and in the beginning of *May*, the *Launceſton* took one of thoſe *Spaniſh* pirate ſhips which were then called guarda coſtas, with fifty-eight *Spaniards* on board, who had taken a ſnow belonging to *Jamaica*, ſix leagues off *Hiſpaniola*. As ſuch captures were undoubtedly contraventions of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, the governor and council of *Jamaica* ventured to proceed againſt the priſoners as pirates; and the governor, in conjunction with the council, and the captains of the king's ſhips at *Jamaica*, held a council of war to try them; Mr. *Kelly* being attorney-general, and one Mr. *Norris* regiſter of the court of admiralty. Of the fifty-eight *Spaniards*, no fewer than forty-three were convicted of piracy and robbery, and executed in conſequence of their ſentence. This ſeverity was far from cloſing the breach between the governor and the aſſembly, ſo that he deſired to be recalled, but not till after the militia of *Jamaica* had been diſpoſed into one regiment of horſe, and eight regiments of foot. This regulation became the more neceſſary, as the negroes whom we have ſo often mentioned had been ſuffered, through the diſſentions that prevailed between the governors and the inhabitants of the iſland, to live unmoleſted in the mountains, where they acquired ſuch ſtrength as to grow formidable; and they had, upon an almoſt inacceſſible paſs, erected

Spaniſh *pirates taken and hanged.*

rected a kind of a fort that bid defiance to all the force that he *Jamaicans* could bring againſt it; for their parties who ttacked it always returned home with loſs, and without ucceſs. Thoſe negroes were not even contented with remaining on the defenſive, for they often made excurſions as far as *Spaniſh Town*, alarming the inhabitants wherever they came. uch was the ſituation of affairs when the *Jamaicans* thought roper to employ in their defence the *Muſqueto Indians*, who, s they are dependent on the governor of *Jamaica*, require o be deſcribed here

Rebellion of the mountainous negroes, and an account of the Muſqueto Indians.

THE *Muſquetoes* are a nation on the continent, lying between *Truxillo* and *Honduras*, on a ſandy bay, beyond *Cape Gracia de Dios*, near the bay of *Campeachy*, to which uncomfortable ſituation they were driven by the tyranny of the *Spaniards* from *Honduras*. When the duke of *Albemarle* was overnor of *Jamaica*, the *Muſquetoes* put themſelves under he protection of the crown of *England*; and though their overnment was monarchical, their head king (for they have everal ſubordinate ones) deigned to receive a commiſſion rom his grace. Ever ſince that time, when a vacancy in the overeignty happens, the next heir repairs to *Jamaica*, where e proves his propinquity of blood; nor will his ſubjects acnowledge themſelves to be ſuch, till that is ſubmitted at *Jamaica*, and he receives his commiſſion from the governor. Their affection for the *Engliſh*, ever ſince their firſt admiſon, has been ſurprizing; for they have been known even to ave ſuch of their enemies as could ſpeak *Engliſh*; and ſeveal *Engliſhmen*, before the time we treat of, were encouraged o ſettle and to make fortunes among them. Their country is ſo well defended by mountains and moraſſes, that the *Spaniards*, for whom they have an invincible averſion, never could enetrate into it; but the *Muſquetoes*, towards all but them nd their *Indians*, who helped to drive them out of their old abitations, are a quiet, inoffenſive people. They are by ature moral, and ſo void of vice, that they have no magiſtates among them. They have the greateſt veneration for atrimony, which they confine to a ſingle man and woman, nd ſhew ſigns of devotion, by worſhipping the ſun, and buring their dead, with their faces towards the eaſt, upright on eir feet.

Enemies to the Spaniards.

As to their king, his revenues are ſo ſmall, that in time of eace, he is obliged to fiſh and fowl to maintain himſelf nd his family; but ſometimes in time of war, he receives r his good offices preſents from the governor of *Jamaica* nd the *Engliſh* traders. The numbers of the *Muſquetoes* are

not

not known (B), being variouſly diſperſed; but the whol
them might be eaſily united to ſerve under the *Engliſh*.

and their Indians. take all opportunities of ſurpriſing the *Spaniſh Indians*, women, and children, whom they either detain as among themſelves, or ſell them upon the iſland of *Ja* About the year 1690, thoſe *Muſquetoes* obtained what thought to be a conſiderable victory over the *Spaniſh In* of whom they killed a great number. After this, the A invited them to come to live in their iſland of *Ja* but the *Muſquetoes* loved their independency better tha did even the *Engliſh*. It was thought they were in meaſure influenced to this by their ſockeys or prieſts, they held in ſuch veneration, that ſome diſſolute *En* have been known to take up the profeſſion, that the live in indolence and affluence. No people in *Ame* ſuppoſed to be more expert hunters and fiſhers than th *quetoes*; and they are ſo uſeful at ſea, that the maſt *Jamaica* ſloop, if poſſible, procures one of them to b crew, and treats him with particular diſtinction, ar larger wages, than he gives to a common ſeaman. U arrival of every new governor, the *Muſquetoes* always compliments to him, either by their king, or ſome of th tal men; and he never fails to treat them with great

THE meaſure of taking a number of theſe *Muſqu* pay, to ſerve againſt the negroes in the *Blue Mou* their habitations were called, being concluded upo aſſembly of *Jamaica*, 200 of them arrived in the iſla were formed into companies, with regular pay, under th officers, but with white guides to conduct them to *th* neſſes of the rebels. In this ſervice, they ſhewed grea city; and they often uſed to check the *Jamaicans* for a at game during their excurſions, becauſe the noiſe ſerved

Their ſervices againſt the negroes. to put the rebels upon their guard. It is agreed hands, that during their ſtay upon the iſland, which wa for a few months, they did very conſiderable ſervice a the negroes; but it is not ſo clear, why they were diſmi unleſs, which is not improbable, their affection to their country made them deſirous of returning home.

EVERY day now produced freſh altercations between th governor and the aſſembly, who indeed ſeem to have be diſaffected towards the eſtabliſhment at home, and to hav

(B) Sir *Charles Wager*, when lord commiſſioner of the admiralty, thought them to be very conſiderable; and while admiral *Vernon* was upon h expedition, he had formed ſcheme for arming them aga the *Spaniards*.

aſſum

aſſumed an independency incompatible with the principles of the *Britiſh* government. The calamity of the *South-Sea*, which hurt ſo many *Engliſh* noble families, happening about this time, the duke of *Portland*, who was a great ſufferer by that iniquitous ſcheme, was appointed to ſucceed Sir *Nicholas Lawes* in the government of *Jamaica*. His majeſty, by giving this employment to his grace, ſeems to have intended to root out all the ſeeds of differences and diſcontent in the iſland, as no ſubject was better qualified than the duke was, both by his prudence, virtue, and good temper, to reconcile all parties. As it could not be ſuppoſed that his grace was thoroughly converſant in the practical part of buſineſs, and the miniſtry at home, perhaps, thinking it proper that a military-man ſhould reſide upon the iſland on the part of the government, one colonel *Dubourgay*, was appointed to be his grace's lieutenant-governor, and to be aſſiſtant to him in the management of affairs. *Dubourgay* of whom the miniſtry ſeem to have had a great opinion, had been nominated to the ſame place under Sir *Nicholas Lawes*; but he never exerciſed any part of his functions, as well knowing it would be diſagreeable to the *Jamaicans* to be burdened with a governor and a lieutenant-governor at the ſame time; but the high quality and great reputation of the duke of *Portland* made them imagine that no ſuch objections could be to his having a ſubſtitute. His grace carried over with him his dutcheſs; and, after touching at *Barbados*, where they were magnificently received and entertained, they arrived at *Jamaica* the 22d of *December*, 1722.

Duke of Portland, governor.

THE *Jamaicans*, before his grace came upon their iſland, had never known a governor of true taſte, magnificence, and politeneſs. His grace, without departing from his dignity, was far more affable and eaſy of acceſs, than any of their former governors. His houſe had all the appearance of a polite court, and he introduced among the iſlanders new and more elegant modes of living: they, on the other hand, were not wanting in gratitude, for they ſettled no leſs than 5000*l.* a year upon his grace, being double what they had ever allowed to any former governor. It ſoon appeared, however, that the miniſtry at home had entirely miſtaken their meaſures with regard to colonel *Dubourgay*. The *Jamaicans* looked upon his appointment as being no better than impoſing upon them a burden which the government at home ought to bear, and as eſtabliſhing upon their iſland a new and an expenſive officer. The manner in which his grace, in his firſt ſpeech to the iſlanders, introduced the mention of the colonel, heightened their jealouſy. "I am, ſaid the duke, farther

Character of his adminiſtration.

farther to ſignify to you, gentlemen, that his majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint colonel *Charles Dubourgay*, a perſon of great merit and honour, to be your lieutenant-governor. His long and earneſt ſervices in war, and his ſincere attachment to his majeſty, have prepared his way to this particular mark of the royal favour; and I am commanded to let you know, that it is expected from you, that you receive him with the honour due to his commiſſion, and provide him the ſupport which his credentials will acquaint you with."

Dubourgay *ſent back.*

IT muſt be acknowledged, that this was a very improper ſtile to be made uſe of to the *Jamaicans*, who objected to the creation of new officers, and conſidered this part of his grace's ſpeech, as having been entirely dictated by the *Engliſh* miniſtry, for their own ends; and, indeed, this appeared the more likely, as they had no intimation from their agents in *England*, of the proviſion that was expected to be made for the colonel. They therefore made the latter a handſome preſent of 1000 *l.* to defray his expences in coming over, and he reimbarked in the *Kingſton* man of war, which had brought the duke to *Jamaica*. His grace could ſcarcely be ſaid to have been ſettled in his government, when he perceived that great inteſtine diviſions ſubſiſted among the iſlanders, ſome of whom were upon very bad terms with the aſſembly and the council; but his grace, in anſwer to all applications made to him on that account, always moſt obligingly promiſed to do his utmoſt in reſtoring peace to the iſland, by reconciling all their differences. Soon after his arrival, the king of the *Muſquetoes*, whom we have already mentioned, came to pay him his compliments, and was moſt graciouſly received; but his manners and behaviour ſoon diſcovered that he was very ill-qualified for polite company.

ONE of the moſt difficult parts of his grace's adminiſtration related to an old claim, which had been ſet up and proſecuted by the *Jamaicans*, but had always been diſcouraged by their governors, of having their laws rendered perpetual. The *Britiſh* miniſtry thought that this was inconſiſtent with their dependence upon their mother-country; nor could they foreſee the conſequences of ſuch a privilege; but they were in hopes that the generous proviſion which they had made for the duke would befriend them on this occaſion; and, ſoon after his arrival upon their iſland, they paſſed a law for that purpoſe, to which his grace gave a negative, telling the aſſembly, at the ſame time, that the matter had been thoroughly conſidered at home, and that the objections made to ſuch a law were of ſuch weight, that it would be deceiving them,

them, should he give them the least room to expect that that bill would receive his majesty's approbation.

ANOTHER great difficulty his grace had to encounter with in his government, was, the settlement of the silver coin; the value of which had been fixed by proclamation in the reign of queen *Anne*, according to the table inserted in the note (C). The people of *Jamaica*, pretending to be ignorant of the obedience due to a proclamation on so important a point, disregarded it so far, that they raised their money threepence upon a piece of eight. This produced a representation from the principal *West-India* merchants both at *Jamaica* and *London*, which being laid before the lord *Carteret*, then one of the principal secretaries of state, his lordship, in a letter to his grace, written immediately after he had left *England*, acquainted him, "that the articles of complaint, in the representation, deserve his grace's most serious consideration, and the king directs his grace to use his utmost care to see proper remedies applied. That the trade and credit of the island will be lost, if the valuation of the coin be not rectified. It is, adds his lordship, a bold attempt, that those who advised have undertaken it, being expressly contrary to the act of the 6th of queen *Anne*, and your 47th instruction, which I am commanded to repeat to you, should be strictly obeyed." Upon the authority of this letter, his grace undertook to remedy the evil, which never had been attempted in *Barbados*, and succeeded so well, that it was not afterwards complained of. *Value of the coin altered.* *Settled.*

IT must be confessed, that many other abuses prevailed, about this time, in *Jamaica*, most of which were owing to the disrepute in which the government of the island was held before his grace's arrival. The great quantity of uncultivated lands, contrary to the spirit and tenour of the original grants, had been long a subject of complaint in *England*; because, had they been properly improved, the sugar-trade, *Other abuses.*

	l.	s.	d.
(C) Seville pieces of eight old plate, to pass for	0	6	0
Ditto, new plate	0	4	9½
Mexico pieces of eight	0	6	0
Pillar pieces of eight	0	6	0
Peru pieces of eight	0	5	10½
Cross dollars	0	5	10½
Ducatoons of Flanders	0	7	0
Louis of France, silver Louis	0	6	0
Crusados of Portugal	0	3	9½
Sixdollars of the Empire	0	6	0
Three guilder pieces of Holland	0	6	10½

in all its branches, muſt have been extended, their products muſt have come cheaper to *England*, and the *French* muſt have been checked in the vaſt ſales they found, for thoſe commodities, in the *European* markets. This evil was apparently owing to the ſelfiſh views of the great engroſſing planters, who, though they had vaſt tracts of improveable ſugar-land, did not chuſe to break them up, while they found that the ſcarcity of ſugars kept their prices high enough to anſwer all their purpoſes, without being at any farther expence. His grace ſtrongly recommended the removal of this abuſe to the conſideration of the council and aſſembly; but from what afterwards appeared, without much effect. The ſtate of the high roads in *Jamaica* was, at this time, highly deplorable; and was another object, which his grace recommended to the legiſlature of the iſland. The occaſion of this neglect was the vaſt conveniencies of water-carriage, which the great planters had for conveying their goods and cargoes to the ſhipping. But, as his grace repreſented to them, they did not conſider, that in caſe of any ſudden commotion or invaſion, the impaſſible condition of the roads cut off all inland communication, and prevented one part of the iſland from receiving the leaſt aſſiſtance from the other. "One would think, ſaid his grace in his ſpeech on this head, the inconveniencies which their impaſſable ſtate bring upon the inhabitants daily, ſhould be a ſufficient motive to repair them; but the danger which the public are from thence expoſed to in the caſe of any unexpected alarm, which does render it very difficult, if not always impracticable, for the forces of the iſland to join in its defence, will accuſe and condemn you, ſhould any unhappy conſequences reſult from it. Will it be of any avail to plead, that the pariſhes to which theſe roads belong, were obliged to keep them in a good condition? The late dreadful hurricane has made the expence too great for the pariſhes." This important matter was accordingly taken into conſideration, and the nuiſances removed; ſo that there are now convenient communications between all the principal parts of the iſland; a law having paſſed for that purpoſe.

State of the high-ways.

Proviſions for clergymen.

THE neglect of ſupplying the *Engliſh Weſt-Indies* with clergymen of piety, morals, and reputation, had been long complained of. This was owing chiefly to the uncertain proviſions made for them there, eſpecially at *Jamaica*; ſo that few but men of abandoned principles, and deſperate lives, cared to ſerve the cures upon the iſland. Hence aroſe a ſhameful neglect of all parochial duties; for, excepting a very few, two or three at moſt, no churches were regularly open for divine ſervice. But this abuſe was now remedied ſo

ſat,

far, as that an ample proviſion was made for the regular clergy in *Jamaica*. The endowment of the miniſter of *St. Catharines*, was fixed at 300 *l.* a year; that of *Port Royal*, at 250 *l.* three others at 200 *l.* a year; and all the reſt at 150 *l.* which, with the large perquiſites the incumbents enjoyed, may be juſtly conſidered as comfortable proviſions. But though the people of *Jamaica* were, at this time, remarkably well-affected towards the church of *England*, yet ſerious people obſerved with regret, that even thoſe proviſions did not remove the evil complained of, and that the clergy ſent upon the iſland, were oftentimes ſo far from reclaiming the inhabitants, that the latter debauched the clergy. Others, with far greater reaſon, thought that the defect lay at home, and that too little attention was paid to ſo important a matter by thoſe whoſe ſtation in the church placed them over the ſpiritual concerns of *Jamaica*. But the hiſtory of that iſland becomes now more important than ever.

Expedition of admiral Hoſier.

IN the year 1726, and for ſome time before, the growing connections between the Imperial and *Spaniſh* courts, had given great umbrage to that of *England*, for reaſons that are foreign to this part of our hiſtory; and after various political operations, it was reſolved, that admiral *Hoſier* ſhould ſail with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips of war, which was to be augmented with all the *Britiſh* men of war he could meet with in his voyage, to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. The pretext for this armament was, the continual depredations committed by the *Spaniards* on the *Britiſh* trade in thoſe ſeas; their having ſeized the *South-Sea* company's ſhip the *Royal George*, and detained it at *Porto Bello*; beſides committing many other groſs violations of treaties both in *Europe* and *America*. The true motive, however, of this expedition, was to prevent, for that year, the arrival of the *Spaniſh* treaſures in *Europe*, that the court of *Madrid* might be diſabled from executing the important ſchemes it had formed againſt *Great Britain* in favour of the pretender. The duke of *Portland* did not live to ſee the event of this expedition; for, being taken ill of a fever, he died on the 4th of *July*, 1726. His death was moſt ſincerely lamented by the people he governed, as appears by an extract of a letter from *Jamaica*, which contained the ſenſe of the whole iſland on that mournful occaſion. "A melancholy and univerſal misfortune has befallen us here, which has thrown us into the utmoſt grief and confuſion. My lord duke of *Portland* is dead! This may be remote and unaffecting you, at a diſtance of almoſt half the globe; but it is impoſſible for us, who lived under his mild government, and participated of the gentleneſs of his nature, the complacency of

Death of the duke of Portland.

his temper, the refinement of his manners, the generoſity of his living, the tranquillity, lenity, and equity of his delightful adminiſtration, not to be forcibly touched, and grievouſly afflicted."

THE gentlemen of this iſland ſhewed ſo affectionate a regard for his grace's memory, that they not only went into deep mourning, but three members of the council, by order of the board, waited upon her grace, with the following addreſs, which is here inſerted for their honour. "May it pleaſe your grace; we are directed by the honourable the preſident and council to wait upon your grace, to condole with you upon the late unhappy occaſion, and to aſſure your grace, that as we have a very ſenſible ſhare in the loſs, ſo likewiſe in the affliction. The council, may it pleaſe your grace, will do every thing in their power that may contribute to your eaſe. They are informed of your grace's intentions of quitting ſpeedily this iſland; and as there is no ſhip of war in harbour to convoy your grace through theſe ſeas, they will readily embrace the opportunity, and upon every occaſion endeavour to ſhew their gratitude, and the value and regard they have for your grace's perſon and character." About ſeven weeks after his grace's death, the dutcheſs dowager ſailed on board the *Eſſex* for *England*, with her three daughters and her huſband's corpſe; and, after a very fatiguing paſſage, arrived at *Dover*.

Hoſier lies before the baſtimentos.

THE inſolence of the *Spaniards*, and the injuries they had done to the *Jamaica* trade, afforded a conſiderable handle for war; and *Hoſier* arrived with his ſquadron before *Porto Bello*, where he immediately demanded the reſtitution of the *South-Sea* company's ſhip the *Royal George*, which was inſtantly ſent to him. The *Spaniſh* governor of *Porto Bello* then required him to leave that ſtation, which he was ſo far from complying with, that he lay before the baſtimentos, and even ſtationed one of his ſhips within gun-ſhot of *Porto Bello*. It is doubtleſs that the ſecrets of the *Britiſh* councils, at this time, were very ill kept, and that the court of *Spain*, even before *Hoſier* ſailed for the *Weſt-Indies*, knew his inſtructions, which were, that if he met the *Spaniſh* galleons, he ſhould bring them to *England*; and if he did not, that he ſhould block them up by lying off the baſtimentos at *Porto Bello*. Had this ſcheme been conducted with tolerable ſecrecy, he muſt have met at ſea with all the *Spaniſh* treaſure, which amounted to above ſix millions ſterling, and which actually was embarked on board the galleons. Ten days before the arrival of *Hoſier* at *Porto Bello*, an account of his intention arrived there from

Old

Old Spain by an advice-boat; upon which all the treaſure was re-landed, and carried back to *Panama*.

THIS was no ſmall diſappointment to the people of *Jamaica*, who were in great hopes of being indemnified for all their loſſes out of the *Spaniſh* treaſure. But the expedition itſelf was fatal only to the crews of *Hoſier*'s ſhips. As the government at home had no intention, could they have prevented it, to go to war with *Spain*, unleſs they could have done it with *Spaniſh* money, *Hoſier* was inſtructed, if he could not make himſelf maſter of the galleons, to hinder them from ſailing for *Europe*; but he was tied up from committing any other hoſtilities, and therefore he was obliged to lie off that ſickly coaſt, till diſeaſes ſwept away ſo many of his ſeamen, that he ſcarcely had hands remaining for manning his ſhips. In this terrible diſtreſs he became the object of ridicule to the *Spaniards*, and of compaſſion to his countrymen, eſpecially thoſe of *Jamaica*, to whom he was often obliged to apply, and who generouſly afforded him ſupplies and ſuccours of all kinds.

THE government of *Jamaica*, after the death of the duke of *Portland*, had devolved upon *John Ayſcough*, Eſq; as preſident of the council, a gentleman of unexceptionable character and fortune; and he held the adminiſtration till the arrival of major-general *Hunter*, who was appointed by his majeſty governor of *Jamaica*. This gentleman had been pitched upon for this poſt for the great knowledge he had acquired of *American* affairs, while he had been governor of *New-York* and *Virginia*, and for his having made himſelf thorough maſter of the reſpective intereſts of our continental and inſular colonies. Add to this, that he was a perſon of great ſagacity, knowledge, and reſolution, and a firm friend to the proteſtant eſtabliſhment, which was at that time thought to have many enemies in that iſland. He arrived in the *Lark* man of war, commanded by captain *John Grey*, on the 29th of *January*, 1728; and the very day after his arrival he ſummoned together the council, to whom he made a ſhort, but very nervous, ſpeech, of which the following is a part. "You, Gentlemen, (ſaid he) lie under the ſame obligation with me, to give all attention to the intereſt and eaſe of his majeſty's government here, as you are alſo deeply intereſted in preſerving the peace and promoting the proſperity of your country, which are ſo far from being incompatible, that whoever ſets about to ſeparate them, even in his thoughts, muſt do it upon the odious ſuppoſition of lawleſs power on the one hand, or a ſpirit of ſedition on the other." He then

Preſident Ayſcough, *governor*.

Hunter, *governor*.

promiſed to lay before them the inſtructions which he brought from *England*.

THE aſſembly, in their anſwer, ſeem to have thought that this ſpeech contained a tacit reflection upon their paſt conduct, in not being ſo pliable as they ought to have been to the views of their former governors; but after paying great compliments to Mr. *Hunter*'s perſon, both parties departed ſatisfied; and writs were iſſued for the meeting of the aſſembly on the 21ſt of *March*. When they met, they laid ſome duties upon the exportation and importation of negroes; but the members would by no means agree to continue the duke of *Portland*'s ſalary of 5000 *l.* a year to governor *Hunter*.

Preſent ſalary to the governor.

They made him a preſent, however, of 6000 *l.* which he accepted of, to the ſurprize of many, who remembered the general inſtructions given to the *Weſt-Indian* governors not to accept of preſents; and ſome were of opinion, that it was offered him only with a view of his refuſing it. Notwithſtanding he preſſed hard, yet he could bring the aſſembly to no other terms than that of granting him 2500 *l.* a year. During Mr. *Hunter*'s adminiſtration, he had a very difficult province to manage, on account of the growing differences between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, which terminated in a ſtate neither of war nor peace. About the beginning of *February*, vice-admiral *Hopſon*, in the *Lion* man of war, took upon him the command of the king's ſhips that were lying at *Jamaica*, and put to ſea to cruize off the *Spaniſh* coaſt. This ſeemed rather to exaſperate, than intimidate, the *Spaniards*, who took

Spaniſh *captures.*

the *Anne* galley, a *Jamaica* ſhip, with 254 negroes on board, and carried her to *St. Jago de Cuba*, where ſhe was condemned. This was thought the more extraordinary, as the court of *Madrid*, but a little before, had declared that they had ſent orders to their *American* governors, to diſcontinue all ſuch captures, which orders the latter declared they never received. A man of war was diſpatched from *Jamaica* to reclaim the *Anne* galley; but the *Engliſh* commander met only with ſcurrilities and inſults, and was obliged to return without any ſatisfaction. By this time, the *Spaniards* had ſent to the coaſts of *New Spain* five men of war to join their other ſhips there; and the whole, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail, arrived at *Porto Bello*, and there took in their treaſure.

To enumerate all the depredations committed by the *Spaniards* during governor *Hunter*'s adminiſtration, would be endleſs; it is ſufficient to ſay, that the paſſive behaviour of the court of *England* on that occaſion, rendered the nation every where contemptible; but the people of *Jamaica* were not wanting to themſelves. They tranſmitted to *England* particular

culars of all their loſſes in the moſt aggravating terms; and the gentlemen who were in the oppoſition to the miniſtry took care to improve them; ſo that an univerſal ſpirit of deteſtation was raiſed againſt the *Spaniards* all over the kingdom, which at laſt ended in a war between the two crowns, to the great mortification of the *Engliſh* miniſtry. Governor *Hunter*, while he was in *Jamaica*, had not the good fortune to reconcile all ranks of men there in his favour. Upon ſome ſurmiſe of the deſigns of the *Spaniards*, he laid an embargo upon all the ſhipping in the iſland, which was by many conſidered as being oppreſſive and detrimental to trade, though he did nothing but in conſequence of his inſtructions. He imputed the diſſatisfaction which he found among the iſlanders to concealed papiſts, and therefore he promoted with all his credit an act of aſſembly, by which all perſons from ſixteen to ſixty were obliged to abjure popery. Some of the members thought that this act was not only ineffectual, but prejudicial to the proteſtant intereſt; becauſe no true papiſt could be at a loſs for a diſpenſation to appear a proteſtant. It met with a warm, and perhaps, indiſcreet, oppoſition, but the governor's intereſt prevailed, and it was carried through. His death happened in the year 1734, when the *Spaniſh* depredations were at their height, and therefore it was looked upon as an irretrievable loſs to the iſland. *Death of governor Hunter.*

GOVERNOR *Hunter* before his death, among many excellent plans which he had drawn up for the benefit of the *Weſt-Indies*, had laid one before the government for ſending ſix independent companies to *Jamaica* for the protection of the iſland. This meaſure was the more neceſſary, as the rebellious negroes were now very numerous, and had arrived at a moſt alarming height. They had inveigled great numbers of their countrymen to join them, and had pitched upon a paſs in the mountains, which they had fortified in ſuch a manner as to render it a very ſtrong poſt, at a place called *Nawny*. Here they erected their chief town, which was well ſupplied with proviſions from the grounds which they themſelves had cultivated; and what is ſtill more extraordinary, they were ſupplied with powder and fire-arms by certain Jews upon the iſland, who no doubt were employed for that purpoſe by the *French* and *Spaniards*, who at the ſame time were every day threatening a deſcent upon the iſland.

SUCH was the undeſirable ſtate of *Jamaica* at the time of general *Hunter*'s death; who was ſucceeded by Mr. *Ayſcough*, whom we have already mentioned in the ſame capacity. He ſoon ſaw the neceſſity of immediately ſuppreſſing the negroes; and martial law being again eſtabliſhed in the iſland, by which Ayſcough *again governor.*

every man was to become a ſoldier, both the militia and the regular forces were drawn out. One captain *Stoddart*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the haunts of the negroes, undertook at the head of a ſtrong party, aſſiſted by three field-pieces, to diſlodge them from their fortification at *Nawny*. Had the vigilance of the rebels been equal to their obſtinacy, he muſt have been unſucceſsful; but he prevailed through the great caution and ſilence which he and his men obſerved in approaching the paſs. They mounted the narrow paſſage leading to it without being obſerved by the negroes, and pulling up their field-pieces after them with great difficulty, he planted them ſo, that they bore with cartridge-ſhot and muſket-balls directly upon the negroes, who had drawn out for the defence of their town. A great number of the rebels were killed or wounded, and the iſlands troops falling in upon them during their diſorder, compleated their rout, in which they ſuffered more than they had done for twenty years before.

The negroes defeated.

BUT the iſlanders were not equally fortunate in all their attacks upon thoſe ſavages. Two officers of the iſland, colonel *Charlton* and captain *Ivy*, being at the head of a conſiderable party, advanced againſt them as far as a place called *Bagnals*. The rebels had notice of their approach, and likewiſe, that they marched in ſo irregular a manner, that the van might eaſily be cut off from the main body, and the main body from the rear. Upon this intelligence, the rebels formed ambuſcades, and ruſhing upon the advanced body of the iſlanders, killed ſome of them before thoſe who were neareſt could come up to ſupport them; and though the rebels were repulſed, yet the iſlanders were ſo ſurprized and diſheartened, that they made no attempts to purſue them. Their eſcape filled all the neighbouring towns and plantations with terror, and the alarm even reached *Spaniſh-Town*, though thirty miles diſtant, where it was given out, that the negroes were in full march to maſſacre all the inhabitants. Governor *Ayſcough* immediately aſſembled a body of foot, and a troop of horſe, who marched to ſupport colonel *Charlton*, or to favour his retreat; but they marched two days before they came to a place where the unextinguiſhed fires which the rebels had lighted, gave them intelligence of their having been there the night before. They followed their tracks, and got up with them ſo unexpectedly, that the rebels, not venturing to ſtand an engagement, fled, and were purſued with very conſiderable execution for ſome miles. This diſabled the ſurvivers for many years from again appearing in open rebellion. But the *Jamaicans*, at this time, were on ſuch

ſuch terms with the *Spaniards*, that they were daily plundered by them, without having it in their power, through the averſion which the government at home had for war, to make any repriſals. This put them to an extraordinary expence, as they every day expected a deſcent upon their iſland; and they gave additional pay to the ſix independent companies, which, by this time, were arrived from *Britain*, and were very uſeful in garriſoning the ſeveral poſts of the iſland, particularly *Port Antonio*, on the northſide, which was fortified by the advice of admiral *Stewart*, who then commanded a ſquadron of ſhips lying at *Jamaica*. Port Antonio *fortified.*

UPON the death of general *Hunter*, *Henry Cunningham*, Eſq; a *Scotch* member of parliament, was appointed to the government of *Jamaica*. He was a man of honour and courage, and had been inſtrumental in ſaving the perſon of Sir *Robert Walpole*, the then miniſter, from the fury of the *London* mob, when the famous exciſe-ſcheme was depending in parliament. He was totally unqualified, either by experience or abilities, for the diſcharge of ſuch a truſt as the government of *Jamaica*, and he owed his preferment to it entirely to the partiality of the miniſter in his favour. Before he arrived upon the iſland Mr. *Ayſcough* was dead, and the adminiſtration devolved upon Mr. *Gregory*, who had been chief juſtice. Mr. *Cunningham*, upon his arrival, had ſeveral altercations with the planters, and it was thought he was inſtructed by the miniſter to endeavour to allay the ſpirit of reſentment againſt the *Spaniards*, which was every day diſcovering itſelf more and more by the ſtrong repreſentations ſent over from the iſland to the *Britiſh* miniſtry. But *Cuningham*, who had been habitually intemperate, died of a fever contracted at an entertainment ſix weeks after his arrival upon the iſland. Upon his death, Sir *Orlando Bridgman* was nominated to the government of *Jamaica*; but, for ſome private reaſons unneceſſary to be mentioned here, he never left *Great-Britain*. Cunningham, *governor.* *His death.*

MR. *Gregory*, as preſident of the council upon *Cunningham*'s death, reſumed the adminiſtration of the iſland, and the clamour againſt *Spain* became, at this time, ſo outrageous in *England*, that the miniſter found himſelf under a neceſſity of appointing to that government, ſome man of character and reſolution, and the choice fell upon *Edward Trelawney*, Eſq. As a war between *Great Britain* and *Spain* was, at this time, looked upon as being inevitable, therefore Mr. *Trelawney*'s firſt care was to put the iſland in a proper ſtate of defence, and to reſtore it to tranquillity within itſelf. Engineers were ſent from *England* to ſurvey the fortifications, and to give directions Trelawney, *governor.*

rections for repairing them. The few troops that were in this iſland, as well as the militia, were put under the command of experienced reſolute officers. The natural turn which the *Jamaicans* have for arms, was improved by daily diſcipline, and in a ſhort time, their militia was thought to be little inferior to the beſt regulars. All this time, the rebellious negroes, though they had been defeated, were far from being ſubdued, and miſerable as their lives were, they ſtill not only kept poſſeſſion of their woods and faſtneſſes, but were a terror to all the iſlanders who lay near their habitations; ſo that great tracts of the moſt uſeful ground in *Jamaica* remained entirely uncultivated. To have attempted to reduce them by arms, at that time, would have been highly impolitic, and would have been attended with bloodſhed; nor was it to be doubted, that the *Spaniards* would have found means to have furniſhed them with ſupplies of all kinds. Mr. *Trelawney*, therefore, wiſely offered them pardon and ſecurity, which all of them readily embraced, on condition of their being under the government of one of their own number, but ſubject to the controul of the governor of *Jamaica*, and to the inſpection of certain white men, who were to reſide among them. Though great objections may be juſtly made to this pacification, which proved ineffectual, yet it ſerved in the mean time the purpoſe of reſtoring internal peace to the iſland.

The negroes pacified.

Orders for repriſals publiſhed in Jamaica.

WHEN the war with *Spain* was reſolved upon in the year 1739, it was at firſt privately reſolved to iſſue an order for making repriſals; and the *Shoreham* man of war was diſpatched with the ſame to the *Weſt-Indies*, where they were received with the greateſt joy; but more eſpecially at *Jamaica*, where great numbers of privateers, were, as it were, inſtantaneouſly fitted out. Commodore *Brown* then commanded the king's ſhips lying there, and the *Shoreham* arriving on the 5th of *Auguſt*, he put to ſea with five ſail of men of war on the 14th, and proceeded directly againſt the *Havannah*, which he approached ſo near, that he exchanged ſeveral ſhot with its forts, but without doing or receiving any damage. It was thought, at that time, that the government was too tame in not proceeding farther than iſſuing an order for repriſals, which the captains of *Britiſh* men of war did not think ſufficiently authorized them to attack their ſettlements. Fault was likewiſe found with publiſhing thoſe orders in the *Weſt-Indies*, becauſe the publication of them ſerved only to put the *Spaniards* upon their guard. Commodore *Brown*, upon this occaſion, undoubtedly loſt, through his timidity leaſt he ſhould tranſgreſs his orders, more than one

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opportunity of diſtreſſing the enemy; for he cruized all through the gulph of *Mexico* towards *Porto Bello*, and returned to *Jamaica* without making any attempt upon the *Spaniſh* ſettlements at land. Soon after he left *Jamaica*, he had ſent the *Sheerneſs* man of war, captain *Stapleton*, to obſerve the ſtrength and ſituation of the *Spaniards* at *Carthagena*. The *Sheerneſs* approached the harbour under the appearance of a merchant-ſhip; upon which, don *Bloſs*, the *Spaniſh* admiral there, ſent out a pinnace, with his lieutenant, to conduct her in; but this officer with his crew, were made priſoners by captain *Stapleton*, and carried off. The houſe of commons in *England*, had, at this time, ſcarce any other employment than receiving addreſſes and petitions concerning the *Spaniſh* depredations; and a bill had been brought in for the more effectual ſecuring the trade of his majeſty's ſubjects in *America*, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was veſted in the captors; and his majeſty was impowered to grant commiſſions, or charters, to any perſons or ſocieties, for taking any ſhips, goods, harbours, lands, or fortifications of the enemy in *America*, and for holding and enjoying the ſame as their own property and eſtate for ever. Had this bill paſſed when it was firſt brought in, it muſt have had a great effect upon the operations of the war, becauſe the *Jamaicans* undoubtedly would have exerted themſelves to the utmoſt againſt their enemies, and that too before they were provided to receive them. But this opportunity was loſt, and the nation was obliged to depend on its fleet alone for redreſs.

Arts of the miniſter.

It is certain, that the arts and great influence of the miniſter would have continued to defeat the voice of the nation, and all the independent part of the parliament that called for war, had not the court of *Spain* imagined, that the diviſions in the kingdom were ſuch, that the crown never would venture upon hoſtilities, or, at leaſt never make war in good earneſt. In this perſuaſion, they baffled all the complying arts made uſe of by the *Britiſh* miniſter, who would have put off the war, had the court of *Madrid* condeſcended even to ſave common appearances, by ſeeming willing to grant ſatisfaction to the *Britiſh* nation; but the *Spaniards* diſdained this; and at laſt, the uninfluenced part of the adminiſtration found means to convince his majeſty, how abſolutely neceſſary it was to purſue vigorous meaſures. The nation, at this time, was not deſtitute of able admirals, and naval commanders; but they unfortunately were all of them in the intereſt of the miniſter, to whom they knew that a vigorous proſecution of the war would be diſagreeable; and all, or moſt of them being members of parliament, they had gene-

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rally voted on his ſide. Captain *Vernon*, who was not at that time in parliament, was mentioned and approved of as a fit perſon to command an expedition againſt the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*.

Account of admiral Vernon.

He had formerly been a commodore in thoſe ſeas, with which he was extremely well-acquainted; and while he ſate in the houſe of commons, he had conſtantly oppoſed the miniſter and his pacific ſchemes; expreſſing an equal contempt for him and the *Spaniards*. He had often declared that he could take *Porto Bello* itſelf with ſix ſhips of war, and the declaration being now called to mind, he was ſent for to court, and he accepted of the command of the expedition. The miniſter could not decently oppoſe this nomination of a man, whoſe courage and abilities, as a ſeaman, were unqueſtionable; and perhaps, he expected, that his failure of ſucceſs, which he looked upon as certain, would cure the people of their paſſion for a war with *Spain*. *Vernon* was created vice-admiral of the blue, a ſquadron was equipped at *Portſmouth*, and on the 19th of *July* 1739, he was appointed commander in chief of all his majeſty's ſhips in the *Weſt-Indies*, and repairing to *Portſmouth*, he took under his command the following ſhips; the *Burford*, captain *Watſon*, 500 men, 70 guns; the *Princeſs Louiſa*, captain *Waterhouſe*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Worceſter*, captain *P. Mayne*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Stafford*, captain *Trevor*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Norwich*, captain *Herbert*, 300 men, 50 guns; beſides two other ſhips, which were to join him in the *Weſt-Indies*. *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica* was appointed to be the place of rendezvous in caſe of ſeparation, and on the 22d of *Auguſt*, the ſquadron arrived at *Madeira*, where they took in their ſtores, and, eſpecially, proviſions of wine for the hoſpital at *Jamaica*. From *Madeira* the admiral ſent diſpatches to commodore *Brown* at *Jamaica*, to give out his orders immediately for having all his majeſty's ſhips at that iſland, put in a condition to proceed to ſea with the admiral as ſoon as poſſible.

His arrival in the Weſt-Indies.

Upon the arrival of admiral *Vernon* and his ſquadron on the 28th of *September* at *Antigua*, he there found the *Angleſea*, captain *Reddiſh*, the *Loweſtoffe*, captain *Drummond*, and *Saltaſh* ſloop, captain *Swanton*, ſtationed; and of thoſe, he only ordered the *Angleſea* to attend him to *Jamaica*. On the 2d of *October*, he arrived at *St. Chriſtopher's*, where he was met by captain *Herbert* of the *Norwich*, who had been ſent expreſs to the preſident of *Barbados*, to get all the intelligence he could concerning the trade of the *Spaniards*, and their ſituation at the *Caraccas*; and he learned from him, that

that the *Spaniſh* trade on the *Caracca* coaſt was limitted to *Laguira* and *Porto Caſallo*. Upon this intelligence, captain *Waterhouſe*, in the *Princeſs Louiſa*, with the *Norwich* and the *Stafford* under his command, was diſpatched by the admiral, with orders, "to make the beſt of his way for the coaſt of *Caraccas*, taking particular care to fall in with that coaſt to windward of the port of *Laguira*; and if he ſhould perceive any ſhips to be riding there, he was, before his coming near in, to make the ſignal for the captains, and form his ſcheme for attacking them, that every one might know how he was to execute his part of it before their coming into the road, where they were to uſe their beſt endeavours to take, ſink, burn, and deſtroy, all ſuch *Spaniſh* ſhips and veſſels, as they ſhould find there; and they were farther ordered to range that coaſt as far as *Porto Cavallo* afterwards, and endeavour to do the ſame with all *Spaniſh* ſhips and veſſels that they ſhould meet with, and then to make the beſt of their way for *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*." When *Waterhouſe* came to *Laguira*, a conſiderable port and a little town on the *Caracca* coaſt, he ſaw ſeventeen ſhips in the harbour, which was defended by three forts, and they played vigorouſly upon the *Engliſh* ſhipping, which ſteered almoſt up to the forts. A briſk cannonading enſued, by which the fortifications, churches, and houſes of the *Spaniards*, ſuffered greatly; and it is ſaid, that the lieutenants and ſailors of the ſquadron offered to have landed and ſtormed the works; but they were countermanded by the commodore, on pretence that his ſhips were already too much damaged; that the weather was beginning to grow boiſterous, and that the undertaking was too hazardous; upon which he left the place, and proceeded to *Jamaica*.

Waterhouſe *miſcarries before* Laguira.

By this time, captain *Knowles*, in the *Diamond* man of war, had taken and carried into *Jamaica*, a *Spaniſh* ſhip, with 74,000 pieces of eight, and cloathing for the garriſon of *Auguſtine*; and on the 15th of *October*, admiral *Vernon*, in the *Burford*, with the *Worceſter*, arrived at *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*, where he was joined by the *Hampton-Court*; ſo that beſides the ſhips already mentioned, his force conſiſted of the *Hampton-Court*, commodore *Brown*, captain *Dent*; the *Sheerneſs*, *Stapylton*; *Windſor*, *Berkley*; *Falmouth*, *Douglaſs*; and *Fraternity* tender, *Trnewith*. The admiral, mindful of his engagement to take *Porto Bello* with ſix ſhips only, detached the *Worceſter*, to cruize off *Cape Tiberon*, and the *Blandford*, to cruize to windward, for the ſafety of ſome ſhips, expected with ſtores, from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and ſent other ſhips on different cruizes. The failure of *Waterhouſe* at *Laguira*, put him under various difficulties, as he

Knowles *takes a ſhip.*

was furniſhed with no preciſe information with regard to the ſtrength or ſituation of the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he found that governor *Trelawney* had iſſued out letters of marque and repriſal againſt the *Spaniards*, and that the numerous privateers already fitted out by the *Jamaicans* had made ſeveral conſiderable captures.

Proceedings of admiral Vernon.

But *Vernon* began now to ſuſpect that his ſix ſhips alone might be in danger of miſcarrying in his favourite enterprize, the attack of *Porto Bello*, unleſs he had along with him ſome land-troops, he having brought none from *England*. He was therefore obliged to apply to Mr. *Trelawney*, who furniſhed him with 240 ſoldiers, though they could be but ill ſpared, from the defence of the iſland. This ſeaſonable ſupply enabled the admiral to put to ſea. Here it may be proper to inform our readers, in order to obviate a common miſtake, which has prevailed, as if *Vernon* had been cramped in his operations by the miniſtry, that he had a diſcretionary power of proceeding againſt any part of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* he thought proper, only he was, by all means, to make himſelf, if poſſible, maſter of the plate-fleet. *Vernon* knew the great value of time, and having communicated his intentions to his captains, on the 5th of *November*, he ſailed from *Port-Royal* harbour in *Jamaica*, with the following ſhips, the *Burford*, *Hampton Court*, *Princeſs Louiſa*, *Worceſter*, *Stafford*, *Norwich*, and *Sheerneſs*, the laſt of which he ordered to cruize off *Carthagena*. The number of ſailors on board this ſquadron was 2495.

Porto Bello *deſcribed and taken.*

On the 7th of *November*, admiral *Vernon* delivered his orders, for the attack of *Porto Bello*, to the commodore and his captains, which were drawn up with a clearneſs and preciſion, which do great honour to his character as a ſeaman, and with ſo much foreſight, that they admitted of little alteration, when they were carried into execution. Thoſe given to captain *Stapylton*, were to look in on the back of the town of *Carthagena*, and ſee whether the galleons were ſtill in that harbour, and to carefully obſerve their motions; and if he found them already at, or in a diſpoſition for coming to, ſea, or that any men of war were to come to join them, then to make the beſt of his way for *Porto Bello*, to give the earlieſt advice of it he could, to prevent the admiral's being ſurpriſed." The winds proving contrary, the ſquadron did not come in ſight of *Porto Bello* till the 20th of *November*, and anchored ſix leagues off the ſhore, and next day he made diſpoſitions for the attack. The ſtrength of *Porto Bello* lay in three forts, one on the north entrance of a bay, which is about a mile deep, and which, from its ſtrength, was called

Iron-

Iron Caſtle, mounted 78 guns, and had a battery with 22 guns, parallel with the water, with a garriſon of 300 men. The *Gloria Caſtle* lay a mile farther up the bay, beſides many other fortifications, mounted 90 guns; and a little above that, near the other end of the town, which lay at the bottom of the harbour, lay the ſtrong fort of *St. Jeronimo*, which, with *Gloria Caſtle*, protected the ſhipping; ſo that upon the whole, the *Spaniards* looked upon *Porto Bello* as being next to impregnable. Commodore *Brown*, in the *Hampton-Court*, led the attack upon the *Iron Fort*, to which the ſquadron was piloted by captain *Renton*, being well ſeconded by captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, and captain *Mayne* in the *Worceſter*, while the admiral lay behind to obſerve the effect of their operations. This excellent diſpoſition had the deſired effect; for the fire from the ſhipping was ſo hot, that the admiral perceived that ſome of the *Spaniards* fled from ſeveral parts of the fort; upon which he made the ſignal for the boats in which the ſoldiers were, to make the beſt of their way in order to their landing, whilſt he was coming up to the fort to batter it. The admiral luffing-up as near to the fort as he could, the fire of his ſmall-arms commanded the enemy's lower batteries, and had a good effect in driving them from thoſe batteries, from which they could do moſt harm; and by this means, the men were alſo ſecured at landing. They chiefly depended upon thoſe lower batteries for defence; but the admiral, though no breach was made, ordered the boats, as they came up with the ſoldiers, to land their men under the walls of the fort in the front of their lower batteries. The ſailors and ſoldiers were no ſooner landed from the boats, than they ſcaled the fort-walls and mounted, aſſiſted by one another, to the embraſures, under the mouth of their great guns. The *Spaniards* had no idea of ſuch daring, or, as they thought it, madneſs; but ſeeing it take effect, they abandoned their lower batteries, and ran to the upper part of the fort, where they hung out a white flag for capitulating, which was ſoon anſwered with another by the admiral, who had ſome difficulty in preventing his own crew, and thoſe of the *Stafford*, from continuing their fire. By this time, the *Engliſh* ſailors had ſtruck the *Spaniſh* colours, and no more than thirty-five men, who ſurrendered at diſcretion, of all the garriſon, were left; all who were not killed or diſabled, having made their eſcape in a moſt cowardly manner.

THE admiral next proceeded to the attack of *Gloria Caſtle*, which he battered with his lower tier of guns with great effect. Next day, being the 22d, while the admiral

ɔſſeſſion of *Gloria-Caſtle*. The *Spaniſh* commanders
earneſtly for their retaining the ſhips in the har-
conſiſted of two men of war of twenty guns
w; but this was refuſed by the admiral, who
ſtive thoſe ſhips had been in diſtreſſing the
e immediately took poſſeſſion of the ſhips,
ike true freebooters, had been buſied all
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al found more danger and difficulty
taking, the fortifications of *Porto*
about fourſcore iron cannon which *Wiſe con-*
and he took on board his own ſhip, of *duct of ad-*
y, forty pieces of braſs cannon, ten braſs *miral* Ver-
ur braſs mortars, and eighteen braſs patteraroes. non.
d 122 barrels of powder to be employed in blow-
and demoliſhing the fortifications; but he diſtributed
the men 10,000 dollars of the *Spaniſh* government's
which fell into his hands. In all other reſpects he
nviolably obſerved the capitulation, and diſperſed among
uadron the following orders, "Punctually and religi-
inviolably to preſerve to the *Spaniards* the conditions
capitulation, and the other humane conceſſions granted
ſince, as agreeable to the inclinations of his royal
and the nature of an *Engliſhman*."
the 27th, captain *Knowles* in the *Diamond*, joined the
at *Porto Bello*, as did on the 29th, captain *Berkeley* in
ndſor, and captain *Reddiſh* in the *Angleſea*; nor are we
et that captain, afterwards the famous admiral, *Boſ-*
acted in this expedition as a volunteer, his own ſhip
reham being not fit for ſervice; and was aſſiſting as an
:r to captain *Knowles* in demoliſhing the *Iron Caſtle*.
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the admiral had carried out with him no land troops;
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affairs in *Great Britain* when the admiral ſailed. The *The* Ja-
ans, as they had been greatly conducive to the ſucceſs maicans
expedition againſt *Porto Bello*, reaped the chief benefit *the chief*
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Spaniſh dominions in *America*. Before the admiral left
Bello, he ſent a meſſenger with a letter to the governor
ama, which lies but eighteen leagues diſtant on the
ard of the iſthmus of *Darien*, demanding that the ſer-
nd factors of the *Engliſh South-Sea* company, who had
onfined there on the commencement of hoſtilities,
be releaſed, which was accordingly complied with.

and his officers were conſulting about their future operations; the caſtle hung out a white flag, and ſent a flag of truce in a boat to the admiral, who drew up the terms upon which he was willing to grant a capitulation, allowing the *Spaniards* only a few hours to take their reſolution, and they agreed to them within the time, which were as follow.

Articles of capitulation.

" Articles of capitulation granted by *Edward Vernon*, Eſq; vice-admiral of the blue, and commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſe's in the *Weſt-Indies*, and commodore *Brown*, to don *Franciſco Marlines de Retez*, governor of *Porto Bello*, and don *Franciſco de Abarao*, commandant of the guarda coſtas at the ſame place, the 22d of *November* 1739, *O. S.* Article 1. That the garriſon be allowed to march out as deſired, upon condition the king of *Great Britain*'s troops be put in poſſeſſion of the *Glory-Caſtle* before four o'clock this evening, and the garriſon to march out by ten o'clock to-morrow morning: that the inhabitants may either remove or remain, under a promiſe of ſecurity for themſelves and their effects. 2. That the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers may have a guard if they think it neceſſary. 3. That they may carry off two cannon mounted, with ten charges of powder for each, and their match lighted. 4. The gates of the *Glory Caſtle* muſt abſolutely be in poſſeſſion of the king our maſter's troops, by four o'clock, and the *Spaniſh* garriſon ſhall remain in all ſafety for their perſons and effects till the appointed time for their marching out, and to carry with them the proviſions and ammunition neceſſary for their ſafety. 5. That the ſhips, with their apparel and arms, be abſolutely delivered up to the uſe of his *Britannic* majeſty, but that all the officers, ſoldiers, and crew, ſhall have three days allowed them to retire with all their powerful effects; only one officer being admitted on board each ſhip and veſſel, to take poſſeſſion for the king our maſter, and to ſee the article ſtrictly complied with. 6. That provided the articles abovementioned are ſtrictly complied with, and that poſſeſſion be given of the caſtle of *St. Jeromo*, in the ſame manner as is ſtipulated for the caſtle *Gloria*, then the clergy, the churches, and town, ſhall be protected and preſerved in all their immunities and properties. And that all priſoners, already taken, ſhall be ſet at liberty before our leaving the port." Given under our hands on board his majeſty's ſhip *Burford*, in *Porto Bello* harbour, this 22d day of *November*, 1739, *O. S.* *E. Vernon.* *Cha. Brown.*"

THE *Spaniards* having ſignified their intentions to comply with thoſe articles, the admiral ſent captain *Newton*, who commanded the *Jamaica* detachment, with 120 of his ſoldiers, to

to take poſſeſſion of *Gloria-Caſtle*. The *Spaniſh* commanders had pleaded earneſtly for their retaining the ſhips in the harbour, which conſiſted of two men of war of twenty guns each, and a ſnow; but this was refuſed by the admiral, who well knew how active thoſe ſhips had been in diſtreſſing the *Britiſh* trade, and he immediately took poſſeſſion of the ſhips, the crews of which, like true freebooters, had been buſied all the preceding night in plundering the defenceleſs inhabitants of the town. The admiral found more danger and difficulty in deſtroying, than he did in taking, the fortifications of *Porto Bello*. He rendered uſeleſs about fourſcore iron cannon which he found upon them, and he took on board his own ſhip, of their great artillery, forty pieces of braſs cannon, ten braſs field-pieces, four braſs mortars, and eighteen braſs patteraroes. He reſerved 122 barrels of powder to be employed in blowing up and demoliſhing the fortifications; but he diſtributed among the men 10,000 dollars of the *Spaniſh* government's money which fell into his hands. In all other reſpects he moſt inviolably obſerved the capitulation, and diſperſed among the ſquadron the following orders, "Punctually and religiouſly, inviolably to preſerve to the *Spaniards* the conditions of their capitulation, and the other humane conceſſions granted to them ſince, as agreeable to the inclinations of his royal maſter, and the nature of an *Engliſhman*."

Wiſe conduct of admiral Vernon.

On the 27th, captain *Knowles* in the *Diamond*, joined the admiral at *Porto Bello*, as did on the 29th, captain *Berkeley* in the *Windſor*, and captain *Reddiſh* in the *Angleſea*; nor are we to forget that captain, afterwards the famous admiral, *Boſcawen*, acted in this expedition as a volunteer, his own ſhip the *Shoreham* being not fit for ſervice; and was aſſiſting as an engineer to captain *Knowles* in demoliſhing the *Iron Caſtle*. The oppoſition at home found great fault with the miniſtry, becauſe the admiral had carried out with him no land troops; but they excuſed themſelves on account of the threatening ſtate of affairs in *Great Britain* when the admiral ſailed. The *Jamaicans*, as they had been greatly conducive to the ſucceſs of the expedition againſt *Porto Bello*, reaped the chief benefit from it by the vaſt number of captures which their privateers made, and by a trade being opened for them to the very heart of the *Spaniſh* dominions in *America*. Before the admiral left *Porto Bello*, he ſent a meſſenger with a letter to the governor of *Panama*, which lies but eighteen leagues diſtant on the ſouthward of the iſthmus of *Darien*, demanding that the ſervants and factors of the *Engliſh South-Sea* company, who had been confined there on the commencement of hoſtilities, ſhould be releaſed, which was accordingly complied with.

The Jamaicans the chief gainers by the war.

Great popularity of Vernon.

THE news of *Vernon*'s ſucceſs was brought to *Great Britain* by captain *Renton*, who, in reward for his good ſervices, was appointed to the command of the *Spaniſh* ſnow; and the ſame was received with unparalleled tranſports of joy by all ranks of people, who were now united in ſupporting the admiral to the utmoſt; for which purpoſe, ſix regiments of marines were propoſed to be raiſed, as they afterwards actually were. The duke of *Newcaſtle*, who was then one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, in a letter to admiral *Vernon*, dated *March* 26, 1740, took off both from his maſter and himſelf all ſuſpicion of cramping the admiral's operations. He informed him, "That the king did not think proper to preſcribe any particular ſervice to be undertaken by him, but left it entirely to his direction to act againſt the *Spaniards* in ſuch manner, and in ſuch places, as ſhould appear to him beſt to anſwer the ends propoſed by his majeſty's orders to him, which were, to diſtreſs and annoy the *Spaniards* in the moſt effectual manner, by taking their ſhips, and poſſeſſing himſelf of ſuch of their places and ſettlements, as he ſhould think practicable to attempt."

BUT, by this time, the admiral had reſolved upon his plan of operations, which terminated in the conqueſt of *Carthagena* itſelf, an object of ſtill more importance than *Porto Bello*. For this purpoſe, the ſix regiments of marines we have mentioned, beſides a conſiderable body of land troops, were raiſed with ſurpriſing expedition, and lord *Cathcart*, a nobleman of unexceptionable abilities, was appointed to the command of the land-troops. As *Vernon* had with him no force adequate to any attempt upon *Carthagena*, all he could do was to make ſuch a diſpoſition of his ſhips as to prevent any ſupplies that might be thrown into the place; and for that purpoſe, he ordered captain *Knowles*, in the *Diamond*, to accompany his ſquadron from *Porto Bello* till their arrival as far to windward as *Carthagena*, and to cruize there for obſerving the galleons, as well as for intercepting any relief from *Europe*. On the 13th, he ſailed with his ſquadron for *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, which he again appointed to be the rendezvous; and having ſome ſuſpicion that the *Spaniſh* ſquadron from *Port-Royal* might be in thoſe ſeas, he iſſued out the ſtricteſt orders for all his ſhips to keep him company. A ſtorm aroſe which diſperſed them; but they at laſt arrived ſafe at *Jamaica*. Here *Vernon* wrote over to *England* the moſt bitter complaints of the government's conduct in not ſupporting him, either by ſending over a body of land forces, which he intiſted ſhould be under his own direction, or by giving him the

He returns to Jamaica *with his fleet.*

the command of thoſe that were already raiſed, or might be raiſed, in *America*. The government thought fit to diſagree to this propoſal, and great doubts were entertained as to the propriety of attacking *Carthagena*, there being a ſtrong party in the council of opinion, that the conqueſt of the *Havannah* itſelf ought firſt to be attempted, and the rather, as it was well known, that the *Spaniards* had a large fleet ready to ſail from *Ferrol*; that it was to be joined by a *French* ſquadron; and that the *Dutch* themſelves ſeemed inclined to enter into very unnatural connexions with thoſe two powers, to favour the ſafe arrival of the galleons in the ports of *Spain*. Several cabinet councils were held on this ſubject; but it being deemed too dangerous, and indeed, impolitic, to attempt the conqueſt of a place like the *Havannah*, which, according to the evidences that were examined, was impregnable by ſea, and which, if taken by land, muſt make the greateſt powers in *Europe* enemies to *Great Britain*, it was judged proper, by conſent of the lord *Cathcart* himſelf, not to name in his inſtructions any particular deſtination for the great armament that was fitting out, but that a conſultation ſhould be held at *Jamaica*, where his lordſhip, admiral *Vernon*, and governor *Trelawney*, with other proper officers, were to determine upon the object of the operations. *Reſolutions of the* Britiſh *council.*

It is but doing juſtice to *Vernon* to acknowledge, that while he lay at *Jamaica*, he loſt no time in refitting his ſhips and preparing for a freſh expedition againſt the enemy. He left the *Hampton-Court*, the *Worceſter*, the *Diamond*, and *Torrington*, under commodore *Brown*, for the defence of the iſland. He ordered the *Burford* to be repaired, and to follow himſelf; and, on the 25th of *February*, he ſailed from *Port-Royal* in the *Stafford*, with the *Princeſs Louiſa*, *Windſor*, *Norwich*, *Falmouth*, and *Greenwich* men of war, the *Succeſs*, *Cumberland*, *Eleanor*, *Alderney*, *Terrible* brig, *Pompey* and *Goadly* frigates, fireſhips, bombs and tenders. On the 3d of *March*, he anchored in an open bay, called *Playa Grande*, before *Carthagena* in the evening, and next morning he began a briſk bombardment againſt the town, which did it great damage; while his own fleet received little from the enemy. But this was all he could do: his force was unequal to any farther attempt; and on the 9th he drew off his bomb-ketches and ſmall craft, coaſting along the ſhore of *Boca Chica*, from whence he received no damage, and marking the proper places for a future deſcent. Having intelligence of a large *Spaniſh* man of war, expected at *Carthagena*, he left captain *Berkley* in the *Windſor*, and captain *Windham* Vernon *bombards* Carthagena.

in the *Greenwich*, to cruize for twenty days off that port, and principally to watch the motions of the galleons. The admiral then bore away towards *Porto Bello*, but ſent captain *Knowles* in the *Diamond*, to reconnoitre the fort at the mouth of the *Chagre*. *Knowles* was followed by the *Succeſs* and the *Eleanor*, with orders to cruize off the mouth of the river *Chagre* for ſeven days, or till the ſquadron ſhould ſooner appear off there, for preventing the *Spaniſh* privateer ſloops from putting to ſea from thence, or intercepting any thing that might be coming or going there. An accident happening to his own ſhip, which retarded their progreſs, he ordered captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, to make all the ſail he could, and enter the harbour of *Chagre* before him, with the bomb-ketches, and all the fireſhips and tenders, under his orders, and captain *Knowles*, as engineer, on board the bomb-ketches, for placing them to play on the caſtle of *St. Lorenzo*, at the mouth of the river *Chagre*; and to cover them with his own ſhip and the reſt.

Fort Lorenzo *bombarded and taken.*

MR. *Knowles* began the cannonading the ſame day he got to anchor, and it continued till the 24th, when the *Spaniards* hung out a flag of truce, which was anſwered by the admiral, who was now come up in the *Stafford*. The capitulation was ſoon ſettled. The garriſon of the fort were at liberty to retire to the caſtle of *Chagre*, where all the inhabitants and clergy were to enjoy full ſecurity for themſelves and effects; but the fort of *Chagre*, with the guard-ſloops, and the king of *Spain*'s cuſtom-houſe, were to be delivered up to the admiral. Captain *Knowles* was made governor of fort *St. Lorenzo*, where the cuſtom-houſe was found full of very valuable goods; but having no land-forces with him to garriſon the place, it was totally demoliſhed; and, by the firſt of *April*, his ſhips off *Carthagena* having rejoined him at the mouth of the harbour of *Porto Bello*, he returned to *Jamaica*, having in vain endeavoured to intercept two *Spaniſh* men of war, who got ſafe to *Carthagena*, with 600 ſoldiers on board. The demolition of fort *St. Lorenzo*, upon the river *Chagre*, was thought at that time to be an important ſervice, as the *Spaniards* could carry goods up that river within fifteen miles of *Panama*. But we are now to attend the affairs of *Jamaica*.

Affairs of Jamaica.

THE eſtabliſhment of the *South-Sea* company, and the aſſiento contract, gave a ſevere blow to the proſperity of that iſland, which in a great meaſure conſiſted in the trade carried on by the inhabitants with the *Spaniards*, and which therefore being incompatible with the intereſts of that company,

was

diſcouraged at home. But this was not the worſt part of vil, for the company complained in ſuch terms to the t of *Spain*, of the illicit trade carried on by the *Jamai-* that the *Spaniards*, under pretext of ſuppreſſing it, had ieir guarda coſtas committed all the depredations which riſe to the war. When it was known that the *French* lrons were ſailed to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in bringing home treaſure from *America*, and after the court of *Verſailles* declared, that they would not ſuffer the *Britiſh* arma- s to make any conqueſts in the *Weſt-Indies*, the plan of erations, under lord *Cathcart*, was entirely altered, and s reſolved to encreaſe both the ſea and land-forces under ſo as that, when joined with thoſe already in the *Weſt-*, they might be equal to the conqueſt of all the *French* *Spaniſh America*. This could not be done without greatly ng the trade of *Jamaica*, by the vaſt number of hands were preſſed in *England* for manning ſo large a fleet; ſo the ſeamen's wages upon that iſland aroſe to the extra- t rate of twenty guineas a man, beſides other advantages, e run home; and few were to be got even at that rate, ſe of the dread they were under of being preſſed in *Eng-* This ſcarcity of hands was the more fatal to *Jamaica*, e inhabitants there were both able and ready to have out ſquadrons of privateers for making attempts and ents upon *Cuba*, and other parts of the *Spaniſh* domini- which muſt have turned out greatly to the advantage of dventurers, and have ſaved vaſt ſums to the public. the iſland might be as free as poſſible from all domeſtic otions, while it was engaged in a foreign war, ſome of ncipal inhabitants put the governor in mind of the ous negroes, who ſtill continued in the mountains, and more numerous than ever, and that it would be proper ke ſure of them by a treaty, ſince it would be highly itic to attempt, at that time, to reduce them by force. dvice ſeemed to be the better grounded, as thoſe rebels ormed themſelves into an independent ſociety, under n regulations, which carried in them no marks of bar- n.

Pacifica- *tion of the* *negroes.*

EY had choſen to themſelves five captains, *Cudjoe*, *Accompong*, *Johny*, *Cuffoe*, and *Quacow*; and letters patent granted to *John Guthrie*, and *Francis Sadler*, Eſqrs. with owers to negociate a peace with *Cudjoe*, and the other ins, with their adherents. Articles were accordingly up, but they are of ſuch a kind, as nothing but the ular ſituation the iſland was in at the time, could vindi-

cate; and the reader in the notes (D) will meet with the whole of the treaty. By its ſixth article, *Cudjoe*, who appears

(D) By order of *Edward Trelawney*, Eſq; governor of the ſaid iſland. At the camp near *Trelawney*, *March* 1, 1738-9.

In the name of God, Amen.

Whereas captain *Cudjoe*, captain *Acompong*, captain *Johny*, captain *Cuffoe*, and captain *Quacow*, and ſeveral other negroes, their defendants and adherents, have been in a ſtate of war and hoſtility for ſeveral years paſt, againſt our ſovereign the king, and the inhabitants of this iſland; and whereas peace and friendſhip among mankind, and the preventing the effuſion of blood, is agreeable to God, conſonant to reaſon, and deſired by every good man. And whereas his majeſty, *George* the ſecond, king of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Jamaica*, lord, has by his letters-patent, *February* the 24th, 1738, in the 12th year of his reign, granted full power and authority to *John Guthrie*, and *Francis Sadler*, Eſqrs. to negociate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendſhip with the aforeſaid captain *Cudjoe*, the reſt of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, ſincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles.

I. That hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on both ſides for ever.

II. That the ſaid captain *Cudjoe*, the reſt of his captains, adherents, and men, ſhall be for ever hereafter in a perfect ſtate of freedom and liberty, excepting thoſe who have been taken by or fled to them within two years laſt paſt, if ſuch are willing to return to their ſaid maſters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their ſaid maſters or owners for what is paſt; provided always, that if they are not willing to return, they ſhall remain in ſubjection to captain *Cudjoe*, and in friendſhip with us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty.

III. That they ſhall enjoy and poſſeſs for themſelves and poſterity for ever, all the lands ſituate and lying between *Trelawney Town* and the *Cockpits*, to the amount of 1500 acres, bearing north weſt from the ſaid *Trelawney Town*.

IV. That they ſhall have liberty to plant the ſaid land with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other ſtock, and diſpoſe of the produce or increaſe of the ſaid commodities to the inhabitants of this iſland; provided always, that when they bring the ſaid commodities to market, they ſhall apply firſt to the cuſtos, or any other magiſtrate of the reſpective pariſhes where they expoſe their goods to ſale, for a licence to vend the ſame.

V. That captain *Cudjoe*, and all the captains, adherents, and people, now in ſubjection to him, ſhall all live together within the bounds of *Trelawney Town*, and that they have liberty to hunt where they ſhall think fit, except within three miles

t to have been the king of one ſet of the rebels, obliged
f to be aſſiſtant to the *Engliſh*, in ſubduing all the other

of any ſettlement, crawl,
n; provided always, that
e the hunters of captain
, and thoſe of other ſet-
ts, meet, then the hogs
equally divided between
arties.

That the ſaid captain
and his ſucceſſors do uſe
ndeavours to take, kill,
s, or deſtroy, either by
lves, or jointly with any
number of men, com-
d on that ſervice by his
ncy the governor, or
nder in chief for the
eing, all rebels, where-
they be, throughout this
unleſs they ſubmit to the
erms of accommodation,
d to captain *Cudjoe*, and
ceſſors.

. That in caſe this iſland
aded by any foreign ene-
e ſaid captain *Cudjoe* and
ceſſors, herein after-na-
or to be appointed, ſhall
pon notice given imme-
, repair to any place the
or for the time being
point, in order to repel
d invaders with his or
moſt force, and to ſub-
the orders of the com-
r in chief on that occa-

. That if any white man
o any manner of injury
ain *Cudjoe*, his ſucceſſors,
of his or their people,
all apply to any com-
g officer or magiſtrate in
ghbourhood for juſtice;
caſe captain *Cudjoe*, or
his people, ſhall do any
o any white perſon, he
bmit himſelf, or deli-
ver ſuch offenders to juſtice.

IX. That if any negroes ſhall hereafter run away from their maſters or owners, and fall into captain *Cudjoe*'s hands, they ſhall be immediately ſent back to the chief magiſtrates of the next pariſh, where they are taken, and thoſe that bring them are to be ſatisfied for their trouble, as the legiſlature ſhall appoint.

X. That all negroes, taken ſince the raiſing of this party by captain *Cudjoe*'s people, ſhall immediately be returned.

XI. That captain *Cudjoe* and his ſucceſſors ſhall wait on his excellency, or the commanders in chief for the time being, once every year, if required.

XII. That captain *Cudjoe*, during his life, and the captains ſucceeding him, ſhall have full power to inflict any puniſhment they think proper, for crimes committed by their men among themſelves, death only excepted, in which caſe, if the captain thinks they deſerve death, he ſhall be obliged to bring them before a juſtice of peace, who ſhall order proceedings on their trial equal to thoſe of free negroes.

XIII. That captain *Cudjoe* with his people ſhall cut, cleave, and keep open, large and convenient roads, from *Trelawney Town* to *Weſtmoreland* and *St. James*, and, if poſſible, to *St. Elizabeth's*.

XIV. That two white men, to be nominated by his excellency, or the commander in chief for the time being, ſhall conſtantly live and reſide with

rebels on the iſland, who did not accept of the ſame capitulation. This article was ſo far well judged, as another part of the negroes, diſtinct from that of *Cudjoe*, ſubſiſted in another part of the iſland; but being now deſtitute of *Cudjoe's* aſſiſtance they accepted of his capitulation; but were allowed another town to ſettle in, under another chief.

Scheme for arming the Muſqueto Indians *againſt the* Spaniards *revived.*

WE have already been pretty full in our account of the *Muſqueto Indians*, and have hinted at a propoſal that had been laid before Sir *Charles Wager*, for employing them againſt the *Spaniards* in *Guatimala*. This project being laid before the governor of *Jamaica*, he took it into very ſerious conſideration, and he employed proper agents to examine it. Upon farther enquiry, it was diſcovered that the *Creole Spaniard* and *Indian* inhabitants near *La Vera Paz*, on the borders of *Honduras*, had, about four years ago, to the number of 30,000, endeavoured to throw off the *Spaniſh* yoke, and that they had been unſucceſsful, only becauſe they were unſupported, and deſtitute of arms. The governor, at the ſame time, ſounded the *Muſqueto Indians*, whom he found ready for any enterprize againſt the *Spaniards*; and in *October*, 1740, he ſent thither lieutenant *Hodgſon*, with arms and ammunition for 500 of them, who immediately put themſelves under his command. This expedition, however, ſeems to have been improperly conducted, becauſe it reached no farther than the arming the *Muſquetoes*, who, as we have before obſerved, are extremely fond of their own country. *Hodgſon*, with his 500 *Muſquetoes*, proceeded to a *Spaniſh* ſettlement at *Carpenter's River*, 120 leagues weſt of *Porto Bello*, where the *Spaniards* lived in ſuch ſecurity, that he eaſily carried off a large booty in ſilver and cocoa. This ſucceſs encouraged *Hodgſon* to propoſe proceeding, but the *Indians* flatly refuſed to attend him; upon which, *Hodgſon* was obliged to return to *Jamaica*, after alarming the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts, and

Its ſucceſs.

captain *Cudjoe* and his ſucceſſors, in order to maintain a friendly correſpondence with the inhabitants of this iſland.

XV. That captain *Cudjoe*, during his life, ſhall be chief commander in *Trelawny Town*, after his deceaſe the command to devolve on his brother *Acompong*; and in caſe of his deceaſe, on his next brother captain *Johny*; and failing him, captain *Cuffee* ſhall ſucceed, who is to be ſucceeded by captain *Quacow*; and after all their demiſes, the governor or commander in chief for the time being, ſhall appoint from that time whom he ſhall think fit for that command.

In teſtimony of the above preſents, they hereunto ſet their hands and ſeals, the day and date abovementioned.

put-

putting them more upon their guard than they had been before.

ADMIRAL *Vernon*, all this while, was extremely vigilant in his ſtation at *America*, where he was in hopes of intercepting ſome of the *French* and *Spaniſh* ſhips who had ſailed from *Europe*; but the former were very ill victualled, and otherwiſe ill provided, through the precautions taken by the *Engliſh* government in laying an embargo upon all proviſions at *Corke*. *Vernon*, at the ſame time, was chagrined at receiving none of the ſupplies which he expected from *England*. The two ſhips he had left cruizing off *Cuba*, had taken a valuable prize, and two *Dutch* ſhips trading for the *Spaniards*; and he had diſpoſed of his ſquadron to great advantage for watching the arrival of the *Spaniſh* ſhips, and the motions of the galleons. On the 5th of *September*, the ſtoreſhips from *England* arrived at *Jamaica*, under convoy of the *Defiance* and *Tilbury* men of war. On the 3d of *October*, he ſailed with his ſquadron from *Port-Royal* to cruize off the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, in hopes of meeting with the grand fleet from *England*, under the command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*; but he received intelligence at ſea, that it was detained by contrary winds at *Spithead*; that the *Ferrol* ſquadron, under *de Torres*, arrived at *Porto Rico* on the 9th of *September*, and that they ſailed from thence on the 25th for *Carthagena*. On the 20th, while he was cruizing off cape *Donna Maria*, he was joined by eight tranſports-ſhips, under the convoy of the *Wolf*, having on board part of the land troops, commanded by colonel *Gooch*, that had been ordered to be raiſed in *North America*. With thoſe, the admiral proceeded to *Jamaica*, where he found the other *Americans* already mentioned.

Vernon joined by the Americans,

UPON the admiral's return to *Jamaica*, matters wore a melancholy aſpect for that iſland. Beſides *de Torres* arrival at *Carthagena* with a ſtrong ſquadron, undoubted intelligence came that the *Breſt* and *Toulon* ſquadrons under the marquis *d'Antin* had taken in 1100 men at *Martinico*, who were lying to the windward of *Jamaica*, a diſpoſition which left the admiral and governor *Trelawney* no room to doubt that they intended to make a deſcent upon *Jamaica*, as ſoon as the *Britiſh* fleet ſhould ſail from thence upon any expedition againſt the *Spaniards*. Upon this, the admiral and the governor exerted themſelves in diſpoſing of their force in ſuch a manner, as that any attempts againſt that iſland might be repelled; and for that purpoſe, having no opinion of the natural ſtrength of *Port-Royal*, they applied themſelves to ſecure the harbour of *Kingſton*; and in the mean while, the *Jamaican* privateers, being properly protected by the fleet, made great havoc

returns to Jamaica.

havoc of the *Spaniſh* trade, and brought in many valuable prizes into the iſland.

The grand fleet ſails from England.

THE addition of the armament by land and ſea under the lord *Cathcart* and Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, was far from compenſating for the delay in not ſupporting *Vernon* in time. Lord *Cathcart* had been at great pains, by letters, to keep *Vernon* in good humour: but it was the 31ſt of *October* before the grand fleet could ſail; a ſeaſon ſo advanced, that it made many prognoſticate what afterwards happened. Without entering into particulars, the whole fleet conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fireſhips, bomb-ketches, tenders, ſtoreſhips, and tranſports. The land-forces conſiſted of ſome detachments from old corps, who were deſtined to be incorporated with the three raw *American* battalions, then at *Jamaica*, and ſix regiments of marines of 1000 men each, and nothing was wanting on the part of the government to ſupply both land and ſea-forces with whatever could contribute to render the expedition ſucceſsful, which was done at a moſt immenſe expence. The ardour both of ſoldiers and ſailors to come to blows was incredible, and lord *Cathcart* wrote to *Vernon* in the following terms: "In the corps of troops I bring you, there is ſpirit, there is good will, which, when properly conducted, will, I hope, produce what the nation expects from us, and will make us the glorious inſtruments for finiſhing the war with all the advantages to the public that we can promiſe, from the happy beginning of it; and with this diſtinguiſhing circumſtance, that thoſe effects have been owing to a perfect agreement between the land and ſea-officers."

Dated June 22, 1740.

The chief officers under lord *Cathcart* were the brigadiers *Wentworth*, *Guiſe*, and *Blakeney*, and the majors of brigade *Harman* and *Rufane*; and the inferior officers were the moſt experienced of any that could be, at that time, found in *England*. Sir *Charles Wager*, who kept up a cloſe correſpondence with *Vernon*, among other apologies which he urged for the late ſailing of this armament, ſaid, that the *French* having ſailed ſooner, by two months, than the *Spaniſh* treaſures were ready to be taken on board, they muſt ſuffer conſiderably through the inclemency of the climate; and in this he was not miſtaken, for above 3000 of *d'Antin*'s ſquadron died ſoon after its arrival in the *Weſt-Indies*. No war was as yet declared between *Great Britain* and *France*, and therefore *Vernon* was at liberty to keep up a correſpondence with the *French* governors in *America*, from whom he could learn nothing, not even that *d'Antin* was arrived in thoſe ſeas, notwithſtanding the notoriety of the thing. But lord *Catchcart* carried

ried from *England* a declaration which ſufficiently evinced, that the real deſign of the *Britiſh* court was to ſhake the very foundations of the *Spaniſh* government in *America*. He was inſtructed to diſperſe it upon his landing on any part of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. It promiſed indemnity and protection in all their effects and poſſeſſions, and the free exerciſe of their religion, to all the *Spaniards*, who ſhould quietly ſubmit to the *Engliſh* government, as if they were the natural born ſubjects of *England*; and that they ſhould be free from all the taxes and oppreſſions of the *Spaniſh* government. The *Indians* in particular, continued the declaration, (which was greatly calculated to conciliate the affections of the natives) ſhall be exempted from the royal tributes and ſervices which they are ſubjected to; they ſhall have the privilege and right of trading directly with *Great Britain*, and all the *Britiſh* colonies in *America*; and, in fine, upon all occaſions, and in all reſpects, they ſhall be conſidered, aſſiſted, favoured, and treated as the natives of *Great Britain*. *Lord* Cathcart's *manifeſto.*

THIS manifeſto, as might have been reaſonably foreſeen, drew from the court of *France*, a declaration, accuſing that of *Great Britain* with a breach of public faith, particularly, in the treaty of *Utrecht*, by making any attempt againſt the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*. The fleet which ſailed with Sir *Chaloner Ogle* conſiſted of no fewer than 170 ſail, and after meeting with very bad weather, they arrived at *Dominica*, where the commander in chief, lord *Cathcart*, died of a bloody flux, to the inexpreſſible grief, as well as loſs, of the public. The miniſtry was ſeverely reflected upon, and indeed, not without juſtice, in not having provided him a ſucceſſor in any degree adequate to the importance of the expedition. His command fell upon brigadier-general *Wentworth*, an officer without experience, a man without abilities, but artful and plauſible; having nothing in common with *Vernon* but his obſtinacy, and as great a contempt for the ſea, as the other had for the land, ſervice. *Ogle* arrived at *St. Chriſtopher's*, the place of general rendezvous, where his ſhips that had been ſcattered joined him; but ſo much time had been loſt, that ſixteen ſail of *Spaniſh* men of war had arrived at *Porto Bello*, and were then protecting the inhabitants in repairing their fortifications. *Death of lord* Cathcart.

In proceeding to *Jamaica*, four of Sir *Chaloner*'s ſquadron fell in with as many *French* men of war off cape *Tiberon* in the dark, and a blind engagement followed, which laſted till day-light, when both ſides ridiculouſly departed, with mutual compliments and condolances upon what had paſſed, there being, at that time, no declared war between *Great Britain* and *France*. *Engagement between the* Engliſh *and* French.

SOON

A council of war held on January *the* 10*th.*

SOON after the arrival of *Ogle* at *Jamaica*, a council of was held at *Port-Royal*, concerning their future operations. It was compoſed of admiral *Vernon*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, general *Wentworth*, general *Guiſe*, and governor *Trelawney*. *Vernon*, upon the arrival of *Ogle*, had received diſcretionary powers to act offenſively againſt the *French*, if they ſhould continue in thoſe ſeas. But this, in fact, was needleſs. Their fleet, which conſiſted of about twenty ſhips of the line, was lying at *Port Lewis*, but in ſuch diſtreſs for want of proviſions, that above half of their ſhips crews were dead, and the ſurvivors were reduced to three ounces of bread a day each man, and that half worms and dirt; nor was the *Spaniſh* fleet at *Carthagena* and *Porto Bello* in a much better condition. All this having been foreſeen, and foretold, by Sir *Charles Wager*, and the beſt heads in *England*, as well as the oppoſition, the government were in hopes that advantage would be taken of the diſtreſsful condition of both fleets to attack the *Havannah*. But *Vernon* had an antipathy againſt the *French*, whom he conſidered as being far more powerful than they really were, and he was, at that time, in ſuch credit both with the miniſtry and the people, that the other members of the council did not venture to controul him; and therefore, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the whole fleet ſhould proceed to windward, to obſerve the motions of the ſquadron under the command of the marquis *d'Antin*, which had been for ſome time at *Hiſpaniola*, and that captain *Dandridge* ſhould be ſent before in the *Wolf* ſloop to get intelligence.

Expedition againſt Carthagena.

THE fleet being thirty ſail of the line, a third diviſion was found neceſſary, and captain *Leſtock*, an officer of great experience, was appointed to command it. The diſpatch employed in refitting the ſhips that had been damaged in their paſſage to *Jamaica*, as well as in watering and victualling them, was incredible; and every means was made uſe of for preſerving the health of the ſailors and the ſoldiers; the numbers of the former amounting to 15,000, and thoſe of the latter to 12,000, including the *American* battalions, and a body of negroes, that had been fitted out and furniſhed by the zeal of the inhabitants of *Jamaica*. When this mighty armament, the greateſt by far that *America* had ever beheld, rendezvouſed off *Cape Tiberon* on the 8th of *February*, they were rejoined by captain *Dandridge*, who reported that having looked into *Port Louis*, he had ſeen there nineteen ſail of large ſhips, one having a flag at the main-top-maſt-head, and another a broad pendant flying. This was a falſe alarm, for before this time the marquis *d'Antin* had ſailed for *France*

with the miſerable remains of his ſquadron, after the moſt ruinous and ill-concerted expedition that the *French* ever undertook. *Dandridge*'s report, however, was believed, and in a council of war, it was immediately reſolved to ſteer to the iſle of *Vache*, the admiral being reſolved to act offenſively. Soon after, it was diſcovered, to his great diſappointment, that captain *Dandridge* had been deceived by the hazineſs of the weather, and that the ſhips he had ſeen in *Port Lewis* were only merchantmen unrigged, excepting one frigate of forty guns. For the more certainty, however, the captains *Boſcawen* and *Knowles* were ſent to deſire leave of the governor of *Fort Lewis* to wood and water in the bay; and upon their return, with a very polite anſwer, the departure of *d'Antin* for *Europe* was confirmed, and that above 3000 of his men had died while he lay at *Port Lewis*. Another council of war being aſſembled on the 16th of *February*, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the fleet, after having taken in wood and water at *Iros*, *Tiberon*, and *Donna Maria Bays*, ſhould thence proceed directly to *Carthagena*. On the 23d following, captain, afterwards admiral, *Warren*, having joined the fleet, it was reſolved next day by the four principal commanders of the fleet and army, vigorouſly to attack *Carthagena* by land and ſea. On the 4th of *March*, in the evening, the whole fleet, which now conſiſted of 124 ſhips, anchored in the *Playa Grande*, to windward of the town of *Carthagena*, which ſtands on the *Spaniſh* continent, almoſt directly ſouth of *Jamaica*, and about 110 leagues north eaſt of *Panama*.

Diſſention between Vernon and Wentworth.

By this time, *Vernon* was ſoured with the diſappointment of his favourite paſſion to attack the *French* fleet. In all the councils of war, he had rather dictated to, than conſulted with, the other members; and though he was generally right in his meaſures, yet the manner, in which he carried them through, was extremely diſguſting. *Wentworth*, conſidering himſelf as general of the land-forces, thought he had a right to direct them in their operations; but *Vernon* treated this with ſuch an air of ſuperiority, as determined *Wentworth* to aſſert it to the utmoſt whenever an opportunity ſhould preſent. Each had too ſoon an occaſion to gratify his reſentment, to the irreparable damage of his country. As no care had been taken ſince the commencement of hoſtilities between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, to conceal that *Carthagena* would be the main object of the former in the *Weſt-Indies*, the *Spaniards* there, under de *Torres* and don *Blas de Leſo*, had omitted nothing that could render it impregnable, having 4000 regular troops in garriſon, beſides armed negroes and *Indians*, ſo that *Carthagena* was, at this time, ſuppoſed to be the

the ſtrongeſt, as well as the moſt important town the *Spaniards* had upon their continent of *America*. Its riches, at the ſame time, were immenſe, by the conveniency of its port for the reception of the *Spaniſh* fleets, and by the confluence of the great rivers *St. Martha* and *Magdalen*, which brought down to it immenſe quantities of treaſures and rich merchandizes.

See Vol. XXXIX. p. 160.

WE ſhall not, in this place, amuſe our readers with any particular deſcription of *Carthagena*, farther than is neceſſary for their underſtanding the operations of the ſiege now undertaken. It is ſufficient to ſay, that though the walls of the town were waſhed by the ſea, yet it was unaſſailable on that ſide, on account of a vaſt ſurf and ridge of rocks; ſo that it was neceſſary to force the entrance of *Boca Chica*, which opened into the harbour, and which was ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it was deemed to be impregnable; a range of redoubts, caſtles, and batteries, lining it on each ſide, beſides a ſtrong bomb, which ran acroſs, within which were moored four *Spaniſh* men of war, one of ſeventy, and three of ſixty guns, at the mouth of the harbour, which formed a kind of lake, the town of *Carthagena* itſelf lying about three miles farther up. Admiral *Vernon* had exact intelligence from his officers of all thoſe particulars, and of the new works that were running up by the *Spaniards*. The demolition of the forts and batteries was committed to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, who was directed "to proceed with his whole diviſion of ſhips of the line of battle for demoliſhing the ſaid forts and batteries, and ſcouring all the country between them, ſo as to ſecure a deſcent for the forces in the moſt convenient parts of it between fort *St. Philip* and *Chamba* battery, which might divide the *Spaniards*, the better to make a deſcent at both places at once, and expoſe them the more to the fire of the ſhips; he was alſo particularly directed, not to ſuffer any imprudent or haſty firing from the ſhips, and to endeavour to convince the men, that ſuch folly only ſerves to embolden an enemy inſtead of diſcouraging them. And the rear-admiral was likewiſe, in his orders in writing, to aſſign to each particular captain the poſt he was to take, and the orders he was to execute; and alſo to order his reſpective captains, to acquaint their reſpective ſhips companies, that the whole of all booty to be made by land, was graciouſly granted by his *Britannic* majeſty to be diſtributed among his ſea and land forces, as ſhould be agreed on by a council of war of ſea and land-officers, which had accordingly met, and regulated the diſtribution thereof, and had allotted a double ſhare to any non-commiſſion or warrant-officer, or private man, that might happen to be wounded in the ſervice; and the rear-admi-

Inſtructions to Sir Chaloner Ogle.

admiral was further directed to aſſure of a further reward from the vice-admiral, out of his ſhare, all who ſhould eminently diſtinguiſh themſelves by any extraordinary actions of prudence and bravery, beſides a ſecured advancement proportionable to the zeal and reſolution exerted on ſo ſignal an occaſion, for the honour of the crown, and future proſperity of their country."

Operations againſt Carthagena.

OGLE, who was a very brave officer, punctually obſerved his orders. He fell down next morning with his diviſion to the mouth of the harbour, and ſent three eighty-gun ſhips, the *Norfolk*, *Shrewſbury*, and *Ruſſel*, to batter the forts of *St. Philip* and *St. Jago*, while the *Princeſs Amelia* was to play againſt the faſcine battery, and the *Litchfield* upon the battery of *Chamba*. The attack began on the 9th of *February* by Sir *Chaloner*, who was ſeconded by *Vernon* and the tranſports, commodore *Leſtock* being left with his diviſion at anchor. The enemy was driven from the forts of *St. Jago* and *St. Philip*, which colonel *Cochran* immediately took poſſeſſion of with 500 grenadiers, while general *Wentworth*, brigadier *Guiſe*, and colonel *Wolfe*, without oppoſition, landed the regiments of *Harriſon* and *Wentworth*, and ſoon after were landed all the artillery, tents, ſtores, and baggage. The fort of *Chamba* was deſerted on the firſt fire, and the faſcine battery was found to be without artillery. All this was performed with very little loſs to the *Engliſh*, excepting what happened on board the *Shrewſbury*, captain *Townſhend*, which was expoſed to a moſt dreadful fire from *Boca Chica*; but the antipathy between *Vernon* and *Wentworth* began now to break forth with the moſt fatal effects. *Vernon* and *Ogle* preſſed *Wentworth* to loſe no time, but to advance and take poſt on the upper grounds, and to go acroſs to the inſide of the harbour: *Wentworth* deſpiſed this advice, becauſe perhaps he did not underſtand its importance. He remained inactive and indolent for three days, ſlowly forming their encampment; but numbers of the ſoldiers either dropping down dead, or falling ſick through the intenſeneſs of the heat, and the inclemency of the night-dews; misfortunes which exertion and labour would have prevented. To complete the miſery of the *Britiſh* armament, it was diſcovered that its engineers had neither activity nor abilities, and were ſo far from being of any aſſiſtance in annoying the enemy, that *Wentworth* himſelf complained to the admiral of a faſcine battery on the barradera ſide of the harbour, which greatly annoyed his men.

ADMIRAL *Vernon* applied himſelf to remove this nuiſance (if it may be ſo called) and in a council of war held on the

17th.

17th, it was reſolved to attack it with 300 ſailors and 200 ſoldiers, detached from thoſe remaining on board the fleet; the ſailors to be commanded by captain *Boſcawen*, and the ſoldiers by the captains *Waſhington* and *Murray*. This ſervice was performed with an intrepidity that *Britiſh* forces alone could have exerted, notwithſtanding the dangers and difficulties attending it. The battery was carried and deſtroyed with very little loſs, and thereby the engineers under *Wentworth* were left at liberty to proceed in their grand battery againſt *Boca Chica*. This went ſo heavily on, notwithſtanding the important ſervice performed from the ſoldiers and ſeamen from on board the ſhips, beſides eight days having been conſumed upon it, that *Vernon* could no longer bridle his indignation, but gave looſe to it in a torrent of invectives againſt the general and engineers, whom he accuſed of knowing nothing of their buſineſs. This produced recriminations, and the whole contributed to retard the ſervice. The battery itſelf was conſtructed in a wood, to conceal it from the enemy, and 500 ſeamen with 200 blacks, aſſiſted the engineers and ſoldiers in raiſing it, but all to no purpoſe, the caſtle of *Boca Chica* ſtill continuing to fire upon the beſiegers on the 20th. At laſt, on the 22d, the grand battery, after clearing the wood from before it, began to play upon the caſtle, and the fire was hotly returned, both from that and the barradera battery, which the enemy had repaired. In a council of war on board the fleet, it had been reſolved to make a general attack upon all the forts and batteries, to be put in execution as ſoon as the wind would permit the ſhips to move to their proper ſtations. Accordingly, on the 23d, commodore *Leſtock* in the *Boyne*, with the *Prince Frederic*, *Hampton-Court*, *Suffolk*, and *Tilbury*, went in to batter *Boca Chica* caſtle, and the ſhips which were poſted under it to great advantage, *Leſtock* being ſupported by Sir *Chaloner Ogle*'s diviſion. This ſervice proved to be very hot, the *Spaniards* keeping up a moſt dreadful fire; but at laſt, with the loſs of many brave men, particularly the lord *Aubrey Beauclerc*, captain of the *Prince Frederic*, a breach was made in the caſtle, and the ſeamen landing again, demoliſhed the barradera-battery.

Boca Chica *caſtle and*

IT now fell to general *Wentworth* to ſtorm the breach that had been made, in which he was aſſiſted by the ſhipping, and the *Britiſh* ſoldiers, ſupplying by courage the want of experience, drove the *Spaniſh* garriſon out of that fort and that of *St. Joſeph*, which captain *Knowles* took poſſeſſion of. Don *Blas*, the *Spaniſh* admiral, was at that time on board the *Galicia*, under *Boca Chica*, and gave orders for ſinking all the *Spaniſh* ſhips there, but could not prevent the *Galicia* from

from falling into the hands of the *Engliſh*, with the captain, and about ſixty of the *Spaniards*, don *Blaſs* himſelf eſcaping. The taking of this caſtle, the ſtrength of which was much greater than the *Engliſh* themſelves apprehended, coſt the latter 400 of their beſt men, among whom were the colonels *Douglaſs* and *Watſon*, lieutenant-colonel *Sandford*, and Mr. *Moor*, the chief and beſt engineer the *Engliſh* had, which rendered the loſs irreparable. Though the firing from the caſtle and the *Spaniſh* ſhipping had now ceaſed, the mouth of the harbour was ſo very narrow, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the *Engliſh* ſhips could enter it, ſo as to keep themſelves clear of a *Spaniſh* ſhip which continued burning; and it was on all hands agreed, that had the caſtle and harbour been but tolerably well defended, they muſt have been impregnable to the *Engliſh* fleet. All difficulties at laſt were ſurmounted, the enemies batteries were ſilenced, nailed up, or abandoned, and captain *Knowles*, without oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of *Caſtillo Grande*, where a vigorous reſiſtance was expected, and by the taking of which, the troops were landed within a league of the town. Caſtillo Grande, *taken.*

THE *Engliſh*, after ſurmounting ſuch incredible difficulties, thought that little remained but to take poſſeſſion of *Carthagena*, of which they thought themſelves ſo well aſſured, that captain *Lawes* was ſent expreſs to *London* with diſpatches, reporting, that the taking *Boca Chica*, and the other caſtles and batteries, was the ſame as the taking *Carthagena* itſelf; and rejoicings were made accordingly, not only at *Jamaica*, but all over the *Weſt Indies*. On the 30th, in a council of war, held by the vice-admiral and naval-officers, it was reſolved to uſe all poſſible expedition to cut off the communication of the town on the land ſide, and to make a deſcent at the moſt convenient place neareſt the city. Proper diſpoſitions were made, in conſequence of this reſolution, by the ſhipping; but the cutting off the communication between the city and the country, belonging properly to the land-troops, the latter took poſſeſſion of *La Popa*, a convent, ſituated on a hill, and overlooking the city and the neighbouring country, and encamped within a ſhort mile of fort *St. Lazare*, the taking of which was indiſpenſible for their future progreſs; and here the irretrievable overſights, which ruined the expedition, ſeem to have been committed.

EVERY day had added to the now declared animoſity between the admiral and the general. The brave ſeamen had cleared their way through ſeven ſhips, that had been ſunk by the *Spaniards*, acroſs the mouth of the upper harbour, above *Caſtillo Grande*; and they had ſucceeded even beyond *Errors committed by general Wentworth.*

their hopes in all their other operations; while the army, ever ſince the attack of *Boca Chica* caſtle, had done little or nothing. *Vernon* was always putting *Wentworth* in mind, that the communication between the city and the country ought immediately to be cut off, and fort *St. Lazare* attacked. Reſolutions in a council of war, conſiſting of land-officers, were taken for that purpoſe; but nothing was done in conſequence of them, and a moſt unaccountable languor ſeems to have poſſeſſed the troops. The general threw the blame upon the admiral, for not landing their tents, ſtores, and artillery; tho' it is probable, that if he had immediately attacked the *Spaniards*, who were at work upon ſome fortifications at the foot of the hill, where fort *St. Lazare* ſtood, before their panic was over, the *Engliſh* muſt have become maſters of the place; but the unaccountable delays of the army gave them time to recover their ſpirits, and to complete a very ſtrong fortification; and to take other precautions for their defence. All this while, the army was working on a bomb-battery, for making a breach in the caſtle of *St. Lazare*; but, at laſt, the chief engineer gave it as his opinion, that the place might be rendered much ſtronger than it was, if the beſiegers would wait for the arrival of the artillery; and that cutting through the woods for, perfecting the grand battery, would take up a great deal of time. The admiral, in the mean time, was inceſſantly preſſing the general, but without any effect, to cut off the communication, by which the city was ſupplied with all kinds of neceſſaries from the country, and immediately to fort *St. Lazare*; and for that purpoſe, he ſent aſhore a detachment of lord *James Cavendiſh* and colonel *Bland*, who joined the general on the 8th of *April*, together with all the *Americans* that were fit for ſervice. Upon receiving this reinforcement, it was reſolved in a council of war, held that ſame evening by the general and his field-officers, to attack the caſtle and trenches of *St. Lazare*, without waiting for the raiſing of a battery to make a breach. This has been generally looked upon as a moſt unſoldierlike reſolution, and indeed, two of the beſt field-officers diſſented from it; nor could it admit of any excuſe, but the diſmal ſituation of the troops, among whom contagious diſeaſes began now to make great havoc.

Fort St. Lazare *attacked,*

BUT unpromiſing as this reſolution appeared, it might have been ſucceſsful, had the execution of it been managed with common prudence. Three deſerters offered to ſerve as guides to the troops in mounting the hill to the attack, which was to be made on two quarters. But the general loſt the opportunity; for, inſtead of having every thing ready to ſur-

prize

prize the enemy by night, it was almoſt daylight next morning before the 1200 men, under the command of brigadier *Guiſe*, began to mount the hill; and to complete their misfortune, the ſcaling-ladders and woolpacks were left in the rear, with all the grenado-ſhells. Notwithſtanding this, the troops mounted the aſcent with the utmoſt intrepidity, but one of their guides being killed, one of the diviſions, which was commanded by colonel *Grant*, was miſled from a plain, practicable, road, by which they were to have aſcended, to a ſteep difficult part of the hill, which the colonel, the moſt forward of them, actually gained, and they were puſhing on towards the enemy's entrenchments, when the colonel and ſome of his officers were killed; and the reſt of the diviſion not being able to come up in time, the enemy ſecurely finiſhed the deſtruction of that brave handful; for it being now broad daylight, a mere carnage enſued, without the *Engliſh* having the ſatisfaction of making the leaſt effort towards annoying their enemy; and they diſcovered, that had they not been oppoſed, they could not, for want of ſcaling-ladders, have mounted the entrenchments. The more rational part of the officers, at laſt, ſeeing above 600 of their beſt men cut off by the grape-ſhot, muſketry, and grenadoes, with which they were inceſſantly plied, perſuaded the troops to retreat; leaving in the hands of their enemies their uſeleſs ſcaling-ladders, woolpacks, and ſhovels.

with great loſs to the Engliſh; *and without ſucceſs.*

VARIOUS opinions were formed concerning this unſucceſsful attempt; nor is the public yet agreed, whether its miſcarriage was chiefly owing to the malice of the admiral, or the inexperience of the general. The former, it is certain, behaved with ſo much caution, that no legal advantage could be taken of his conduct. He blamed the general for not appriſing him of his intention to ſtorm the fort, that he might have ſent a body of ſailors to his aſſiſtance, and, at the ſame time, he moſt ungenerouſly blamed the officers for deſiſting from the attack; while, to ſave appearances, after the carnage was over, and the attempt had miſcarried, he ſent a number of men, well-armed, in boats, to the general's aſſiſtance. The officers of the land-forces knew not whether to accuſe their general or the admiral; but foreſeeing that all farther attempts for reducing the place muſt be ineffectual, they marched with their men into their camp, where they were viſited by more dreadful enemies than the *Spaniards*, contagious diſeaſes, which ſwept them off in ſuch numbers, that in a few days, a ſufficiency of able men did not remain to do the duties of the camp.

THE operations by ſea, though leſs fatal, were not more ſucceſsful. *Vernon* had again and again repreſented, that it was impoſſible for his ſhipping to ſucceed againſt *Carthagena*, unleſs fort *St. Lazare* was taken. *Wentworth*, on the other hand, maintained, that the place might be battered from the harbour; and *Vernon*, to preſerve his conduct irreproachable, had fitted up the *Galicia* as a floating battery, and given the command of her to captain *Hore*, to play upon the town. Upon trial, it was found, that ſhe could not approach ſo near the walls, as to make any impreſſion upon them; but her ſhot, and the bombs from the tenders, did conderable damage to the houſes and churches; and it was with difficulty that the *Spaniards* prevented their principal powder-magazine from being blown up by a bomb, which fell into a church, where it was lodged. Many conjectures, very unfavourable to the memory of *Vernon*, were formed, upon the reaſons that could determine him to deſiſt, as he did, from this kind of bombardment, which in the end might have rendered the city untenable by the inhabitants. But what ſtill created greater ſpeculation in his prejudice, was, that many ſea-officers, under his own command, affirmed, that the *Galicia* did not lie in the proper ſtation for battering the walls of *Carthagena*, the water there being too ſhallow for her approaching near enough; but that a little towards the left there was a depth of water ſufficient for four or five of his largeſt ſhips to have lain with their broadſides againſt the town, within piſtol-ſhot of the walls. Whatever truth may be in thoſe allegations, it is certain, that the admiral ordered the *Galicia*, after ſhe had continued her cannonading for ſome time, to be drawn off; and on the 23d and 24th, it was reſolved in a general council of war, to return to *Jamaica*, on account of the ſickneſs in the army. Before this reſolution was put in execution, the demolition of *Caſtillo Grande* was completed by captain *Knowles*, with great difficulty, on account of the vaſt thickneſs of its walls. *Boca Chica*, fort *St. Joſeph*, and the other *Spaniſh* forts, the *Engliſh* had taken, were likewiſe demoliſhed, under the direction of captain *Boſcawen*, and other officers, as were likewiſe all the lime-kilns; and proper diſpoſitions being made for cruizing upon the enemy, and preventing ſupplies coming by ſea to *Carthagena*, the whole fleet returned ſafe to *Port-Royal* harbour in *Jamaica*, on the 19th of *May*.

Siege of Carthagena *abandoned.*

The Engliſh *fleet returns to* Jamaica.

THIS momentous expedition was far more ruinous to the *Britiſh* forces, by the diſeaſes that attacked them, than by the power or reſiſtance of the enemy; about 2500 land-forces died before the walls of the city, among whom were

two

two colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, four majors, the chief engineer, twenty-nine captains, fifty-one firſt and ſecond lieutenants, five enſigns, and *Martin*, the chief phyſician. The loſs of the *Spaniards*, by the demolition of their forts, caſtles, and guns, together with their men of war, galleons, and other veſſels, were eſtimated at a million of money. But all thoſe were ſecondary conſiderations, compared to the vaſt diſappointment which attended the ill ſucceſs of the expedition, which was the moſt expenſive that ever had been fitted out by *England*. It had filled not only the *Spaniards*, but the *French* with ſuch apprehenſions, that they ordered their miniſter at the *Hague* to preach up a kind of a cruſade of all the *European* powers againſt *England*, whoſe progreſs in the *Weſt-Indies*, he ſaid, was incompatible with their intereſts or ſafety. On the other hand, the people of *Great Britain*, the more they had been elevated by the former glorious accounts of the expedition, were the more dejected by a miſcarriage that was ſo unexpected and ſo fatal. Before the return of the fleet to *Jamaica*, the epidemical ſickneſs, that had been ſo ruinous to the troops, got into the ſhips, and carried off great numbers of the ſeamen whom Sir *Chaloner Ogle* brought with him from *England*.

Reflections.

It was thought by the impartial part of the public, that the misfortunes which the *Britiſh* armament met with, might have been prevented, and that *Carthagena*, with all its province, might have been reduced, if *Vernon* could have overlooked, or made up, his differences with *Wentworth*. But, after taking care to ſecure his own conduct from all impeachment, he ſeemed to enjoy, with a malicious pleaſure, all the blunders that his antagoniſt's inexperience made him commit, while the other was too proud to aſk either for his advice or aſſiſtance. *Vernon*'s diſguſt at the management of the war not being entirely left to himſelf, ſeems to have been invincible; for even when he diſpatched *Lawes* with the news of his ſucceſs at *Boca Chica*, he intimated in a letter to the duke of *Newcaſtle*, then ſecretary of ſtate, his deſire to be recalled from that ſervice; which drew from his grace, who had a very high opinion of his courage and zeal for the public ſervice, the following anſwer. "May I wiſh, for the honour of my country, for the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms, and for the perfecting the great work you have ſo gloriouſly begun, of reducing the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*, that you would not think of coming home, and leaving your command there; which, without the leaſt imputation upon any body, cannot be ſupplied by any one, on whom his majeſty, the na-

Dated May 24, 1741.

tion, and all the king's friends and ſervants, can have an equal dependance."

THE misfortunes of the *Britiſh* fleet and army did not terminate in their abandoning the ſiege of *Carthagena*. Their infectious diſtempers acquired new ſtrength every day, and great numbers were ſwept off even after their arrival at *Jamaica*. It is but doing juſtice to *Vernon*'s memory to acknowledge, that this mortality muſt have been far greater, had he not exerted himſelf in the preſervation of the health of his crews, by diſtributing among them wholſome, proper, proviſions, and diluting their ſpirituous liquors, ſo as to prevent the diſtempers that attend the too free uſe of them in that hot climate. His pride was hurt by the miſcarriage at *Carthagena*, though he and his friends threw the whole blame of it upon *Wentworth* and the land troops; and therefore he reſolved to continue ſome time longer in the *Weſt-Indies*, that he might have an opportunity, by ſome ſignal expedition, to retrieve his popularity. By this time, the greateſt part of the *Spaniſh* and *French* ſhips of war had returned to *Europe*, and the large unſheathed *Engliſh* ſhips were expoſed to great danger, by lying at *Jamaica*, where a numerous fleet of merchantmen was likewiſe lying, waiting for a convoy to *England*. Commodore *Leſtock* therefore took under his command ſeven of the eighty-gun ſhips, the *Princeſs Carolina*, *Ruſſel*, *Norfolk*, *Shrewſbury*, *Princeſs Amelia*, *Torbay*, and *Chicheſter*, together with the *Hampton-Court*, *Burford*, *Windſor*, and *Falmouth*; the *Succeſs*, *Eleanor*, *Cumberland*, *Terrible*, and *Goodley* frigates, which were all unſheathed, with the fleet of merchantmen, and all the officers and ſoldiers that were ſick or diſabled.

Expedition againſt St. Jago de Cuba *propoſed.*

DON *Rodrigo de Torres*, the *Spaniſh* admiral, while *Vernon* remained at *Jamaica*, was lying with a powerful ſquadron at the *Havannah*, for the protection of that important harbour; and Monſ. *Roqueville* was ſtationed with a *French* ſquadron at *Hiſpaniola*: but neither of them thought proper to act offenſively; though the ſquadron under *de Torres* was equal to that under *Vernon*, after commodore *Leſtock*'s departure for *England*. The inſtructions that had been ſent to *Vernon*, left it optional to him, and the council of war, to attack the *Havannah*, *la Vera Cruz*, *Mexico*, *Carthagena*, or *Panama*. Even after the miſcarriage before *Carthagena* was known in *England*, the government was ſo intent upon ſtriking ſome important blow in the *Weſt-Indies*, that 2000 freſh troops were ſent to *Jamaica*, together with additional ſtores and ammunition. But the force under *Vernon* and *Wentworth* was far unequal to an attempt upon any of the places mentioned in his inſtructions,

tions, and Sir *Charles Wager* had always been of opinion, that an attempt ought to be made againſt *St. Jago de Cuba*, which, if ſucceſsful, might have been attended with the conqueſt of the *Havannah* itſelf upon the ſame iſland. In all events, an *Engliſh* ſettlement upon *Cuba* muſt alarm the *Spaniards* ſo much, that they would ſpeedily ſue for peace without the intervention of *France*. Not only Sir *Charles Wager*, but the *Britiſh* miniſtry in general, thought that ſuch an attempt was practicable, but the making it, in a great meaſure, was left to *Vernon*'s diſcretion. The people of *Jamaica* were much bent upon ſome ſignal expedition againſt the *Spaniards*, and the council there had voted, that the admiral ſhould receive a ſupply of a thouſand of the moſt ſerviceable blacks upon the iſland; but it is probable, that when this vote paſſed, they did not foreſee that the ſtorm was to fall upon *St. Jago*. In the mean while, *Vernon* was moſt indefatigably employed in refitting his ſhips, and in every meaſure for recovering the health of his ſeamen, in which he was very ſucceſsful.

EVERY thing being now ready for ſailing, a council of war was held at *St. Jago de la Vega*, on the 26th of *May*, 1741, at which were preſent, vice-admiral *Vernon*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, general *Wentworth*, general *Guiſe*, and governor *Trelawney*; when the following reſolution was agreed to. *And reſolved on in a council of war.*

"The council, after maturely deliberating upon their inſtructions, orders, letters, intercepted intelligences, and advices; and having regard to the great reduction of their forces, were of opinion, That in regard to the diminution of the forces, the ſecurity *Jamaica*, the *Britiſh* trade, and of all ſupplies coming to them; and alſo the preſerving a communication with *Jamaica* for their ſupplies; the only expedition that could be thought adviſeable to be undertaken, was againſt *St. Jago de Cuba*, a port of great importance to the ſecurity of the *Britiſh* trade, and cutting off the baneful correſpondence between the *Spaniards* and *Hiſpaniola*. And though in regard to the general ſickneſs, that ſpreads itſelf through fleet and army, they were not in very good condition for undertaking any new expedition: yet, on the aſſurance given the council by governor *Trelawney*, that they might rely on a ſupply from *Jamaica* of 1000 of the moſt ſerviceable blacks they could raiſe in the iſland, to be all choſen men, and to have proper officers; and through a ſincere zeal for doing the utmoſt in their power, to anſwer the expectations of their royal maſter from the great expence of this expedition; it was the reſolution of the council to undertake this expedition againſt *St. Jago*, and to puſh it forward with all the diſpatch the ſituation of their affairs would admit of."

Oppoſed by Trelawney.

THOUGH the two admirals and the two generals ſigned this reſolution, yet it was diſſented from by governor *Trelawney*, whoſe opinion was, "That ſince the forces had been ſo reduced by ſickneſs, the remaining number ought not to be hazarded, but on a ſervice, that, if it ſucceeded, might be of great benefit and importance to *Great Britain*. He could not think *St. Jago de Cuba* of conſequence, while the *Engliſh* were maſters at ſea; and took it for an inviolable maxim to be ſuperiors, as they might be, at ſea in the *Weſt-Indies*; or elſe, poſſeſſions there would be a detriment, inſtead of a benefit, to *Great Britain*; and no poſſeſſions, but ſuch as are uſeful in commerce, are for the benefit of *England*. *Panama* is of that nature, as it would command the iſthmus of *Darien*; and therefore, if there was force enough, with the help of the *Muſquito Indians*, and negroes, under proper officers from *Jamaica*, an attempt upon that place would be, in his opinion, moſt adviſeable." It is thought, that the governor was not a little influenced in this oppoſition, not only by perſonal reſentment, but the apprehenſions he was under, leſt a ſettlement upon *Cuba*, if effected, might reduce the importance of his own government; but this was far from being the opinion of the people of *Jamaica* in general, who moſt ardently wiſhed that *St. Jago* might be reduced. The queſtion being carried in the council of war, all meaſures were put in execution for ſailing, but with a force diſproportioned to the enterprize, the land troops being now reduced from 12,000 to 3000. Such was the zeal of the *Jamaicans* for the ſucceſs of this expedition, that inſtead of 1000, they offered 5000 negroes to ſerve in it; but the ſmaller number was judged ſufficient. On the 28th of *June*, a ſtrong ſquadron being left under commodore *Davers* to protect the iſland of *Jamaica*, the armament ſailed, and on the 18th of *July*, the whole fleet got into *Walthenham* harbour, one of the fineſt and moſt capacious in all the *Weſt Indies*; and the admiral gave it the name of *Cumberland* harbour, in honour of his royal highneſs the duke.

The fleet ſails.

ST. *Jago* is the capital of the iſland of *Cuba*, though far inferior in populouſneſs, ſtrength, and riches to the *Havannah*, where the *Spaniſh* ſquadron, under *de Torres*, ſtill continued to lie. The knowledge of the iſland of *Cuba* itſelf, eſpecially in its inland parts, had been ſo carefully concealed by the *Spaniards*, that the accounts of it are various, and ſometimes contradictory. But, upon the whole, it is unequal as to its ſoil and produce; ſome ſpots of it being as rich and delightful as as any in the world, and others bleak and barren. *St. Jago* city was far from being ſtrong towards the

land, but it lay conveniently for privateers, which did infinite damage to the *Jamaica* trade. An *Engliſh* mariner, who ſaid he had reſided there for thirteen years, repreſented the march from *Cumberland* harbour to *St. Jago* as being very practicable, by means of a freſh-water river, which could carry boats a conſiderable way up the country. Other mariners, who had been priſoners there, and worked upon the fortifications, gave accounts of the ſtrength of the place; but it was judged on all hands impracticable to attack it by ſea; and therefore, though *Cumberland* harbour was at a conſiderable diſtance, it was reſolved to march the troops by land, eſpecially, as it was judged the *Spaniards* would be unprovided to receive them, and the roads very paſſable. On the 20th of *July*, was held a council of war, compoſed of vice-admiral *Vernon*, general *Wentworth*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, general *Blakeney*, colonel *Lowther*, colonel *Cochran*, captain *Mayne*, and captain *Cotterel*. Here captain *Watſon*, and lieutenant *Lowther*, who had been ſent to reconnoitre as far as the approaches to a village called *Catalina*, where there was a battery, reported, that they had found every thing exactly to agree with the information of *Drake*, the mariner abovementioned, while captain *Renton* gave his opinion, that it was impracticable to attack the harbour of *St. Jago* immediately by ſea; but it was found, that before they could poſſeſs themſelves of the harbour of *St. Jago*, they muſt become maſters of the ſtrong caſtle of *Moro*, and the batteries erected for its defence. *Council of war held.*

UPON the whole, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "Immediately to ſet about doing every thing in their power, to comply with the principal view of his majeſty's inſtructions, that of poſſeſſing themſelves of the iſland of *Cuba*; and for advancing to attempt to ſurprize and take the batteries above the *Moro* caſtle, if the approaches to them were found practicable for the forces; to get up to the village of *Catalina* with the utmoſt expedition, and, at all events, to ſecure that, and a communication with *Walthenam* harbour, as a probable foundation to acquire a footing in the iſland of *Cuba*, and waiting for further ſuccours, to enable them to complete the reduction of it. And reſolved, that the general be deſired to acquaint the reſpective governors of the northern colonies, with their reſolution to eſtabliſh themſelves on *Cuba*, and wait for his majeſty's further inſtructions, and deſire them to ſend what recruits they could raiſe; and to aſſure the inhabitants of their reſpective colonies that were willing to endeavour to ſettle themſelves in *Cuba*, that they ſhould be ſure to meet with all poſſible encouragement; unanimouſly reſolving, *Its reſolutions.*

ſolving, to do all jointly in their power, to ſecure a footing in this iſland, till they received his majeſty's further inſtructions."

The Engliſh *reconnoitre* Cuba.

THE forces being landed without any difficulty, a fine camp was formed on the ſide of a freſh water river, in a moſt wholeſome ſituation, which afforded every thing that could contribute to the health and refreſhment of the troops, and about three leagues from the mouth of the harbour. It is uncertain what the event might have been, if the forces, inſtead of enjoying this delightful ſpot, had immediately marched to the object of their deſtination. But while they lay encamped, the *Spaniards* took the alarm, and ſent out flying parties to obſerve the *Engliſh*. *Wentworth*, on the other hand, thought it was unſoldierlike to enter upon a march, in an unknown country, before the ground was reconnoitred, and ſent out a conſiderable detachment for that purpoſe. They diſcovered ſome of the flying parties of the *Spaniards*, who retired before them, and having advanced a good way up the country, major *Dunſter*, who commanded the detachment, thought proper to return to a village called *Guantanamo*, where he found the colonels *Cochran* and *Whitford*, with 250 ſoldiers, and 100 negroes; but upon conſultation, though the whole detachment was now 500 ſtrong, they reſolved to return to the camp, where they made ſuch a report of the country as determined general *Wentworth* againſt the enterprize.

THE ſtate of this expedition was now pretty much the ſame with that of the fatal attempt upon *Carthagena*. The admiral had made an excellent diſpoſition of his ſhips to prevent any ſurprize from *de Torres*, and was every hour repreſenting by meſſages to the general, the neceſſity of putting the troops in motion. In anſwer to thoſe admonitions, the general, on the 5th of *Auguſt*, informed the admiral by a letter, that being diffident of the ſucceſs of the enterprize againſt *St. Jago*, and finding it impoſſible for the troops to ſubſiſt much longer where they were, he intended to call a council of war to come to a final reſolution. It appeared by this letter, and by others ſent from the camp, that the general, and his principal officers, were determined againſt attacking *St. Jago*; and this opinion was confirmed by a council of war of the land-ſervice, which aſſembled on the 9th, where it was reſolved, "That they could not march any body of their troops further into the country, without expoſing them to certain ruin; and that they were firmly of opinion, that their advancing with the army to *St. Jago*, in their preſent circumſtances, was impracticable." It would

Wentworth declines the attack of St. Jago.

be

be hard to expreſs the indignation of *Vernon*, when he received thoſe accounts. He had offered to cruize off the mouth of the harbour of *St. Jago* to favour the attempts of the army. The country between the camp and the city was entirely deſerted by the inhabitants, and it was ſaid, upon the ſtrength of intercepted letters, (which, however, might have been written with deſign) that the governor, and the principal officers in *St. Jago*, gave the place up for loſt, and were ready to abandon it, and that the city itſelf was in great want of ammunition. The general, on the other hand, repreſented that he could not be anſwerable to march without artillery for attacking the place, which it was impoſſible to bring up; and that, notwithſtanding all the endeavours that had been uſed, he was ſtill deſtitute of information as to the country through which he was to march; and that he had no reaſon to lay any ſtreſs on what was reported concerning the deſpondency and inability of the *Spaniards*. The truth is, that *Vernon*, and the ſea-officers, had always propoſed that the land troops ſhould attempt to ſurpriſe the batteries without heavy artillery; a method of proceeding which *Wentworth*, and the land-officers, conſidered as being contrary to all the rules of war.

Reſolutions of the council of war againſt the attack.

IN the meanwhile, the unhealthy ſeaſon now began, by which the troops ſuffered more than, perhaps, they would have done by an unſucceſsful attack; and animoſities between the admiral and general had riſen to ſuch a height, that it was plain each would have rather fought the other than the enemy; nor were thoſe differences confined to them, for they grew general between the land and ſea-ſervice. The ſoldiers were diſſatisfied at ſeeing the rich prizes which were every day brought in by the ſailors, without their having any ſhare in them; and ſome quarrels had happened between the *European* and *American* troops employed in the expedition. As the laſt tentative, another council of war was held, conſiſting of the officers of the navy and army, in which the latter plainly declared, that it was impracticable to march farther up the country. *Vernon*, having no power over the land-ſervice, could do nothing but remonſtrate verbally againſt this opinion; and laying before the general, and his officers, copies of all the evidence he had procured, he exhorted them to act in the manner they thould think moſt conducive to the honour and intereſt of their country; but all was to no purpoſe, for the council broke up without coming to any new reſolution.

VERNON appeared enraged at the cowardice and treachery (as he called it) of the general and his officers, and declared, though

Vernon *reconnoitres the harbour of* St. Jago.

though inconſiſtently enough with the information he had received, that he would ſail in perſon to view the harbour of *St. Jago*, whether it was practicable to enter it with the ſhipping. He accordingly ſailed thither on the 4th of *September*, with the *Orford* and the *Montague*; and ſoon was confirmed as to the truth of his intelligence, that it was impoſſible for a ſquadron to enter that harbour, which was unſafe even for friendly ſhips. But *Vernon* ſeems, at this time, to have been ſenſible that *Wentworth* had as little power over the operations of the fleet, as he had over thoſe of the army, which was now in a moſt lamentable condition, 200 of its officers having died, beſides common men, during their inactive encampment; and *Wentworth* declared, that if they continued where they were, he muſt ſoon be without men to do camp duty. *Vernon*, on his return from reconnoitring the harbour of *St. Jago*, produced a letter from Sir *Charles Wager*, intimating, that 2000 troops had been ſent to reinforce him, and he inſiſted upon the army remaining in the advantageous poſt it poſſeſſed till the arrival of thoſe troops, which would enable them to reduce, at leaſt, the eaſtern part of the iſland.

The expedition laid aſide.

THOUGH this propoſal was agreed to in a council of war held on the 28th of *October*, yet it certainly was a moſt ruinous ſcheme, conſidering the growing mortality of the army, which obliged the general to ſummon a new council of war, conſiſting of the land officers only, which met the 7th of *November* following, and declared their opinion, "That no time ought to be loſt in embarking the troops on board their tranſports; and that it might be done with the utmoſt expedition, they thought all the aſſiſtance which could be had from the fleet was neceſſary, for which end proper application was without delay to be made to vice-admiral *Vernon*." The neceſſity of this reſolution was ſo apparent, that on the 20th of *November*, the re-embarkation was effected on board the tranſports, without the leaſt difficulty. On the 25th, a general council of war was held, in which the land officers came to a reſolution of proceeding directly for *Jamaica*, while the admiral declared his intention to cruize till he was joined by the reinforcement he expected. It was the 28th, before the tranſports ſailed for *Jamaica*, where they arrived ſafe, while the admiral on the 6th of *December*, with eight ſhips of the line, continued to cruize off *Hiſpaniola*, to meet the reinforcement from *England*.

IT is hard to pronounce whether the reputation of the admiral or the general ſuffered moſt from the miſcarriage of this expedition. The former it is true, had the populace on his ſide, but their opinions were but ſhort-lived, while the

more

more thinking part of the nation thought that he gave too much way to his hatred of the land-ſervice, and that he had ſacrificed the intereſts of his country to the great deſire he had to render *Wentworth* and his officers contemptible and ridiculous. The forbidding manner he aſſumed on all occaſions, his imperious behaviour and diſregard for all, even in the ſea-ſervice, who differed from him in opinion, evinced, that he was not formed to command with an aſſociate; and though he had the precaution to ſcreen his own conduct from reproach, yet it was eaſy to perceive, that the national ſervice was a conſideration ſecondary to the gratification of his reſentment, and (as ſome ſaid) his avarice. The conduct of the land-ſervice was equally indefenſible. The general's inexperience and irreſolution were attended with all the effects of cowardice and treachery; and through the long peace that had preceded the war with *Spain*, very few of the land officers were acquainted with ſervice. They conſidered the *Weſt-Indies* as being little better than their graves, and an univerſal notion prevailed among the regulars, that all the labours they underwent, were, in order to obtain for the *Americans* an eſtabliſhment on the *Spaniſh* ſettlements; and this prepoſſeſſion (which was not entirely groundleſs) rendered them languid and backward in all their operations. To many of them, life or death ſeemed to be indifferent, and though few had periſhed by the enemy, yet it was computed, on a moderate calculation, that before they reached *Jamaica* at leaſt 20,000 *Engliſh* ſubjects had died ſince their firſt attack upon *Carthagena*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immenſe national loſs ſuſtained by the two expeditions againſt *Carthagena* and *Cuba*, the people of *Jamaica* were very conſiderable gainers by the prizes taken from the *Spaniards* that were carried into their iſland; and this conſideration rendered them exceedingly alert in promoting any expedition from *Great Britain* that could give a diverſion to the *Spaniards*. The reinforcement ſent to *Vernon* embarked from *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and after rendezvouſing at *Cork*, they arrived at *Jamaica* on the 15th of *January* in fifty-five tranſports, which carried near 3000 land-forces, under the convoy of the *Greenwich*, *St. Albans*, and *Fowey* men of war, with four bomb ketches. A general council of war was held on their arrival, where a letter from his grace the duke of *Newcaſtle* was read, informing admiral *Vernon*, "That his majeſty had commanded his grace to acquaint him, and general *Wentworth*, that he ſaw, with great concern, the heats and animoſities that had ariſen between his officers by ſea and land, contrary to his orders; whereby the

A reinforcement ſent to Jamaica.

Dated 31ſt *of* Oct. 1741.

the ſervice could not but greatly ſuffer; ordering his grace to recommend it to them, in the ſtrongeſt manner, carefully to avoid the like for the future; and that, in caſe of any differences of opinion, all acrimony, and warmth of expreſſion, to be laid aſide."

Schemes of operations propoſed.

A COUNCIL of war was held upon this letter, which obliquely glanced at the too free expreſſions which *Vernon* had made uſe of againſt *Wentworth*'s perſon; and it was compoſed of vice-admiral *Vernon*, general *Wentworth*, brigadier-general *Guiſe*, and governor *Trelawney*. Here a ſcheme, which had been encouraged by Sir *Charles Wager*, who had recommended the ſame to admiral *Vernon*, was ſubmitted to their conſideration. It had been ſuggeſted to Sir *Charles* by one captain *Lee*, who had been in the ſervice of the *South-Sea* company as a ſhip-maſter, and was well acquainted with *Guatimala*, and all the coaſts of *Honduras* and *Campeachy*. Sir *Charles Wager* had ſo good an opinion of *Lee*, that though he never had been in the government's ſervice, he was made commander of the *Bonetta* ſloop, and ſent to *Jamaica*, to lay his project before the council of war; and Sir *Charles*, though otherwiſe an able ſeaman, was of opinion, that it might create a very favourable revolution in *Peru* and *Mexico*, and other dominions of the *Spaniards* in *South America*. The ſubſtance of it was, to attack the *Spaniſh* fortifications upon the river *Dulce* and the lake of *Micaraqua*, where the *Engliſh* might, from that rich continent, open a gainful communication with the *Spaniſh* natives there, who had almoſt forgot their own original and the *Indians*, both of them being ſo great enemies to the government of *Old Spain*, that, but a few years before, they had revolted, to the number of 30,000 men, and were not reduced even at the time when this project was communicated. To carry it into execution, *Lee* required that no more than one ſhip of war and ſloops ſhould be employed, with 1000 land-troops on board, commanded by proper officers, and a ſupply of arms for the uſe of the inſurgents.

ANOTHER plan was propoſed, formed by one lieutenant *Lowther*, that as the trade with *Porto Bello* ſtill continued open, a man of war ſhould go along with the traders, and that the *Muſqueto Indians*, who were acquainted with the river *Chagre*, ſhould be employed in carrying up the artillery to *Cruſes*, from whence there was an open road to *Panama*, which might be attacked. *Lowther* offered, upon proper terms, (to enable him to hire guides and procure intelligence,) to engage the *Muſqueto* men in this expedition, which, he ſaid, would require 3000 regulars, and 500 negroes, to execute

cute. The council of war, before which thoſe plans were laid, happened to conſiſt chiefly of land-officers, and the majority of voices approved of *Lowther*'s ſcheme preferably to that of *Lee*. This reſolution was attended with a vaſt number of unſeemly altercations, and contradictory reſolutions, which evinced that the members were more actuated by a ſpirit of diſcord than a regard for their country: but as all parties were ſenſible that great matters were expected from them at home, it was reſolved to loſe no time in carrying *Lowther*'s ſcheme into execution; and about the 8th of *February*, *Vernon* made all the proper diſpoſitions for that purpoſe, and moſt earneſtly preſſed *Wentworth* to give orders for the embarkation of the troops. About this time, intelligence came, that ſix *Spaniſh* men of war, with 4000 troops, were arrived at *Laguira*, deſigned for reinforcing the garriſon of *Carthagena*; and this proved a freſh obſtacle to *Wentworth*'s giving orders for the embarkation of the troops. *Vernon* undertook to cruize off *Carthagena*, to intercept the *Spaniſh* reinforcement, while Sir *Chaloner Ogle* was to forward the embarkation of the land-troops under *Wentworth*, and to proceed to ſea with the tranſports and ſtoreſhips under his convoy.

Expedition undertaken againſt Panama.

As an expedition to *Panama* was the favourite ſcheme of governor *Trelawney*, he voluntarily embarked in this as a colonel; while *Vernon*, who ſaw only one unrigged ſhip at *Carthagena*, blocked up that harbour; and it was the 25th of *March* before he was joined by the armament under Sir *Chaloner Ogle*. The whole of the *Britiſh* fleet then conſiſted of two eighty-gun ſhips, two of ſeventy, and four of ſixty; three fireſhips, two hoſpital-ſhips, with forty ſail of tranſports, having on board about 3000 land-troops, and 500 negroes, commanded by governor *Trelawney*. By this time, lieutenant *Lowther* had been diſpatched, as a private trader, with thirteen men, to gain intelligence as to the probability of ſucceſs; but before he could return, *Vernon* acquainted the general, that he muſt proceed directly to *Porto Bello* with his fleet, where he would call a council of war, and accordingly he arrived there on the 28th of *March*. This meaſure ſeems to have baulked the expedition. It had not been foreſeen by *Lowther*, that the moment the *Britiſh* fleet appeared off *Porto Bello*, the *Spaniſh* governor there, with his garriſon, which was pretty numerous, would make the beſt of his way to *Panama*; and therefore his advice was, that 500 *Britiſh* troops ſhould be landed at *Nombre de Dios*, to intercept them, but this meaſure was neglected.

WHEN

which miſcarries;

WHEN *Vernon* appeared off *Porto Bello* on the 28th of *March*, he found the inhabitants ready to abandon the place, which being by no means for the intereſt of the *Britiſh* traders, an officer and an interpreter were ſent aſhore to promiſe them protection; but it muſt be obſerved, that by this time, the governor of *Porto Bello*, who was an officer of merit and experience, and his garriſon, had retired towards *Panama*. The inhabitants being thus left defenceleſs, ſent a deputation to the admiral and the general, to ſettle the terms of their protection; and it was agreed, in a council of war, that it ſhould be granted, if they did nothing to forfeit it; and that the council expected the town to furniſh mules for common prices, and cattle for the ſick; and to return an account the next morning, what number of mules they could provide when required. A council of war was likewiſe held the day the fleet appeared off *Porto Bello*, in which it was agreed, that it would be moſt for the ſervice, to have a detachment ſent up the river *Caſcabal* the next day, for cutting off the communication between *Porto Bello* and *Panama*, and to take poſſeſſion of the cuſtom-houſe, and to place a guard there. But this meaſure was entirely neglected, and *Vernon* threw the blame upon *Wentworth*; while fourſcore ſoldiers were ſent to take poſſeſſion of the cuſtom-houſe, which the *Britiſh* officers pretended was not included in the protection granted to the inhabitants of *Porto Bello*.

through what means.

WHILE thoſe frivolous operations were carrying on, *Lowther* returned to the fleet, and gave it as his opinion, that the *Spaniards* having been alarmed, the expedition he had propoſed againſt *Panama* was impracticable for that year. This coincided with *Wentworth*'s intelligence, which not only informed him of the arrival of the governor and garriſon of *Porto Bello* at *Panama*, but of a ſtrong reinforcement that it had received from *Lima*, and that fortifications had been thrown up for the defence of the place by land. This revived the altercations between *Vernon* and *Wentworth*; and indeed, the former ſeems to have been indefenſible in not landing the 500 men, according to *Lowther*'s advice, at *Nombre de Dios*; while *Vernon* laid the blame upon *Wentworth*'s having neglected to ſend a detachment up the river *Caſcabal*, which would have equally intercepted the *Spaniſh* governor and his garriſon. Upon the whole, it was reſolved in a council of war, held by the land-officers, to lay aſide the expedition againſt *Panama*, becauſe their force was inſufficient for carrying it into execution, and the troops, being reimbarked, returned to *Jamaica* on the 15th of *May*. It was generally thought that this ſhameful event of ſo promiſing an expe-

expedition, would have brought either the admiral or the general both to a trial. But *Vernon* was protected by his popularity, and his ſtrict adherence to his inſtructions, and the rules of his profeſſion, in which no man excelled him. *Wentworth*, on the other hand, ſheltered himſelf behind the opinions of the councils of war, in which the land-officers had always a majority.

The iſland of Rattan ſettled.

UPON the return of the armament to *Jamaica*, captain *Lee's* ſcheme, which we have already mentioned, was in part reſumed; and it was reſolved, that lieutenant *Hodgſon*, properly attended, ſhould once more repair to the *Muſquetto* coaſt, to conſult with the *Indians* there, and the logwood-cutters in the bay, about ſettling the iſland of *Rattan*, in the gulph of *Honduras*; a meaſure which promiſed great advantage to the people of *Jamaica*. This iſland lies about 150 leagues ſouth-weſt from *Jamaica*, and 14 to the north-weſt of *Truxillo-Bay*, on the *Spaniſh Main*, and is about 30 miles long, and 13 broad, being healthy, and well watered. Beſides the logwood-trade, the *Jamaicans* promiſed themſelves an opening for a commerce with the *Spaniards* at *Guatimala*. *Vernon* was a great friend to this undertaking, and *Hodgſon* carried out a captain's commiſſion to one *Pitts*, an eminent *Engliſh* logwood-cutter, who having been long ſettled in thoſe parts, had great intereſt with the *Muſqueto Indians*, and undertook for their aſſiſtance in the intended project. This being known at *Jamaica*, by admiral *Vernon's* advice, 200 of the *American* regiment, with 50 marines, were ſent under the convoy of the *Litchfield* man of war and the *Bonetta* ſloop, to *Rattan*, with an engineer, arms, ammunition, and all other neceſſaries, and ſome cannon, for a fortification, beſides ſix months proviſions. The ſettlement was effected with great ſucceſs; a town, and fortifications for its defence, were raiſed, and the government of the whole was confirmed upon Mr. *Pitts*. After this, on the 23d of *September*, admiral *Vernon* and general *Wentworth* were ordered home to *England*, while Sir *Chaloner Ogle* was to remain at *Jamaica* with the fleet, and as many marines as were neceſſary for its ſervice; and the eight independent companies, for the ſecurity of *Jamaica*, were completed from the regulars.

Vernon and Wentworth return to England.

WHEN *Vernon* and *Wentworth* arrived in *England*, both of them were moſt graciouſly received at court; and notwithſtanding the mutual recriminations that paſſed between them, both of them were preferred. *Wentworth* found more friends than his antagoniſt, for he had all the officers of the land-ſervice to back him; while *Vernon* was hated by many of his own profeſſion, for his haughty, unamiable diſpoſition. The

ſpirit of diſcord which had poſſeſſed them, ſeems to have entered into Sir *Chaloner Ogle* and the governor of *Jamaica*; and even ſwords were drawn in their quarrels. *Ogle*, though brave, was exceſſively ignorant of every thing that did not immediately relate to his own profeſſion; and *Trelawney*, though a man of ſome ſenſe, was of a haſty, unforgiving temper; nor could he by any means be brought to a reconciliation with *Ogle*, which proved of infinite detriment to *Jamaica*. Little occurs with regard to the hiſtory of that iſland, during the remaining part of the war.

Knowles, *governor.*

MR. *Trelawney* was ſucceeded in his government of *Jamaica* by *Charles Knowles*, Eſq; whoſe ſervices, as a ſea-officer, we have often had occaſion to mention. Under him the iſland enjoyed a tolerable ſhare of tranquillity; but the ſeat of war being tranſported elſewhere, the inhabitants no longer partook of the benefits which their ſituation threw in their way, and ſeveral heart-burnings aroſe between them and their governor; but we ſhall not venture to pronounce as to the merits of the diſpute. It is certain, that the adminiſtration at home was daily troubled with complaints againſt the planters of *Jamaica* by the ſugar-refiners and grocers of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Briſtol*, on account of the high price of ſugars imported from *Jamaica*. The affair at laſt came before the parliament, where the cauſe of the *Jamaicans* was vigorouſly ſupported by one of their countrymen, an alderman of *London*. A petition was preſented to the houſe of commons from the ſaid ſugar-refiners and grocers, praying, that the proprietors of land in *Jamaica* might be obliged to cultivate greater quantities of ſugar-cane grounds, in order to reduce the price of that, almoſt univerſal, commodity, or that the petitioners might be at liberty to import muſcovado ſugars from other countries, when thoſe imported from *Jamaica* ſhould exceed a certain rate. On the 19th of *February*, 1753, an addreſs was ordered to be preſented to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions, that there ſhould be laid before that houſe, the printed acts of aſſembly, paſſed in the iſland of *Jamaica*, from 1681 to 1737 inclusive. This addreſs was occaſioned by the complaints of grievances, ſent over from time to time from the aſſembly at *Jamaica*, in anſwer to the ſeveral repreſentations that had been made againſt them on the ſubject of ſugar, and ſeveral other heads; in which they repreſented, that the impoſts they paid, and the reſtrictions they lay under, rendered them unable to anſwer the expectations of their mother-country, by ſubjecting them to the greateſt inconveniencies and hardſhips. So great a regard was paid by the houſe to thoſe repre-

Proceedings in the Britiſh *parliament relating to* Jamaica.

ſe preſentations; that they ſerved as a foundation for an addreſs to his majeſty, concerning the preſent ſtate of the iſland of *Jamaica*, and for copies of the ſeveral accounts relating to the trade of the ſaid iſland. This addreſs was referred to the commiſſioners of trade and plantations, who drew up a report accordingly, which was preſented on the 23d of *February*, by Mr. *John Pitt*, one of the ſaid commiſſioners, together with ſeveral acts paſſed in that iſland, for encouraging white people to come over and ſettle there, and likewiſe the printed acts. Thoſe papers were not thought ſufficient by the friends of the *Jamaicans* for their vindication; and when the report and papers were referred to a committee of the whole houſe, on the 27th, Mr. *Beckford* moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, that he would give directions for laying before the houſe, a copy of the addreſs to his majeſty, from the council and aſſembly of the iſland of *Jamaica*, repreſenting to his majeſty the ſtate of the ſaid iſland; in which motion he was ſeconded by Sir *Francis Daſhwood*; but the ſame being objected to by the lord *Dupplin*, *Charles Townſhend*, Eſq; Sir *William Yonge*, *Robert Nugent*, Eſq; *Edward Elliot*, Eſq; and *Henry Pelham*, Eſq; the queſtion was carried in the negative. On the 8th of *March* following, Mr. *John Pitt* reported the reſolutions of the ſaid committee of the whole houſe, and the ſame were agreed to, as follows: 1. That the peopling the iſland of *Jamaica* with white inhabitants, and cultivating the lands thereof, is the moſt proper meaſure for the ſecurity of that iſland, and for encreaſing the trade and navigation between that iſland and *Great Britain*, as well as to and from other parts of his majeſty's dominions. *Reſolutions agreed to.*

2. That the endeavours hitherto uſed by the legiſlature of the iſland of *Jamaica*, to encreaſe the number of white inhabitants, and to enforce the cultivation of lands, in the manner which may conduce beſt to the ſecurity and defence of that iſland, have not been effectual for theſe purpoſes. Mr. *Pitt* then moved, by direction from the committee, for leave to bring in a bill for the better peopling the iſland of *Jamaica* with white inhabitants, for encouraging the cultivation of lands, at preſent uncultivated in that iſland, and for making a proper diſtribution of ſuch lands. A bill was accordingly ordered in, and was read a firſt time, the 9th of *May*. During the courſe of the debates on this affair, many ſevere reflections were thrown out againſt the planters of *Jamaica*, for not complying with the terms of the orginal grants from the crown, in cultivating a certain proportion of the lands ſo granted. But the repreſentatives of the council and aſſembly at *Jamaica*, had ſo much weight in them, that it was

thought proper, not to proceed upon the bill till the houſe received farther information concerning the ſtate of the iſland.

WHILE thoſe affairs were tranſacting in *England*, the people of *Jamaica* were peſtered with *Spaniſh* depredations, and had, in vain, ſent repeated complaints on that head to *England*, there being, at that time, peace between the two crowns. Either the miniſtry of *England* did not believe that the complaints were well founded, or they thought them not of ſufficient importance to embroil the nation with *Spain*, and therefore the government of *Jamaica* was given to underſtand, that they might proceed by their own admiralty-powers againſt the delinquents; the chief of whom were two *Spaniards*, *Simon de Cuena*, and *Domingo de Cuena*, who, after committing the moſt flagrant acts of piracy againſt the iſland, had the impudence to come upon it to trade; but were apprehended and brought to their trials. They had no other defence to offer, than that they acted under a commiſſion from his Catholic majeſty; but as this plea was ridiculous in time of peace, and as they could not produce even the pretended commiſſion, ſentence of death paſſed upon them. The execution, however, was reſpited till his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known; but though the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador intereſted himſelf greatly in their favour, orders were ſent from *England* for their execution. During the time that Mr. *Knowles* was governor of *Jamaica*, many differences happened between him and the inhabitants; and this variance was one of the reaſons why the houſe of commons addreſſed his majeſty for ſeveral papers relating to the diſputes between his excellency and ſome of the principal inhabitants of the iſland of *Jamaica*.

Pirates executed.

Diſputes between the governor and the aſſembly of Jamaica,

WE are here to obſerve, that even in the iſland itſelf, there was a difference of intereſts between the landholders or planters, and the merchants; and admiral *Knowles* ſeems very properly to have favoured the latter, upon the following occaſion. The ſeat of government, from a miſtake, which ſeems to have ſubſiſted ſince the iſland was reduced by the *Engliſh*, was at *Spaniſh Town*, which we have already mentioned, under the name of *St. Jago de la Vega*. As the iſland encreaſed in commerce and populouſneſs, this ſituation being in an iſland part of the iſland, was found to be extremely inconvenient for the merchants, who generally reſided at *Kingſton*, which was the center of all commerce upon the iſland. They complained of the expence attending their taking out clearances at *Spaniſh-Town*, and the great trouble they were put to in going thither to attend the aſſembly and the courts of law, and therefore applied to the governor, that the

about tranſferring the ſeat of government.

ſeat

ſeat of government might be removed to *Kingſton*, to which he agreed. This raiſed him a vaſt number of enemies among the planters, whoſe eſtates and properties lay near *Spaniſh Town*; and nineteen members of the aſſembly ſent over repreſentations againſt him to his majeſty, while his enemies in *England* painted him in the moſt frightful colours. But a diſpute of a ſtill more important nature ſprung up between them.

It had always been the cuſtom at *Jamaica*, as we have ſeen, in the preceding part of this hiſtory, that the laws paſſed there were to be in force until they got his majeſty's royal aſſent; but, if that was refuſed, they were no longer binding. The government of *England* had ſometimes found very bad effects ariſing from the execution of thoſe laws in the intermediate time between the paſſing them at *Jamaica*, and their being examined in *England*; and therefore an article was inſerted, "requiring him not to give his aſſent to any bill of an unuſual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majeſty's prerogative, or the property of his ſubjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or ſhipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unleſs there ſhould be a clauſe inſerted, ſuſpending the execution of ſuch a bill, until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known; that ſuch inſtruction was juſt and neceſſary, and no alteration of the conſtitution of the iſland, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the ſubjects in *Jamaica*." The governor, in adhering to thoſe inſtructions, embroiled himſelf with the aſſembly, who pretended, that they had a right to raiſe and apply public money without the conſent of the governor and council; and on the 29th of *October*, 1753, a reſolution was paſſed by the aſſembly for that purpoſe. The ancient practice abovementioned was brought to juſtify this reſolution. It was farther alledged, that if it was not in the power of the aſſembly to execute their own votes; if they were to be tied up to wait for an anſwer from *England*, nor in caſe of invaſion to raiſe either men or money for the defence of the iſland, it might thereby be ruined and reduced in the intermediate time. For theſe, and a variety of other reaſons, ſome other votes were paſſed by the aſſembly, which were highly derogatory to the royal prerogative.

After this, the altercations between the governor and aſſembly roſe to great indecencies; he was accuſed of arbitrary proceedings, and ſeveral malverſations in his government; but he was ſtrenuouſly vindicated, eſpecially, in removing the ſeat of government from *Spaniſh-Town* to *Port-Royal*, by the principal merchants of *London* and *Liverpool*. *Mutual recriminations between the governor and people of Jamaica.*

Matters, at laſt, came to ſuch an extremity, that he was obliged to diſſolve the aſſembly, upon allegations againſt the members, which fell little ſhort of a charge of high-treaſon. He accuſed them of invading the prerogative of the crown, and the liberty of the people; of attempting to alter the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of their country, of their having entered into a combination to govern independently, by having formed a wicked, but ſecret, aſſociation, that was deſtructive of the rights of the inhabitants; and in ſhort, that they were endeavouring to ſubvert the government, and to wreſt it out of the hands of the ſovereign. From thoſe general charges, he proceeded to others that were more particular; ſuch as their having ſquandered for years paſt, upwards of 90,000*l.* of the public money, in donations and gratifications to particular favourites, and in making jobs of their fortifications, and their other public buildings, to the great grievance of the publick, who ought to have another opportunity of chuſing more faithful repreſentatives, as the whole power of the aſſembly centered in a decemvirate.

THOSE charges, though, perhaps, ſome of them were overſtrained, were not without foundation; for it is certain, that there was upon the iſland a very powerful faction, which had entered into meaſures not a little inconſiſtent with their dependence upon their mother-country, and that they had actually formed the aſſociation mentioned by the governor. This aſſociation, under the plauſible pretext of preſerving the tranquillity of the iſland, obliged the members to be determined in all their proceedings by three fourths of their own number; they were to ſupport the governor in carrying on his adminiſtration as long as he appeared to them to have at heart the public ſervice; but, if they thought otherwiſe, they were to join in oppoſing him, but firſt giving notice to the other members. Beſides this aſſociation, which was ſigned by ten or twelve of the chief gentlemen of the iſland, an extraordinary paper, as it was called, was drawn up, diſtributing the ſeveral partitions of buſineſs to be allotted to the ſubſcribers, all which engagements were undoubtedly unconſtitutional and diſreſpectful to the government. The next aſſembly, however, did not prove more agreeable in its complexion, and was, in like manner diſſolved. It had met together with great profeſſions of duty, which the governor acknowledged; but, ſaid he, in his ſpeech, in which they were diſſolved, "However well I may be ſatisfied with you in other reſpects, my duty to the beſt of kings, in the office I have the honour to hold, leaves me not at liberty to act in concert with you, whilſt you ſuffer a man, who was con-

The governor juſtified.

victed

victed of diſaffection, and treaſonable expreſſions againſt his majeſty's royal perſon and government, to ſit among you, and who was publickly puniſhed for it, and is ſtill under a a recognizance for his good behaviour. I do, therefore, in his majeſty's name, by, and with the advice of his council, diſſolve the aſſembly, and you are hereby diſſolved accordingly." The perſon alluded to here is ſaid to have been a young gentlemen, who had been tried and puniſhed for an inconſiderate frolic, which bore the face of diſaffection, committed by him at *Oxford* a year or two before; but we ſhall not take upon us to determine, as he had ſuffered the penalty of the law, how far the governor could except to his ſitting in the aſſembly-houſe, on account of his being ſtill under a recognizance for his good behaviour. Upon the whole, the *Britiſh* parliament, by their reſolutions, condemned thoſe of the government of *Jamaica*, concerning the raiſing and application of money without conſent of parliament, and juſtified the governor in the ſeveral checks he had given to their proceedings, but forbore to pronounce any thing concerning the propriety of his removing the ſeat of government from *Spaniſh Town* to *Kingſton*. We have little more hiſtorical matter to record concerning *Jamaica*, farther than that brigadier *Haldane* was appointed to the government of it, and that he attended general *Hopſon* in his expedition againſt *Guadaloupe*, but died before he entered upon the exerciſe of his government. *William Littelton*, Eſq; who had been governor of *South Carolina*, was afterwards appointed governor of *Jamaica*.

Haldane, *governor*.

Littelton, *governor*.

BUT though the inteſtine diviſions of that iſland ſeem to be now entirely at an end, yet enemies broke out in its bowels, which threatened it with deſtruction. Theſe were the negroes, who, ſince the laſt treaty with them in Mr. *Trelawny*'s government, not having been ſufficiently watched had become ſo numerous and ſtrong, that they now meditated no leſs than the extirpation of all the white men upon the iſland. Two *Coromantee* negroes, called *Tacky* and *Jamaica*, were the projectors of this conſpiracy. At firſt they ſeemed to be very cautious, becauſe great numbers of the original negroes who had been comprized in the late treaty, continued faithful to the *Engliſh* government. They were, therefore, obliged to invite to their aſſiſtance all the negroes on the iſland, and it is next to incredible, with what ſecrecy their conſultations were conducted. Being aſſembled on *Eaſter-Monday*, the day appointed for their riſing, to the number of ninety, they marched to *Port Maria*, where they killed the centinel of the fort, took from thence four barrels

Inſurrection of the negroes,

of powder, a keg of muſquet-balls, all the ſmall-arms in the fort, forty of which they found to be ſerviceable, and then they proceeded to plunder all the plantations in the neighbourhood; but the chief booty they valued was fire-arms. Such of the conſpirators as belonged to captain *Foreſt*'s eſtate, ſuddenly butchered the overſeer as he was at ſupper, and all the company that was with him. One Mr. *Bayly*, a conſiderable planter, endeavouring to approach them, that he might perſuade them to lay down their arms, together with a friend who was with him, narrowly eſcaped with his life; and being intoxicated with the liquors they had ſeized, they murdered all the defenceleſs white men who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Mr. *Bayly*, after his eſcape, had collected together about 130 whites and blacks, and while the inſurgents were regaling themſelves at a place called *Ballard's Valley*, he drove them into the woods, where they rendezvouſed, after loſing about twelve of their number.

which is quelled, but

As the rebels were far from being reduced by this check, and as intelligence came that their numbers were hourly encreaſing; the governor, as is uſual in thoſe caſes, ordered martial law to be proclaimed all over the iſland, and a total ſtop was put to all buſineſs but thoſe of arms. On the 10th of *April*, the governor, to ſave as much as poſſible the white inhabitants, ſet a price upon the heads of the rebels, and employed againſt them the free negroes of *Crawford-Town*, who attacked the rebels, but being inferior in number they were defeated. Till greater numbers of the free negroes could be aſſembled, the militia of the iſland had daily ſkirmiſhes with the inſurgents, who never could be brought to ſtand their ground, but ſeldom failed to do ſome execution by their buſh-fighting. The free negroes being at laſt reinforced, and commanded by white officers, on the 12th came up with the rebels, who were poſted in a rocky gully, between two ſteep hills within a wood. Here they were attacked by one captain *Hynes*, and driven, but with very little loſs, from their poſt into the wood. By this time, ſome regular troops had come up with ſupplies of arms and ammunition for the free negroes, and the wood, where the rebels were poſted, was ſurrounded, ſo as to prevent their eſcaping, while the free negroes, headed by one Mr. *Sweigle*, attacked them ſo furiouſly, that the rebels were entirely defeated, their two leaders, *Tacky* and *Jamaica* killed, and all their baggage, ſtores and ammunition taken, and ſo many of them made priſoners, that it was thought not above eleven of that party eſcaped. It appears, however, that ſeveral parties of them, ſtill more numerous, remained in the woods, where, being

diſtreſſed

diſtreſſed for proviſions, they were guilty of the greateſt cruelties upon one another, by killing all who were ſick or wounded, and many of them put themſelves to death.

breaks out again,

It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the negroes were encouraged in this inſurrection, by the hopes that the free negroes would join them; but the *Jamaicans* were deceived in thinking, that they were ſubdued by their late defeat. In *June* their rebellion broke out in *Weſtmoreland* and *Hanover* pariſhes with more fury than ever. Their numbers, in men, women, and children, conſiſted of about 700, and they proceeded as formerly, to murder all the whites they could maſter. The regular troops and the militia again ran to arms, and were headed by colonel *Sprag*, being joined by a body of ſailors. Great numbers of the rebels were killed or taken; but the ſurvivors, as before, found ſhelter in the woods and mountains, and ſuch of them as were taken priſoners, and found guilty, were put to the moſt excruciating deaths. It was evident from what had paſſed, that the inſurrections of the negroes were owing, in a great meaſure, to the indolence, rather than the indulgence, of their maſters, who had given them too many opportunities of aſſociating themſelves to concert their operations. It was known, that numbers of them ſtill were lurking in the woods and mountains, from whence mere neceſſity, had they no other motive, obliged them to make irruptions that were attended with robberies and murders of the whites, and it was very juſtly apprehended, that without the greateſt precautions on the part of the planters, they might form a new conſpiracy, and debauch even the negroes who remained in their duty, but who were not to be truſted with ſuch liberties as they had been indulged in heretofore. The juſtices of the iſland, in whom the executive power for the preſervation of the peace is lodged, to prevent ſuch conſequences, eſtabliſhed in their ſeſſions certain regulations. Theſe imported, that no negroe ſhould be found out of his own plantation, without a white conductor, or a ticket of leave, on pain of being ſeverely puniſhed. That every negroe playing at any kind of game ſhould be publickly whipped; and that every publican, ſuffering ſuch gaming in his houſe, ſhould pay a fine of forty ſhillings. That every proprietor of negroes, who ſhould ſuffer any of them to beat a drum, or blow a horn, or to make any extraordinary noiſe in his plantation, and that every overſeer ſuffering ſuch irregularities, ſhould forfeit 5 *l.* the ſame to be demanded or diſtrained for by any officer civil or military. It was further ordered, that every free negroe, or mulatto, ſhould, on pain of being impriſoned, wear upon his right ſhoulder a blue

and again ſuppreſſed.

Regulations concerning negroes.

blue croſs, as a badge; and that every mulatto *Indian*, or negroe, hawking or ſelling any thing but freſh fiſh, or milk, ſhould be publickly whipped; and that a penalty of twenty ſhillings ſhould be impoſed upon the owners of rum, or punch-houſes, who did not ſhut them up on *Sundays*, during divine ſervice, and that all who had petty licenſes ſhould ſhut up their houſes every night at nine.

State of Jamaica at the end of the war.

THOUGH thoſe regulations were the beſt that could be deviſed, yet they were far from bringing internal ſecurity to the iſland. The government thought it unſafe to truſt the free negroes too far, and the rebels ſtill continued in faſtneſſes that were inacceſſible to the regular troops and militia; ſo that the planters were obliged to be inceſſantly on their guard againſt the negroes, while rear admiral *Holmes*, who was ſtationed at *Jamaica*, made ſuch diſpoſitions of his ſquadron, as ſecured them from all attacks from abroad. Five *French* frigates, which ſailed from *Cape François*, in the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, with ſome merchant-ſhips under their convoy, were attacked by his captains, *Norbury*, *Uvedale*, and *Maitland*, in the *Hampſhire*, *Lively*, and *Boreas*, and the two largeſt were taken; while the three others were deſtroyed; and every day brought in numbers of rich prizes to *Jamaica*. Thus that iſland, under the prudent government of Mr. *Littelton*, remained in a more flouriſhing condition during the latter end of the war, than it had known for almoſt a century before, in times of the profoundeſt peace. The definitive treaty of 1763, was greatly in favour of this iſland, as it left it in all the poſſeſſion it had ever enjoyed in the ſugar-trade, without the rivalſhip of *Guadaloupe* or *Martinico*; nor had it a grievance to complain of, but the too great fondneſs of its rich planters to ſpend their wealth in *England*. Their magazines, fortifications, troops, and militia, were in excellent condition, and their trade was ſecured by ſhips of war ſtationed there for its protection. The vaſt acquiſitions of territory that fell to *Great Britain* by the peace, opened new markets for all their commodities, and the ſtipulations obtained from *Spain* in favour of the logwood-trade, ſecured to them the moſt important advantages, without their being longer expoſed to precarious ſituations.

Powder-magazine blown up.

AN accident that happened ſoon after the concluſion of the peace, ſomewhat allayed this deſirable ſituation. The powder magazine of *Auguſta*, the beſt fortreſs in *Jamaica*, or in the *Weſt-Indies*, built by admiral *Knowles*, blew up by lightning. The exploſion was ſo dreadful, that not a ſingle ſtone of the foundation could be obſerved on the place where the magazine ſtood, which was ſo blown up as to form a large

pond

pond of upwards of twenty feet deep, fifty in breadth, and at leaſt one hundred in length, from whence many ſprings of water iſſue; moſt of the guns, 24 pounders, on a baſtion contiguous, were diſmounted, part almoſt buried in the rubbiſh, and one of them carried more than an hundred yards from its place. Within the fort, every thing was terribly ſhattered, the commandant's houſe, the officers barracks, a fine brick building, and all the ſmall houſes in and about the garriſon were ſhattered to pieces; a great number of men, women, and children, were killed and wounded within the works, and two ſoldiers far up the bay were killed, and ſome wounded within the diſtance of a mile. Captain *Talbot*, and lieutenant *Dunbar* with his lady, and enſign *Keating* periſhed in the ruins; the lieutenants *Dunn* and *Manſell* were much bruiſed; the latter died afterwards. Thirty whites, and eleven negroes were killed by the exploſion. The loſs ſuſtained, excluſive of 2850 barrels of gunpowder, is ſuppoſed will amount to upwards of 15,000 *l.* The concuſſion was felt ten miles round; but we are now to attend to the geographical and commercial deſcription of this noble iſland.

Deſcription of Jamaica.

The iſland of *Jamaica* is divided from eaſt to weſt by a ridge of hills, where ſeveral fine rivers ſtored with fiſh take their riſe. Many of thoſe rivers are navigable by canoes, which renders them extremely commodious to the inhabitants for carrying their goods to *Port-Royal* and *Kingſton*. The tops of thoſe mountains are crowned with different kinds of trees, cedar, lignum vitæ, mahogany, and the like, which render them equally pleaſant and profitable to the inhabitants. A lower ridge runs parallel to the greater, and the vallies are laid out in the moſt delightful manner. Notwithſtanding thoſe advantages, the iſland is not without its inconveniencies with regard to water, which, in ſome places is very ſcarce, and in others ſo mixed with ſand and ſediment, that it is not fit for uſe till purified, for ſome days, in earthen jars, and many cattle, in ſome dry years, periſh for want of water. Some medicinal ſalt ſprings, of which ſalt is made, are found in the iſland, as are ſeveral lakes. As to the ſoil, the eaſt and weſt parts of it, containing large tracts of uncleared ground, are the moſt unwholſome; but the ſouth and north parts are more agreeable and leſs ſubject to ſudden ſtorms. The ſoil in general is ſaid to be more temperate, than it is in any country lying between the tropics; and Mr. *Blome*[a] ſays, it has been obſerved by ſome who have lived in the iſland, that the mountains which run along through the

[a] Blome's Preſent State, c. 1. p. 4.

midſt

midſt of the iſle, from one extream point to the other, are much cooler than the other parts; inſomuch, that ſometimes in the morning early, there are ſmall white froſts. It muſt be acknowledged, that the weather in *Jamaica* is extremely precarious, as inceſſant rains fall ſometimes for a whole fortnight, and render the road impaſſable: winter is to be diſtinguiſhed from ſummer only by its rains and thunders; but the eaſtern breezes, which riſe between eight and nine in the morning, is extremely agreeable to the inhabitants, as it enables them to work without inconveniency till five at night. Many other particulars are related concerning theſe and the land breezes, for which we muſt refer to Sir *Hans Sloane*, and others who have written natural hiſtories of the iſland.

Its ſoil. THE ſoil of *Jamaica* in general is excellent, eſpecially in the northern parts, where it is blackiſh, and in ſeveral places mixed with potter's earth, in others it is reddiſh and ſandy; but it is every where fertile, and anſwers to the culture of the inhabitants. We have already mentioned the complaints of the mother-country, on account of the ſcarcity of *Jamaica* ſugars, and by the lateſt and beſt accounts they are not without grounds, though they admit of many alleviations. The plantations are laid out chiefly with a view to the conveniency of water-carriage; ſo that it is thought that not one fourth of the ſugar-ground upon the iſland is cultivated, and even the grounds lying near rivers and the ſea, are in many places over-run with wood, inſomuch, that it is ſaid, that a planter who has patenteed 3 or 4000 acres, has ſeldom above 500 of them well cultivated. To this objection it is anſwered by the planters, that the heavy impoſts they lie under, with the great improvements made by the *French*, and the *Engliſh* iſlands in the ſugar-trade, diſable them from cultivating more ground than they do, and that the expence of finding an additional number of hands, and of carrying their ſugars from the mountains and inland parts, could never anſwer the expence of the culture. One acre, in ſome places, has been known to yield ſeveral hogſheads of ſugar. The ſavannahs, while the natives and the *Spaniards* held the iſland, were very fruitful in producing maiz and corn, and for the paſture of horſes, hogs, cows, and aſſes, of which incredible numbers were found in the iſland, and many ſtill remain; the large level plains are now the moſt barren ſpots in *Jamaica*; but they might by culture be ſtill rendered extremely fertile, as they produce ſuch quantities of graſs that the inhabitants are ſometimes forced to burn it.

THE

THE products of *Jamaica*, both from nature and cultivation are as numerous, as perhaps, thoſe of any ſpot in the world of the like bigneſs. They conſiſt of ſugar, rum, ginger, cotton, coffee, indigo, pimento, commonly called *Jamaica* pepper, and cocoa. Beſides thoſe commodities, this iſland furniſhes a great variety of woods and medicinal drugs, and ſome tobacco, which is of a coarſe kind, and cultivated only for the ſake of the negroes who are fond of it. *Jamaica* likewiſe produces *Indian* and *Guinea* corn, with peas of various kinds, but none reſembling thoſe of *Great Britain*, excepting ſuch as are reared with great care and tenderneſs in gardens, together with cabbages, and a great variety of roots. *Seville* and china oranges grow here in great abundance, as do the common and ſweet-lemon, ſhaddocks, citrons, pomegranates, mamies, ſour-ſops, papas, pine-apples, cuſtard-apples, ſtar-apples, prickly-pears, alicada-pears, melons, pompions, and guavas. The woods are ſtored with berries of various kinds, but apples, and thoſe fruits, that are more peculiar to cold countries, thrive but poorly in *Jamaica*. Beſides the productions we have mentioned, many others of the moſt valuable kinds may be found in the accounts of *Sloane*, *Brown*, and other naturaliſts, who have treated of this iſland. *Products of Jamaica.*

AFTER all, the ſugar-cane is both the glory and ſupport of *Jamaica*. This plant is thought to have been known to the *Romans*, and to have been originally a native of the *Canary Iſlands*, from whence the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, after they began to trade with *Africa*, carried it to their own countries. From thence they tranſplanted it to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and it is now become a moſt valuable branch of trade to *Great Britain*. The cultivation of the ſugar-cane is extremely curious, and has employed even volumes to deſcribe it and its different branches, eſpecially that of rum; but, ſuch deſcriptions do not fall within the compaſs of this work. The ſugar of *Jamaica* is ſaid to be excellent, and naturaliſts affirm, that in places, where the rain falls for months together, the ſugar grows faſter in ten days than it does in ſix months at *Barbados*. The ſugars, imported from *Jamaica* to *Great Britain* in 1753, is ſaid to have been worth in *England* 424,275 *l.* ſterling; for which the *Jamaica* planters take *Britiſh* commodities. The *Jamaica* rum, which is a branch of the ſugar-manufacture, is eſteemed the beſt in the world, and is in greateſt requeſt in *England*; and it is ſaid, *Jamaica* exports 4000 puncheons of it a year. Their moaſſes, they moſtly, ſend to the northern colonies, where they are diſtilled; but it is impoſſible to ſay any thing with preciſion, *Sugar.*

ſion, concerning the annual returns of the *Jamaica* ſugar trade, which depend upon the nature of the ſeaſon, and a variety of other accidents.

Pimento. THE tree which carries the pimento, or *Jamaica* pepper, riſes to the height of thirty feet at leaſt, is ſtrait, and covered with a grey, ſmooth, ſhining bark. Its leaves, of which it puts out great plenty, reſemble thoſe of the bay-tree. The pepper itſelf is taken green from the ſtalks of the tree; the grains are larger than juniper-berries, and like them, they become black and ſmooth. The cocoa and indigo commerce, though peculiarly adapted to *Jamaica*, have been of late much diſuſed, as not being ſufficiently profitable. Of cotton-trees, there are three ſorts, one which creeps on the ground like a vine; the ſecond is a buſhy dwarf-tree, about the ſize of a peach-tree; and the third grows to the tallneſs of an oak. The down, which is the cotton, grows in pods, which crack when they are ripe, and if the cotton is not gathered, it would be uſeleſs. The ginger-plant grows in *Jamaica*, but the roots of it alone are uſeful. Some ſalt-petre has been found on the iſland; and the *Jamaica* maſtic-tree, iron-wood, and bulley-tree, are all hard woods, and very fit for coach-wheels and mill-work. The ſavannah-woods of *Jamaica* produce the wild cinnamon-tree, the trunk of which is about the bigneſs of that of the pimento-tree; and its bark is eſteemed a ſovereign medicine for expelling wind, and aſſiſting digeſtion. Some of the *Jamaica* cabbage-trees are ſaid to be about 100 feet high, and ſome naturaliſts ſuppoſe them to be only the palm-tree. It is agreed, however, that what they call the cabbage part of it, is excellent food. The manchinel-tree has a moſt beautiful apple, which, if eaten, is a deadly poiſon. The excellent qualities of manchinel-wood, and that of mahogany, are well known to cabinet-makers and joiners. Fuſtic, red-wood, and logwood, all of them uſeful in dying, grow in *Jamaica*, which likewiſe furniſhes guiacum, ſaſſaparilla, china, caſſia, and tamarinds, with great variety of other medicinal roots and herbs. In ſhort, as large volumes have been written concerning the natural produce of *Jamaica*, it is not to be expected that we can be more particular here.

Cocoa. *Indigo.* *Cotton-tree.* *Ginger.* *Salt-petre.* *Wild cinnamon.* *Cabbage-tree.* *Manchinel-tree.* *Fuſtic.* *Red-wood.* *Logwood.* *Guiacum.* *Saſſaparilla.* *China.* *Caſſia.* *Tamarinds.*

THE vaſt attention which is paid by the *Jamaicans* to their ſtaple commodities, makes them neglect many advantages, which the ſoil of their iſland affords. Their horſes, aſſes, and mules, are plentiful; and, it is ſaid by *Blome*, that when the *Engliſh* firſt came to the poſſeſſion of *Jamaica*, there was greater plenty of cattle in the iſland, than in moſt of the *Engliſh* plantations in *America*. Oxen and cows in

Jamaica

Jamaica are large, but the breed is neglected by the planters. Their mutton is excellent, the wool being good for nothing; but the pork exceeds that of *England*, or any other nation in *Europe*. No deer or hares are to be found in *Jamaica*, but it abounds with goats and and rabbits. Wild-fowl is incredibly plentiful in this iſland, particularly ducks, teal, widgeon, geeſe, turkies, pigeons, *Guiney* hens, plover, flemingos, ſnipes, parrots, parachetos[x], and pelicans, a bird as big as a gooſe, and of a very particular nature, living on the ſmall fiſh it picks out of the ſea. The cotton and orange-trees on this iſland harbour vaſt numbers of thoſe beautiful animals the humming-bird, and a kind of cantharides, or flying glow-worms, are frequent in the woods.

THE turtle, or ſea-tortoiſe, which is found in the bays, roads, and rivers of *Jamaica*, is now too well known in *Europe*, to require any deſcription here. When *Blome* wrote, numbers of ſhips from the *Caribbee Iſlands* reſorted thither, to victual and load therewith; but the deliciouſneſs of it, is now too well known to *Europeans*, for the tortoiſe to be any longer ſo cheap. The alligator, a moſt terrible monſter, living upon animal-fleſh, and preying upon men, when he can devour them, infeſts the rivers and ponds of *Jamaica*. The reader needs not to be acquainted that it is of the crocodile-kind, and that it would be the moſt dreadful of all animals, were it not for their ſlowneſs in making a circular motion, and a particular ſtrong muſky ſmell, which attends and diſcovers them, even to the brutes who approach them. The negroes of *Jamaica* have a particular dexterity in killing them, either by attacking them ſideways with truncheons, or by thruſting into their jaws a ſharp-pointed iron, that diſables them from biting, and then they are eaſily killed. The mountains, fens, and marſhes, of *Jamaica*, breed multitudes of adders and animals, which, in other countries, are venemous, but are not ſo there. The chegoes are likewiſe plentiful here, and extremely troubleſome, not only to the negroes, but ſometimes to the white men. *Alligators.*

THE iſland of *Jamaica* is divided into nineteen pariſhes. *Port Morant*, a ſafe and commodious bay, lies in that of *St. Bernard's*, which is well cultivated, and ſends two members to the aſſembly, and has within it a ſmall fort. The pariſh of *Port-Royal* contained the town of that name, formerly one of the fineſt cities in *America*, from the commodiouſneſs of its harbour, which can ſafely contain a thouſand ſail of ſhips. Its entrance is defended by *Fort Charles*, which is *Deſcription of* Port-Royal.

[x] BLOME, c. 1. p. 21.

eſteemed

eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt belonging to the *Engliſh* iſlands. A line of battery, of ſixty pieces of cannon, and a garriſon of regulars, maintained by the crown. The harbour itſelf is about three leagues deep. The chief town upon this harbour now, is *Kingſton*, after which it is ſometimes called. Into the bay, which forms the harbour, runs the river upon which *Spaniſh-Town* ſtands. We have already mentioned the deſtruction of *Port-Royal* by an earthquake, at which time, it is ſaid to have contained 2000 handſome houſes, the rents of which went as high as thoſe of *London*. The ſecretary of *Jamaica*, or his deputy, keeps his office in the fort, and every perſon leaving the iſland, is obliged to ſet up his name, and to ſignify ſuch intention twenty-one days beforehand: the receiver-general and the naval-officer, who receive the reports of all trading veſſels, likewiſe reſide here. But excepting the harbour, there could be no temptation for the inhabitants to live at *Port-Royal*, there being no wood, freſh water, ſtones, nor graſs near, and the town itſelf ſtanding on a hot, dry ſand. Notwithſtanding thoſe inconveniencies, and the prohibition of the aſſembly, that *Port-Royal* never ſhould be rebuilt, the harbour was ſo tempting, that great numbers of people reſorted to their former ſituation; but no building is ſuffered within thirty feet of high-water-mark. Few towns have been more unfortunate than this; for, beſides the calamities which we have already mentioned, it received prodigious damage *October* 20th, 1744, by a ſtorm, which ſtranded, wrecked, and foundered, eight of his majeſty's ſhips, and ninety-ſix merchant-ſhips, in the harbour; and the town itſelf muſt have been overflowed, had it not been for the wall. Theſe hurricanes are obſerved generally to happen about a day or two before the full, or new, moon, next the autumnal equinox, and are preceded by an uncommon ſmell of the ſea.

Kingſton. THE town of *Kingſton*, which was built on the oppoſite ſide of the harbour, to ſupply the loſs of *Port-Royal*, from which it is diſtant five miles by water, and fifteen by land, is now a pariſh by itſelf. It ſtands commodiouſly for freſh water, and all other conveniencies of life; and the plan of it was laid by colonel *Chriſtian Lilly*, who was the chief engineer of the iſland at the time of *Lillinſton*'s expedition. The ſtreets are wide, and regular, and croſs each other in right angles, at equal diſtances. The town contains about 1200 houſes, many of them handſomely built, with portico's, but low, on account of the hurricanes and earthquakes, to which the iſland is ſubject, the whole being about a mile long, and half a mile broad. In the bay there are ſeldom fewer than

two

two or three hundred veſſels; and it is thought, that in a ſhort time, it will be equal in populouſneſs and riches, to what *Port-Royal* formerly was; though the peninſula that covers the ſhips in the harbour from the ſea, is too low and narrow to ſecure them entirely from ſtorms. *Port-Royal* can muſter about 1100 men, ten companies of foot, and two troops of horſe. It ſends three members to the aſſembly, and contains one church, two Jewiſh ſynagogues, and a quakers meeting. During admiral *Knowles*'s government, the harbour of *Port-Royal* received ſuch additional fortifications, as render it now very ſtrong.

Spaniſh-Town.

SAINT JAGO DE LA VEGA, or *Spaniſh-Town*, ſtands on the river *Cobre*, in a fine pleaſant valley, and in 1708 it was thought to have been as populous as it was in its moſt flouriſhing condition under the *Spaniards*, though it had then only one church and a chapel, inſtead of ſixteen churches and chapels, which it contained before the time of its conqueſt by the *Engliſh*. Though it is a place of no trade, it is the reſort of all the chief merchants who have acquired eſtates ſufficient to enable them to live a pleaſurable life; and the number of coaches and chariots belonging to it, are equal to thoſe of many reputable cities in *Europe*, which it ſeems to rival, in the polite diverſions of balls, plays, and aſſemblies. Before the governor's houſe, ſome part of which was rebuilt by the duke of *Portland*, and conſiſted of two ſtories, (an unuſual thing in this iſland,) is an exchange, to which merchants, factors, civil and military officers, and gentlemen of fortune, repair to do buſineſs. The houſes, though but one ſtory high, conſiſt of ſeveral commodious apartments, all of them well furniſhed and finiſhed with mahogany. The jails are comfortable and convenient for the priſoners; and a ſavannah lies before the town, in which the chief inhabitants take the pleaſure of airing, and here the parties for gaming, dancing, and other diverſions, formerly too frequent in this iſland, were generally formed. A patrole attends every night for the ſafety of the inhabitants, and conſiſts of four horſe and ſeven foot ſoldiers. *Spaniſh-Town* ſends three repreſentatives to the aſſembly.

St. Catharine's *and other pariſhes.*

SAINT CATHARINE's pariſh contains *Paſſage-Fort*, which is mounted with ten or twelve guns, and is ſo called, becauſe it is the greateſt thorough-fare in the iſland. A great number of ſtrangers live here, but moſt of the houſes belong to publicans. The other parts of the topography of *Jamaica* are compriſed in the number of pariſhes it contains, which are, by the lateſt accounts as follow. 1. *Kingſton*; 2. *Port-Royal*; 3. *St. Catharine's*; 4. *St. Dorothy's*; 5. *Clarendon*;

don; 6. *Vere's*; 7. *St. Elizabeth*; 8. *Hanover*; 9. *Weſtmoreland*; 10. *St. George's*; 11. *St. James's*; 12. *St. Anne's*; 13. *St. Mary's*; 14. *Portland*; 15. *St. Thomas* in the Eaſt; 16. *St. David's*; 17. *St. Andrew's*; 18. *St. John's*; 19. *St. Thomas's* in the Vale. In a ſupplement to the account of this iſland in the Syſtem of Geography [y], it is ſaid, that the following pariſhes, viz. *St. Catharine's*, *Port-Royal*, *Kingſton*, *St. Dorothy's*, *Clarendon*, *Vere*, *St. Elizabeth's*, *Weſtmoreland*, *St. Anne's*, *St. Thomas* in the Eaſt, *St. Andrew's*, *St. John's*, and *St. Thomas* in the Vale, have each a parochial church; *St. Catharine's*, *Clarendon*, and *St. Anne's* pariſhes, have alſo each a chapel of eaſe; but the pariſhes of *Hanover*, *St. George*, *St. James*, *St. Mary's*, and *Portland*, have neither church nor chapel.

POINT NEGRIL, in *St. Elizabeth's* pariſh, is the land's-end of *Jamaica*, and has a good, ſafe, harbour, where our ſhips may lie very conveniently during a war with *Spain*, for intercepting the fleets to and from the *Havannah*. *St. John's* pariſh is one of the moſt pleaſurable, in all reſpects, in the whole iſland; and *Port Antonio*, in *St. Thomas's* pariſh, were it not for the difficulty of entering it, would be the beſt harbour in *Jamaica*. It is defended by a regular fort, with a ſmall garriſon. In the neighbourhood of *St. Thomas's*, lies *Tichfield*, which has the appearance of becoming a thriving place. In *St. David's* pariſh, on the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland, lies the bay of *Port Morant*, where is likewiſe a fort in time of war, together with excellent plantations of ſugar and cotton, and a ſalt-work.

C U B A.

Situation and diſcovery of Cuba.

WE have had ſo many opportunities, in the courſe of this work, to mention this iſland, and its hiſtory, that we ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible in our account of it, that we may avoid repetitions. *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Porto Rico*, as well as *Jamaica*, form the great *Antilles Iſlands*. *Cuba*, which begins on the eaſt-ſide, at latitude 20 deg. 20 min. touches on the north at the tropic of cancer, and extends from longitude 74. to 85 deg. 15 min. about 11 degrees from eaſt to weſt, or 660 miles from *Cape St. Antonio*, on the weſt, to *Cape Maize*, on the eaſt; but is very narrow in proportion, being in ſome parts not above 12 or 14 leagues in breadth, and at moſt but 120 miles in length. It lies 60 miles

[y] Vol. II. p. 713.

to the weſt of *Hiſpaniola*, 25 leagues to the north of *Jamaica*, 100 miles to the eaſt of *Jucatan*, and as many to the ſouth of *Cape Florida*, and commands the entrance of both the gulph of *Mexico* and *Florida*, and the *Windward Paſſage*. By this ſituation of *Cuba*, it may be juſtly called the key of the *Weſt-Indies*. The diſcovery of *Cuba* by *Columbus* has been more than once mentioned. When he landed on this iſland, he gave it the name of *Ferdinanda*[z], in honour of king *Ferdinand* his maſter; but it ſoon recovered its ancient name of *Cuba*. The natives, at the time of his landing, did not regard him with a very favourable eye, and the weather proving tempeſtuous, he ſoon left that iſland, and ſailed to *Hayti*, now called *Hiſpaniola*, where he was better received. The relation of the cruelties which were committed by the *Spaniards*, before they became abſolute poſſeſſors of this iſland, would ſtain the page of hiſtory. By their own accounts, ſome millions of the inhabitants were cut off; and though this iſland was diſcovered in the year 1492, it was not completely conquered till the year 1511. The reader may form ſome idea of the monſtrous cruelties of the *Spaniards*, from what we are told by the biſhop of *Chiapa*, who relates, that when an *Indian* caſique or prieſt, was to be put to death, he choſe to go to hell rather than heaven, where, he was told, the *Spaniards* went to.

Barbarity of the Spaniards.

We are to preſume, that the innocent, yet free, inhabitants of *Cuba*, made a brave reſiſtance; for, in the year 1507, the *Spaniards* were uncertain whether *Cuba* was an iſland or not; and therefore, *Obando*, the governor of *Hiſpaniola*, ſent *Sebaſtian de Ocampo* to diſcover it. Sailing along the north-ſide of *Cuba*, he touched at ſeveral places and careened his ſhips at the now well-known port of the *Havannah*, which he therefore called *de Carenas*. He then ſailed to the weſtermoſt part of the iſland, and arrived at *Cabo de St. Anton*. Then turning to the eaſtward, along the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of the iſland, he arrived at the gulph of *Xagua*, where he found a very fine port. Here the natives received him with abundance of hoſpitality, and finding he was not to continue long among them, they ſupplied him with excellent fiſh and partridges; and, in a few days, he returned to *Hiſpaniola*, with the certainty of *Cuba* being an iſland[a]. We may preſume, from this time, that the *Spaniards* being fully apprized of the excellent ſituation of *Cuba*, were daily afflicting it with the ſlaughter of its inhabitants, till it was ſo thinned, that in

[z] Benzoni, apud de Bry, p. 30.

[a] Herrera, decad. 1. book 7.

the abovementioned year 1711, the admiral *James Columbus* ventured to ſend *James Velaſquez*, with about 300 men, from *Hiſpaniola*, to plant *Cuba*. Several rebellions (as the *Spaniards* termed them) of the *Indians* followed, which were ſtill attended with horrible maſſacres of the natives. In the year 1517, *Hernandez de Cordova*, by orders of *Velaſquez*, governor of *Hiſpaniola*, ſailed from the *Havannah* with two ſhips and a brigantine, to make diſcoveries to the weſtward; but *Hernandez* loſt moſt of his men in this voyage, and he himſelf died of his wounds when he returned to *Cuba*. The report of his diſcoveries, however, encouraged *James Velaſquez*, who was now governor of *Cuba*, as well as *Hiſpaniola*, to fit out three ſhips and a brigantine, with 250 men, the command of whom he gave to *John de Grijalva*, who, on the 8th of *April*, 1518, ſailed from *Cuba*, and was fortunate enough to make ſome very important diſcoveries upon the coaſt of *New Spain*, almoſt as far as *Florida*, and then he returned to *Cuba*[b]. As *Grijalva* had diſcovered that the coaſts of *New Spain* afforded abundance of gold, and that the inland country was immenſely rich, and governed by *Montezuma*, his avarice and ambition led him to form a ſcheme for ſubduing that great monarchy; and he communicated the ſame to the famous *Ferdinando Cortez*, whoſe hiſtory is ſo well known.

Expedition of Cortez.

IN 1519, *Cortez* ſailed with eleven ſhips, all fitted out at the expence of *Velaſquez*, from *St. Jago de Cuba*; and, after taking in ſome reinforcements at the *Havannah*, he proceeded to the place of his deſtination. *Velaſquez* was equally inconſtant as he was ambitious. He dreaded the great popularity of *Cortez*, his enterpriſing ſpirit, and heroic diſpoſition, which he imagined muſt be attended with a proportionable ſhare of ambition; and therefore ſent after him an order to reſign his command. *Cortez* conſulted his ſoldiers, who had built all the hopes of their future fortunes on the ſucceſs of their enterprize, and the vaſt opinion they had of their commander's abilities; who determined to obey him, without paying any regard to the orders of *Velaſquez*. The event of the *Mexican* expedition does not fall into this part of our hiſtory. *Velaſquez*, finding he had been outwitted by *Cortez*, fitted out eighteen ſhips, on board of which he put 800 foot, and 200 horſe, a number double to that which *Cortez* commanded, and gave the command of it to *Narvaez*, who had orders to ſtrip *Cortez* of his command, and to ſend him to *Cuba* in irons as a rebel. *Cortez*, on receiving this intelligencee, ordered *Sandoval*, his governor of *Vera Cruz*, to join him with

[b] Ibid. decad. 2. book 3.

his

his ſmall garriſon; and, under the maſk of treating with *Narvaez*, who was then at *Vera Cruz*, he advanced againſt him with ſuch ſecrecy and rapidity, that he routed his army, took his artillery, and made himſelf priſoner, while moſt of his men declared for *Cortez*. *Velaſquez*, who remained ſtill at *Cuba*, was ignorant of this revolution, and ſent out another ſhip to reinforce *Narvaez*; but the crew of this ſhip likewiſe joined *Cortez*, who, about this time, narrowly eſcaped being cut off by a conſpiracy, he being looked upon by the party of *Velaſquez*, as no better than a ſucceſsful rebel. *Narvaez* was at laſt obliged to reſign his command; but we know of no benefit the governor of *Cuba* ever received from the expedition.

In 1527, *Pamphilo de Narvaez* arrived from *New Spain* at *Cuba*, with five ſhips and 700 men. He wintered there, and in the ſpring he undertook the expedition againſt *Florida*, we have already mentioned. All this while, the court of *Spain* was ſo ſenſible of the importance of *Cuba*, that orders were ſent not only to fortify it, but to exterminate the few remains of its original natives, which was accordingly executed with barbarous punctuality; ſo that the hiſtory of *Cuba*, at this time, is no other than a relation of the moſt horrible maſſacres, which were induſtriouſly concealed by the *Spaniards*. But the poſſeſſion of *Cuba* was far from anſwering the ſanguine hopes of the *Spaniſh* adventurers, whoſe chief aim was gold. Thoſe monſters, finding gold upon the iſland, concluded, that it muſt come from mines, and tortured vaſt numbers of the inhabitants, but without any effect, to make them diſcover where thoſe mines lay. In ſhort, the miſeries the natives ſuffered were ſuch, that they reſolved almoſt unanimouſly to put an end to their own lives, but were prevented by one of the *Spaniſh* tyrants, called *Vaſco Porcallos*, who threatened to hang himſelf along with them, that he might have the pleaſure of tormenting them in the next world, worſe than in this; and his threatening is ſaid to have diverted the natives from their reſolution; ſo that they returned quietly to their ſlavery. By the beſt accounts, no fewer than 600,000 of the natives were put to death in the year of *Velaſquez*'s arrival. While he remained governor of *Cuba*, he built the city and port of the *Havannah*, by the aſſiſtance of *Bartholomew de las Caſas*, afterwards biſhop of *Chiapa*, and the author of the hiſtory of the *Spaniſh* cruelties in the *Weſt-Indies*, of which he was an eye-witneſs. But the houſes, at firſt, were of no better materials than wood, and the town itſelf was ſo inconſiderable in 1536, that the crew of a *French* pirate-ſhip took it, and obliged the inhabitants to pay 700 ducats to ſave it from being burnt. The very day after

Miſeries of the Cubanese.

the pirates departure from *Cuba*, three *Spaniſh* ſhips from *Mexico* arrived at the *Havannah*, and having unloaded their cargoes, they ſailed in purſuit of the pirate-ſhip; but ſuch was the cowardice of the *Spaniſh* officers, that the pirate took all their three ſhips; and returning to the *Havannah*, obliged the inhabitants to pay them 700 ducats more.

The Havannah plundered.

THE inhabitants of the *Havannah*, to prevent the like accidents in time to come, then built their houſes of ſtone, and ran up a fort at the mouth of their harbour. But as the town was ſtill open on the land-ſide, the *Engliſh* cruizers paid the inhabitants ſeveral unwelcome viſits, and more than once drove the *Spaniſh* inhabitants into the woods, while they plundered the place. In the reign of *Henry* II. of *France*, while he was at war with *Spain*, a *Dieppe* ſhip, with no more than ninety men, plundered *St. Jago*, the capital of *Cuba*, and afterwards attacked the *Havannah*; but the *Spaniards* had been ſo often uſed to thoſe viſits, that they retired to the woods, ſo that the *French* found no inhabitants in the place. After remaining there for ſome time, ſearching for plunder in vain, two *Spaniards* came to them, ſeemingly to treat about ranſoming the town, but in reality to obſerve their numbers. The *French* demanded 6000 ducats for ranſom-money, which was more, according to the two deputies, than the inhabitants could raiſe; and took their leave. Upon their return to their countrymen, the majority came to a reſolution to ſurprize the *French* ſword in hand, which 150 of them accordingly did, in the night-time, by ſtealth. The *French*, after loſing four of their number, ſtood to their arms, and ſoon put to flight the *Spaniards*. After this, they bedaubed the windows and doors of the houſes with combuſtibles, of which they found great plenty on the iſland, and ſet fire to the town, even pulling down the walls and the fort, which the flames did not conſume. It is ſaid, that when the *Spaniards* deſired the invaders to ſpare the churches, the *French* anſwered them, that a people who had no honeſty had no occaſion for churches, and they were conſumed with the reſt of the town. The taking of the *Havannah* by the *Engliſh* buccaneers in 1669, under *Morgan*, has been already mentioned, as have ſeveral other attempts made during the courſes of the wars in which *Spain* was involved with the *Engliſh*, or other *European* powers.

Reflexions on its importance.

IT is certain that the importance of the *Havannah* to the *Spaniards* was never thoroughly underſtood, till after the ſucceſſion of the houſe of *Bourbon* to the throne of *Spain*, and then nothing was wanting that could contribute to render it impregnable. But, perhaps, the chief ſtrength of the *Havannah* lay in the jealouſy which all the powers in *Europe* entertained

tertained of each other, on account of the importance of the conqueſt, which muſt have rendered the maſters of the *Havannah*, maſters, at the ſame time, of the *Spaniſh* dominions in *America*. This would have been an acceſſion too conſiderable either for the *French* or the *Engliſh*; but when the latter were at war with both the *French* and *Spaniards*, that conſideration vaniſhed. Under king *William*, even before the *Havannah* was fortified, as it has been ſince, no attempt was made againſt it by the *Engliſh*, becauſe that prince's politics were diametrically oppoſite to all attempts for weakening *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*, as may be ſeen in the hiſtory of the *Scotch* colony at *Darien*. Under queen *Anne*, the ſame timid policy was continued; for though we had then war with *France*, yet the pretender to the crown of *Spain*, afterwards the emperor *Charles* VI. was our ally, and the diſmemberment of *Cuba* from the *Spaniſh* monarchy was too bold a ſtroke to riſk, as he was poſſeſſed of no means to indemnify the expence that muſt have attended ſuch an attempt, and the loſs of the *Havannah* was conſidered as being the ſame with that of the *Spaniſh* empire in *America*. Some projects, however, were formed for the reduction of this important place, but none of them was carried into execution, though it was well known that the *French* king derived from the *Spaniſh America* all the treaſure by which he was enabled to carry on his wars, during the laſt ten or twelve years of his life. We have, in our hiſtory of *Jamaica*, given an account of the various expeditions formed againſt *Cuba* by the *Engliſh* arms, during the reign of *George* II. nor ſhall we reſume it here, farther than to obſerve, that the whole plan of that war againſt *Spain* was defective; becauſe, our ſtrength was not immediately aimed againſt the *Havannah*, the taking of which muſt either have ſhortened the war, or have put *Great Britain* in poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* treaſures, as all other places of conſequence muſt have fallen of courſe.

War between Spain and Great Britain.

WHEN the vaſt ſucceſſes of *Great Britain* united the three branches of the houſe of *Bourbon*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Naples*, in what was called the Family Compact, the miſtakes of the former plans of war againſt *Spain* were obſerved, and it was reſolved to begin the operations by the attack of the *Havannah*. This plan was of itſelf ſo momentous, and depended ſo entirely upon military knowledge, that his majeſty referred, in a great meaſure, the execution of it to his uncle the duke of *Cumberland*, whoſe long experience in the army rendered him, undoubtedly, the beſt judge of the abilities of the officers who were to be employed in the execution of it. The chief command was given to the earl of *Albemarle*, the

diſciple of his royal highneſs in the art of war; and ſome of his brothers had very conſiderable commands, both by land and ſea, in the ſame expedition. Admiral *Pocock*, who had acquitted himſelf ſo much to the honour and intereſt of his country in the *Eaſt-Indies*, had the command of the fleet, and Sir *James Douglas* was ordered to reinforce him with his ſquadron from *Martinico*. The main fleet ſailed on the 5th of *March*, the very day on which the *Grenada* iſlands ſurrendered to the *Engliſh*, from *Portſmouth*, and the junction between the admiral and Sir *James Douglas* was happily effected on the 27th of *May*, at *Cape Nichola*, off the north-weſt point of *Hiſpaniola*; the whole armament conſiſting then of nineteen ſhips of the line, eighteen ſmaller ſhips of war, and about 150 tranſports, with 10,000 regular troops on board, which were to be joined about the time the operations were to commence by 4000 troops more, who were ordered from *North-America*.

AFTER this junction, time was ſo precious, that inſtead of keeping to the ſouth of *Cuba*, and falling in the tract of the galleons, which was by far the ſafeſt navigation, the admiral reſolved to run along the northern ſhore of the iſland, through the old ſtraits of *Bahama*, which form a narrow paſſage, bounded by the right and left by dangerous ſands and ſhoals, and about 900 miles in length. This navigation had been always eſteemed too hazardous even for ſingle ſhips, excepting thoſe who were daily converſant in thoſe ſeas, to undertake it. But the approach of the hurricane ſeaſon rendered it, in ſome meaſure, neceſſary for the fleet; and the admiral having procured from lord *Anſon* an excellent chart of thoſe ſtraits, he made the moſt proper diſpoſitions that the wiſdom and ſkill of man could concert to render the paſſage ſafe. A veſſel was ſent before to reconnoitre the channel, and to take the lead, while ſmall ſloops were poſted on each ſide to give notice of the ſhallows by ſignals; and then the grand fleet moved in ſeven diviſions, with a courſe ſo fortunate and judicious, that though they entered the ſtraits ſo late as the 27th of *May*, they got clear of all danger by the 5th of *June*, and next day the fleet came in ſight of two ſmall forts to the eaſtward of the *Havannah*, ſituated upon two rivers, at the diſtance of three miles from one another.

Siege and FOURTEEN *Spaniſh* men of war, beſides ſmaller ſhips, were then lying in the baſon of the harbour, which had been ſent from *Old Spain* for the protection of the place, as ſoon as a war between *Great Britain* and *Spain* appeared probable; but the *Spaniſh* commanders, truſting to the tediouſneſs of the navigation, and their own intelligence, if the

Engliſh

Engliſh had ſailed by the common tract, were, at this time, unprovided for a defence; while, the admiral, with twelve ſail of the line, ſome frigates, and all the ſtore-ſhips, bore away for the mouth of the harbour to block them up, and to make a diverſion on the one ſide, while the landing was effected on the other. The *Spaniards*, by this time, could be at no loſs to know the intention of the *Britiſh* armament, and their fleet was but little inferior to that under Sir *George Pocock*; yet they made no efforts to fight him, though an engagement, even ſuppoſing them to be worſted, might have diſabled the *Britiſh* fleet from undertaking the ſiege. Commodore *Keppel*, brother to the earl of *Albemarle*, with ſeven ſail of the line, and ſome frigates, covered the landing, which was effected between the two forts *Barcarans* and *Coxemar*, the firſt of which was taken poſſeſſion of by the *Mercury* man of war, and the other by the *Dragon*; their garriſon, which conſiſted of armed peaſants and negroes, flying to the woods. In the mean while, the earl of *Albemarle*, favoured by the fire of the *Dragon*, paſſed the *Coxemar-River* on the 7th, and the army lay under arms along the ſhore, with the piquets advanced into the woods; but before the operations of this ſiege can be fully underſtood, it is neceſſary to give the reader ſome idea of the ſtrength of the place and harbour.

THE city of *Havannah* ſtands on the weſt-ſide of the harbour, in a beautiful and pleaſant vale, with the ſea on its front, but backwards ſurrounded by the river *Lagida*. The harbour itſelf is by many accounted to be the beſt in the world, not only on account of its ſtrength, but becauſe it is capable of containing commodiouſly 1000 ſhips, without either cable or anchor, there being generally ſix fathom water in the bay. The entrance into the harbour is by a narrow channel, very difficult of acceſs, and fortified ſtrongly with platforms, works, and artillery, for half a mile, which is the length of the paſſage. The mouth of this channel is ſecured by two ſtrong caſtles, one on the eaſt-ſide is called the *Moro-Fort*, which is built in the form of a triangle, fortified with baſtions, and, at the time it ſurrendered to the *Engliſh*, it is ſaid to have mounted forty pieces of cannon almoſt level with the water, and each carrying a thirty-ſix pound ball, beſides other artillery. On the oppoſite ſide of the channel, lies another ſtrong fort, called the *Puntal*, joining to the town, which is ſituated to the weſtward of the entrance of the harbour, and is ſurrounded by ramparts, baſtions, and ditches. Beſides theſe fortifications, there are many other forts and platforms, all of them furniſhed with cannon, even to profuſion; and upon the whole, it may be ſaid with great truth,

deſcription of the Havannah.

truth, that the *Spaniſh* treaſures and engineers had been employed for ſixty years before in rendering the *Havannah* impregnable. The reader, perhaps, needs not to be informed, that in the harbour of the *Havannah*, the *Spaniſh* galleons and flota, containing all their *American* treaſures, aſſemble, and ſail from thence to *Europe*, and that the *Havannah* itſelf, is, conſequently, the moſt populous and richeſt town that the *Spaniards* have upon their *Weſt-Indian* iſlands, and it had been always the chief care of the court of *Spain* to provide it with a ſtrong garriſon, commanded by the ableſt officers they had in their ſervice.

Continuance of the ſiege.

ON the 8th of *June*, lord *Albemarle* marched to *Guanamacoa*, about ſix miles from the landing-place, and ſaw the enemy, to the number of 6000, drawn up very advantageouſly, as if they intended to diſpute his paſſage to that village, but they were ſoon diſperſed; and next day his lordſhip formed the army into two bodies, the one was commanded by general *Elliot*, and lay towards the ſouth-eaſt of the harbour, extending conſiderably into the country, not only to cover the ſiege, but to ſecure the foraging parties who were ſent out for proviſions. The other diviſion encamped in the woods, between *Coxemar River*, and the *Moro Caſtle*, which was to be the grand object of the *Britiſh* operations under general *Keppel*, another of his lordſhip's brothers; while colonel *How* was poſted with a detachment, ſo as to cut off the communication between the town and the country. In the mean while, the *Spaniards* were unrigging their ſhips in the harbour; at the mouth of which they ſunk three veſſels, and drew a ſtrong boom acroſs it. A poſt upon the *Moro* hill, called the *Cavannos*, was attacked and taken by the aſſiſtance of the ſhipping, (which gave a diverſion) by colonel *Carleton* with very little loſs. A poſt being eſtabliſhed here, his lordſhip gave orders for again reconnoitring the *Moro-Fort*, which was the more difficult, on account of the buſh and wood that ſurrounded it. Enough, however, was diſcovered to make it adviſeable to erect a battery againſt it as near as the cover of the woods would admit. This proved a work of infinite labour, and the hardſhips which the *Britiſh* troops had to ſurmount are almoſt incredible. Earth was ſo thin on the ſurface of the ground, that it was with difficulty they could cover their approaches, while, in that dry parched ſeaſon and country, they were obliged to bring their water a great way, and at laſt to be ſupplied by the ſhips. The artillery and ſtores were all this while landing, but the labour of bringing them up to the works was inexpreſſible. The cannon and carriages were to be dragged up, for a vaſt way, from a rough rocky

rocky ſhore, and many of the men in this painful operation, and in cutting out communications through thick woods, dropped down dead with heat, fatigue, and thirſt.

Attack of the ſhips upon the Moro-Caſtle.

It would be equally uninſtructive, and unentertaining, to lead the reader through all the particulars of this laborious ſiege. The loſs of men, though beyond what could have been expected, as the ſeaſon that year was uncommonly favourable, ſeemed only to give the greater ſpirit to the ſurvivors, ſo that the batteries by the 29th of *June* were ready to be opened, and were ſo diſpoſed, all along the hill, as to play upon the enemy's ſhips, to oblige them to retire ſo far up the harbour, as not to be capable of interrupting the operations of the ſiege. Thoſe were works of incredible labour, but chearfully ſubmitted to both by the ſoldiers and ſailors, who imagined that the ſpoils of the place would reward all their fatigues. On the 29th, the enemy in the fort, who kept up a communication with the town, landed two detachments of 500 men each, of grenadiers, and choſen men, and a detachment of armed negroes and mulattoes for each corps, to attack the works of the *Engliſh* on the right and left, but they were defeated with the loſs of above 200 men, and a great number wounded, who eſcaped to the woods. All this while, the fire continued with equal fury on both ſides; but 500 blacks, who had been purchaſed by the earl of *Albemarle* at *Martinico* and *Antigua*, were extremely ſerviceable to the ſoldiers, in aſſiſting them to bring up ammunition and neceſſaries to two new batteries, which were opened upon the firſt of *July*. To give the greater effect to thoſe batteries, the admiral, in concert with the general, ordered the *Dragon*, *Marlborough*, and *Cambridge*, to lay their broadſides againſt the north-eaſt part of the *Moro*, under the direction of captain *Harvey*, who made excellent diſpoſitions for the attack. A moſt dreadful cannonading enſued for ſeven hours, and the fire was kept up with equal ſteadineſs on both parts; but the ſituation and ſtrength of the caſtle gave it vaſt advantages over the ſhips. The *Cambridge* of 80 guns, and the *Dragon* of 74, were terribly ſhattered; and ſome failure having happened in the conduct of the *Stirling-Caſtle*, which was to have led in the ſhips, and then to have made ſail off, the attack on that ſide was diſcontinued. The *Cambridge* was firſt ordered off, and afterwards the other two; captain *Gooſtrey* of the *Marlborough* being killed, with a great number of men, and the ſhips themſelves diſabled from continuing the attack, without apparent danger of being ſunk. It was, however, on all hands agreed, that never was a deſperate ſervice performed with more courage and coolneſs than both officers

officers and men diſcovered, and though it was unſucceſsful on the ſide they attacked, yet, by diverting the enemy's fire from the land-ſide, the batteries from the army obtained a vaſt ſuperiority, and diſplaced many of the enemy's guns, which, on the 2d of *July*, were reduced to two, and thoſe fired but ſeldom. It was now thought that a ſpeedy period would be put to the immenſe labours of the beſiegers; but an unforeſeen accident ſoon defeated that proſpect. The enemy found means to replace their fire, which obliged the *Engliſh* to continue theirs in ſo furious a manner, that their grand battery on the 3d of *July* unfortunately took fire; the timber and faſcines, of which it was conſtructed, having been reduced almoſt to tinder, by no rain falling in that dry climate for fourteen days. At firſt, the beſiegers thought they had maſtered the fire, but it broke out again ſo furiouſly, that all endeavours to ſtop it proved ineffectual; the battery was almoſt conſumed, and in it the labour of 600 men for ſeventeen days; ſo that the beſiegers, at the very time when they expected to be at the end of their fatigue, perceived they were to begin it anew, without having in it even a reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs.

THE hardſhips of the ſiege, the encreaſe of the ſickneſs, the badneſs of proviſions, and the ſcarcity of water, with the heat of the climate, had killed, or rendered uſeleſs, two thirds of the army, and the ſeamen were in very little better condition; while the growing diſtempers of the ſeaſon, and the expoſed ſituation of the ſhips, threatened deſtruction both to the fleet and the army. Notwithſtanding all thoſe diſcouraging circumſtances, under which any but *Britiſh* troops and ſailors would have thought it worſe than madneſs to have perſevered, the officers, and common men applied themſelves with as much ſpirit and aſſiduity as they had ſhewn at the beginning of the ſiege, while the fire of the enemy encreaſed, eſpecially from the *Puntal-Caſtle*, and the batteries on that ſide. After inexpreſſible toils, the works of the beſiegers again took fire, and now they had nothing to truſt to but the arrival of their reinforcements from *North-America*; becauſe, whatever loſſes the *Spaniards* ſuſtained in the day-time, they were replaced in the night, by the communication which was ſtill kept up between the caſtle and the town. Even this did not damp the ardour of the beſiegers, who proceeded with as much perſeverance as if ſucceſs had been within their reach, and though they were obliged to work all above ground, under the covering of gabions, junk, blinds, or mantelets, and bales of cotton, which ſerved as woolpacks, they replaced all their batteries, and renewed their fire ſo furiouſly, that by the

19th

19th of *July* they were in poſſeſſion of a covered way, and made a lodgment, and continued their operations ſo ſucceſsfully, that two days after, had not the enemy been alarmed, the place muſt have been taken by ſurprize; and the arrival of the *Jamaica* fleet, which furniſhed them with ſeveral uſeful neceſſaries for the ſiege, inſpired the troops with freſh hopes. On the 22d, a vigorous ſally of 1500 men, divided into three parties, was made from the town, to interrupt the operations againſt the caſtle; but they were repulſed with the loſs of 400, while that of the beſiegers did not amount to more than fifty men. This loſs was far from damping the *Spaniards*, who defended themſelves ſo well, that the ſucceſs of the ſiege began to be again doubtful; when on the 27th of *July*, brigadier *Burton* arrived with the firſt diviſion of the troops from *North-America*.

Moro-Caſtle *taken.*

By this time, the miners of the beſiegers had conquered what appeared an almoſt inſuperable difficulty, by paſſing a ſmall ridge of rock, which, towards the ſea, covered a prodigious ditch, moſt of it cut in the rock, and about ſeventy feet deep, and forty wide; ſo that it would have been impracticable to have paſſed it, had not the ridge, abovementioned, led the miners to the foot of the wall. After this, and the repulſe of the ſally, the *Spaniards* made no efforts from the town to ſave the caſtle, which, however ſtill held out. On the 30th, the enemy ſent two boats and a floating battery out of the harbour, to fire grape-ſhot and ſmall-arms into the ditch, where the miners were at work; but the party which covered the latter plied the *Spaniards* ſo briſkly, that they were obliged to retire. This was the enemy's laſt effort for ſaving the caſtle, for by two in the afternoon that ſame day, a mine was ſprung, which threw a part of the wall into the ditch, and left a breach, which, though ſmall, the general and chief officers judged to be practicable, and the troops were ordered to ſtorm it. The garriſon of the *Spaniards*, within the caſtle, was ſtill conſiderable, and the brave defence they had made left the beſiegers no room to doubt of the reſolution and courage of their commanders. But danger itſelf ſeemed trivial to our troops, when it was to finiſh the dreadful toils they had undergone. The ſoldiers prepared themſelves for the ſtorm, under major-general *Keppel*, with the greateſt alacrity, mounting the breach, and entering the fort with ſuch amazing intrepidity and order, that the *Spaniards*, who had been regularly drawn up to reſiſt them, loſt all the ſpirit they had before exerted. Four hundred of them were cut in pieces, or periſhed in the water; four hundred threw down their arms and received quarter. The marquis

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de Gonzales, who was ſecond in command, was killed, in endeavouring to ſtop the ſhameful flight of his men; and don *Lewis de Velaſco*, the governor, with about 100 of the garriſon, bravely defended his colours, till he was killed, to the extreme regret of his generous conquerors, who even mourned over his body. The daſtardly behaviour of the *Spaniards*, when the place was ſtormed, evinced that the obſtinate defence it had made, was owing to thoſe two gallant noblemen. This glorious conqueſt happened on the 30th of *July*.

Siege and capitulation of the town.

THE *Spaniards* in the town and the *Puntal Caſtle*, perceiving the *Moro Caſtle* to be in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* forces, after a ſiege of forty-four days, directed all their fire againſt their new acquiſition, while the *Engliſh* were buſied in erecting batteries upon the *Cavannos*, and diſlodged a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, which had been ſent down to fire upon the *Moro* likewiſe. The arrival of the reſt of the provincial troops did great ſervice, by diminiſhing ſome part of the infinite fatigues the others had undergone; but the materials for the works, batteries, and platforms, became now to be ſo ſcarce, that the admiral was obliged to ſupply them from the fleet. The beſiegers ſtill were greatly retarded for want of tools. Even this inconveniency was at laſt conquered, though the ſickneſs then raged like a peſtilence; and by the 10th of *Auguſt*, the *Engliſh* batteries, erected along the *Cavannos*, and to the weſtward of the town, were ready to play upon it with about ſixty pieces of cannon. To prevent any unneceſſary carnage or deſtruction, lord *Albemarle* ſent a flag of truce by his aid de camp, to ſummon the governor to ſurrender, and to lay before him the unavoidable ruin that was ready to fall upon the place. The governor detained the meſſenger for ſome hours, but without ſuffering him to approach his works, and declared his reſolution to defend his truſt to the laſt extremity. Next morning, lord *Albemarle*, to convince the *Spaniards* that it was in his power to perform all he had threatened, battered both the *Puntal* and the town, from forty-three pieces of cannon and eight mortars, with ſuch execution, that flags of truce appeared in all quarters of the *Havannah*, and a meſſenger was ſent to the *Britiſh* camp to ſettle the capitulation. Some difficulties occured in this, which made the troops apprehenſive that hoſtilities would be renewed. The *Spaniards* ſtruggled hard to preſerve their men of war in the harbour, but were made to underſtand, that unleſs they were immediately given up, there was an end of capitulating. They likewiſe endeavoured to procure a neutrality for the fort, but this condition being likewiſe rejected, the capitulation was ſigned; and, on the 14th of *Auguſt*, general

Keppel

Keppel took poſſeſſion of the *Puntal-Fort* gate and baſtion, while brigadier *Howe*, much about the ſame time, took poſſeſſion of the land-gate with two battalions of grenadiers, and the *Britiſh* colours were hoiſted at both places; and thus a prophecy, which had been long current with the *Spaniards* of thoſe parts, was fulfilled, viz. that the *Engliſh* ſhould one day, as maſters, walk through the ſtreets of the *Havannah*.

Articles of the capitulation.

By this capitulation, the officers of the garriſon, with their effects, equipages, and money, were to be put on board his *Britannic* majeſty's ſhips, which were to tranſport the garriſon to the neareſt port of *Old Spain*, and the ſame liberty was to be granted to the marines, and ſhips crews in the harbour; but the ſhips themſelves, with the money and effects belonging to his Catholic majeſty, were to be delivered up to the admiral and the general, together with all the artillery, arms, ammunition, and naval ſtores, without reſerve. The late viceroy of *Peru*, and the late governor of *Carthagena*, who happened to be then at the *Havannah*, were to be conveyed to *Old Spain*, with all their effects, money, and attendants. The exerciſe of the Roman Catholic religion was ſecured. The inhabitants were to be allowed to continue in their offices of property, as long as they behaved well; they were likewiſe at liberty to diſpoſe of, or remove, their effects to any part of his Catholic majeſty's dominions in ſhips, at their own expence. All the *Spaniards*, who ſerved in the militia, were to be ſafe in their rights, properties, and privileges; but all public papers were to be inſpected by the ſecretaries of the admiral and the general, and returned, if not found neceſſary for the government of the iſland. The ſick in the hoſpitals were to be taken care of at the expence of his Catholic majeſty. Safeguards were given for the ſecurity of the churches, convents, and other places.

Reflections on the taking and reſtitution

The reader may perceive, from the nature of the capitulation, (which muſt be acknowledged to have been favourable to the *Spaniards*) that the *Britiſh* commanders were too ſenſible of the value of their conqueſt for the nation, to riſk it by any unſeaſonable diſputes, that might have rendered the enemy deſperate. It was owing to this judicious conſideration, that the prize and plunder-money of this important place, was far from anſwering the expectations of the captors, or, perhaps, of the public. The terms of the capitulation, undoubtedly gave the *Spaniards* (beſides ſecuring their own effects) great opportunities of ſecreting thoſe of their king; and yet, after all the plunder and prize-money of the place, which fell into the hands of our troops and ſailors, without violating the terms of the capitulation, amounted to an im-

menſe value, though perhaps, thoſe who rated it at three millions ſterling, have exceeded the truth. They had ſunk three of their largeſt ſhips, as we have already mentioned, in the mouth of the harbour; but nine of the fineſt ſhips in the world, with four frigates, fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, who deſtroyed two more that were in forwardneſs on the ſtocks. Upon the whole, we may venture to ſay, that the reduction of the *Havannah*, which was attended by the ceſſion of a diſtrict of 180 miles weſtward, was, if not the moſt important, the moſt difficult conqueſt, that ever was made by the *Britiſh* arms. But though the conquerors had loſt but few men by the enemy, the acquiſition coſt them dear, on account of the diſability they were under to improve its conſequences. The *Britiſh* troops, who ſurvived the capitulation, were ſcarcely ſufficient for keeping poſſeſſion of the place; nor had their ſhips of war a number of hands ſufficient to carry the fleet to *Europe*. Thus, without a reinforcement, there was an end of all hopes of improving this conqueſt, on the ſide of *America*; while intermediate events in *Europe* rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to reſtore it.

of the Havannah.

THE Family Compact, which we have already mentioned, produced joint efforts of the *French* and *Spaniſh* arms againſt *Portugal*, the capital ally of *Great Britain* in *Europe*. The re-union of that crown with that of *Spain* could not have been compenſated to this nation, by keeping poſſeſſion of the *Havannah*; and the waſte of men, which the war, though ſucceſsful through all parts of the globe, had occaſioned, rendered it impoſſible for us to carry our arms into the dominions of *Spain* in *America*. It is true, the valour of the *Britiſh* troops ſaved *Portugal* from being reduced in one campaign; but this was done at a vaſt expence, which his Moſt Faithful majeſty was in no condition to reimburſe. Beſides thoſe events, many others, foreign to this part of our hiſtory, contributed towards making peace deſirable, which could not be obtained, without the reſtitution of the *Havannah*, as the *French* and *Spaniards*, and indeed, all the reſt of *Europe*, looked upon the *Engliſh* poſſeſſion of it as a locking-up the reſource of all their treaſures, which one day or other they might finally loſe. So many important conſiderations, but above all, the vaſt depopulation of *Britiſh* ſubjects, by the war, at laſt determinnd our miniſtry to give ear to a treaty, in which, the reſtoration of the *Havannah* to the crown of *Spain*, was to be an article. The evacuating *Portugal* was not thought to be a ſufficient equivalent for this mighty conceſſion. His Catholic majeſty gave up to the *Britiſh* ſubjects the long diſputed right of their cutting, loading,

ing; and carrying away logwood in the bay of *Honduras*, and relinquiſhed the claim which his ſubjects had to the *Newfoundland* fiſhery. He likewiſe ceded and guarantied, in full right, to his *Britannic* majeſty, *Florida*, with *Fort St. Auguſtine*, and the bay of *Penſacola*, as well as all that *Spain* poſſeſſes on the continent of *North America*, to the eaſt, or to the ſouth-eaſt, of the river *Miſſiſippi*; and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries and lands, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwiſe, which the Catholic king, and the crown of *Spain*, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; ſo that the Catholic king cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid king, and to the crown of *Great Britain*, and that in the moſt ample manner and form. Such were the indemnifications granted in *America*, beſides the evacuation of *Portugal* by the *Spaniſh* and *French* troops, in conſideration of the reſtitution of the *Havannah* by the 19th article of the definitive treaty, which was as follows.

Article concerning the reſtitution of the Havannah.

"THE king of *Great Britain* ſhall reſtore to *Spain* all the territory which he has conquered in the iſland of *Cuba*, with the fortreſs of the *Havannah*; and this fortreſs, as well as the other fortreſſes of the ſaid iſland, ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by his *Britannic* majeſty's arms; provided, that his *Britannic* majeſty's ſubjects, who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſland, reſtored to *Spain* by the preſent treaty, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels, which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſland, reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for that uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: and for this purpoſe, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his *Britannic* majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. But, as the liberty granted to his *Britannic* majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſly agreed, between his *Britannic* majeſty and his Catholic majeſty, that the number of *Engliſh* veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſland, reſtored to *Spain*, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that

they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only: all the effects belonging to the *Engliſh*, being to be embarked at the ſame time: it has been further agreed, that his Catholic majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two *Spaniſh* clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing-places and ports of the ſaid iſland, reſtored to *Spain*, and that the merchandize which ſhall be found therein ſhall be confiſcated."

which is evacuated by the Engliſh.

THE evacuation of the iſland was moſt punctually performed on the part of *England*; but the *Britiſh* merchants complained of ſome delays that were thrown in their way by the *Spaniards*, of which they were promiſed a ready redreſs, though the public is not yet informed as to the event. As to the town of the *Havannah* itſelf, diſtinct from the fortifications, it is about two miles in circuit, and contains about 26,000 ſouls, beſides the garriſon. Though *St. Jago* is the capital of the iſland, yet the *Havannah* is the reſidence of the biſhop, and all the principal inhabitants of *Cuba*. Though its port is very ſecure within, yet the narrowneſs of its paſſage has rendered it ſo difficult of acceſs, that the galleons have often been inſulted and taken within ſight of it, without receiving any aſſiſtance from the fortifications. In 1629, the flota was met with by a *Dutch* privateer, the commander of which was called *Pie de Palo*, or Wooden Leg, whoſe crew ran the *Spaniſh* ſhips aſhore, and made themſelves maſters of their treaſures, which amounted to ſome millions of pieces of eight. The *Spaniſh* admiral, whoſe name was *Guzman de Torres*, then proceeded on his voyage to *Spain*, where he was impriſoned, and loſt his head.

Deſcription of the iſland.

THOUGH the churches of the *Havannah* are inconceivably magnificent and rich in plate and ornaments, yet the houſes are ill-furniſhed, and the ſtreets narrow, but clean and ſtraight. The juriſdiction of the town extends to half the iſland, the other half belonging to the capital, *St. Jago*. While the galleons lie here, a fair is held, in which vaſt ſums of money are ſpent, and every thing is exceſſively dear; but at all times, the price of every neceſſary of life at the *Havannah* is extravagant, bread particularly; neither have they any great variety of freſh meat, nor is what they have of the beſt kinds, excepting their pork. This is not owing to any defect in the ſoil of the iſland, but to the indolence of the *Spaniards* in all the arts of cultivation. The inhabitants of the *Havannah* are, in general, far more ſociable and converſable, than thoſe of the other *Spaniſh* dominions in *Ame-*

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ica; and though the women ſeldom go abroad without veils, they behave in all other reſpects like the *French* ladies; and this difference in manners from the other *American Spaniards*, is imputed to the acceſſion of the houſe of *Bourbon* to the crown of *Spain*; for though the other parts of the *Spaniſh* dominions in *America* are equally ſubjected, as *Cuba* is, to his Catholic majeſty, they are more remote, and the inhabitants more attached to their ancient *Spaniſh* cuſtoms. At the ſame time, the *Havannah* was reduced, the *Engliſh* poſſeſſed themſelves of the harbour of *Mariel*, which ſerved as an excellent protection for their tranſports and ſome of their men of war; though the *Spaniards* endeavoured to ruin it, by ſinking ſhips in its entrance. As to the *Spaniſh* commodore, and their other great officers, they were ſent by the admiral to *Old Spain* in his majeſty's ſhips the *Sutherland* and *Dover*, which were fitted up as flags of truce for their accommodation.

Its chief towns and places.

THE other towns of this iſland, the whole of which is but thinly peopled, are *Santa Cruz*, which lies about ſixty-three miles eaſt of the *Havannah*, and has a tolerable good harbour at the bottom of *Matanza Bay*. *Porto del Principe* lies on the ſame coaſt, but about 300 miles ſouth-eaſt of the *Havannah*, and was formerly an opulent town, till plundered by the *Engliſh* buccaneers under *Morgan*. Near this place are bitumen-pits, the ſubſtance of which is medicinal, and often applied to ſhips inſtead of pitch. *Baracoa*, which lies on the north eaſt part of the iſland, has a convenient harbour for ſmall ſhips; and *Cumberland Harbour* has been already mentioned. *St. Jago*, the capital of *Cuba* till the *Havannah* was built and fortified, was the reſidence of its government. It was founded by *Velaſquez*, the firſt, but inhuman, governor of the iſland, who rendered it the ſhambles of the innocent natives; ſome hundred thouſands of whom he ſacrificed to his avarice and ambition. It ſtands at the bottom of a large bay, about two leagues from the ſea, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the iſland; and we have already mentioned the unſucceſsful effort made by the *Engliſh* under admiral *Vernon* and general *Wentworth*, to reduce it. It appeared, by accounts received from *Spain*, after this attempt failed, that, had our troops advanced, the place muſt have fallen into their hands almoſt without reſiſtance; and no ſooner were they reimbarked, than 400 men were employed in repairing its fortifications, ſo that it is ſaid now to have regained ſome degree of its former luſtre.

Climate.

PERHAPS, no civilized people in the world, but the *Spaniards*, would ſuffer ſo fine an iſland as *Cuba*, to lie ſo uncultivated in its interior parts, that its product ſcarcely ſup-

ports its inhabitants, which well accounts for its depopulated ſtate. It has been often obſerved, that the iſland contains more churches than farms, more prieſts than planters, and more lazy bigots than uſeful labourers. In eccleſiaſtical matters, the biſhop of *St. Jago* is ſubject to the archbiſhop of *St. Domingo*, as the civil government is to the *Spaniſh* audience of the ſame iſland, and yet nature has provided *Cuba* with every thing that can render it rich and powerful. It is, like moſt iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*, ſubject to ſtorms; but though there is here no winter, the air is rendered cool by *Products,* rains and breezes. The ſoil is capable of producing, in the greateſt plenty, every thing that we have mentioned to grow in other *American* iſlands; but the *Cuba*, commonly called the *Havaanah*, tobacco, is thought to excel that of all the world. The pine-apples here are excellent, and their ſugars would equal their tobacco in goodneſs, had they hands to cultivate their canes. Some delicious fruits are found here, that are not to be met with upon other iſlands. The *Spaniards*, whoſe induſtry, in general, ſeems to be confined to mining, are ſaid to have diſcovered ſome copper-mines on the iſland, which afford them metal ſufficient for caſting their artillery. It is uncertain, whether *Cuba* contains any mines of gold or ſilver, the hopes of which occaſioned the butchery of all the ancient inhabitants, who were either unwilling or unable to diſcover any, though moſt probably the latter. The rivers and ſeas about *Cuba* are reported to abound with excellent fiſh of all kinds; and the inhabitants have good conveniencies for making ſalt, but they avail themſelves very little of thoſe advantages. Perhaps they are diſcouraged by the great numbers of alligators that frequent their rivers and coaſts.

and trade. *CUBA* has abundance of mules, horſes, ſheep, wild-boars, hogs, and fine black cattle; which, of themſelves, are a valuable commodity. They run in large herds wild in the woods, and their hides and tallow fetch great prices in *Spain*, while their fleſh being cured, victuals their ſhips. Thoſe cattle are not only numerous, but ſo fat, that they often die through the burden of their greaſe; and ſuch of them as are made uſe of, are killed by the negroes; the *Spaniards* themſelves, tho' perhaps ſtarving, being too lazy to take that trouble. After all, the exportations of this large fine iſland, till lately, never equalled in value thoſe of the ſmall *Britiſh* iſland of *Antigua*. The reaſon of this, next to the indolence of the *Spaniards*, is the vaſt facility with which the inhabitants make their money, by means of the galleons and the flota, and the very great contraband trade that is here carried on, in defiance of their laws and regulations, and even with the connivance of

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the government of the iſland. Upon the whole, there is reaſon for believing that the miniſters of *Old Spain* begin now to open their eyes with regard to the infinite advantages they might derive from this iſland; and of late, *St. Jago de Cuba*, and other places of the iſland, begin to carry on a very briſk trade with *Old* and *New Spain*, and above all, with the *Canaries*; ſo that it is hard to ſay, what the conſequence may be, if the *Spaniards* ſhould adopt other maxims of government and manners of living. We have only to add to our account of this iſland, that its government affects great ſecrecy as to every thing concerning it; and formerly, it is ſaid, that no ſtranger was admitted into the *Havannah*, without being blindfolded; but it appears, from the relations we have from *Charlevoix*, and other travellers, that this precaution is now diſuſed. The *Spaniſh* galleons, flota, and merchant-ſhips, that reſort to the *Havannah*, for the conveniency of returning to *Spain* in a body, as well as to take in proviſions and water, are commonly between fifty and ſixty. They arrive in *September*, and depart about the end of the ſame month; but no perſon belonging to the fleet is ſuffered, under pain of death, to remain all night in the town.

HISPANIOLA, or ST. DOMINGO, TRINIDADO, MARGARITA, PORTO-RICO, and the other Spaniſh *iſlands in* America.

THE antient name of this iſland was *Hayti*; but when it was diſcovered in 1492, by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, he gave it the name of *Hiſpaniola*, or *Little Spain*; and its chief city being dedicated to *St. Dominic*, or *Domingo*, that name, in proceſs of time, communicated itſelf to the whole iſland. *Diſcovery.*

It lies in the middle betwixt *Cuba* and *Jamaica* on the north-weſt and ſouthweſt, and *Porto-Rico* on the eaſt, and is ſeparated from the laſt by only a narrow channel. It extends from long. 67 deg. 35 min. to long. 74 deg. 15 min. and from lat. 17 deg. 37 min. to lat. 20. being near 400 miles from weſt to eaſt, and almoſt 120 where broadeſt from north to ſouth, and by ſome reckoned 400 leagues in circumference, excluſive of its bays and creeks, which it is thought would make 200 more. *Columbus*, as we have already ſeen, ſailed from *Cuba* to *Hayti*, at a time when he began to ſuſpect that ſome combinations were forming againſt him by the two brothers, *Martin* and *Franciſco Pinzoni*, the maſters of two ſloops in his ſquadron[c]. When he arrived off *Hayti*, he had *Situation.*

[c] BENZONI, apud de Bry. p. 33.

ſcarce caſt anchor, when his capital ſhip was wrecked upon the rocks; but all his men and cargo were ſaved by the ſloops. *Oviedo*, a *Spaniſh* author, ſays, that many people imagined, that this ſhipwreck was privately contrived by *Columbus*, that he might have an excuſe for leaving ſome of his people upon the iſland.

and poſſeſſion of Hiſpaniola *by the* Spaniards.

WHILE the wrecks of his ſhip were floating about, the natives of the iſland were ſtanding on the ſhore, ſtruck with admiration at what they ſaw; but no ſooner did they perceive the *Spaniards* landing, than they ran off; and it was with difficulty that one of their women was taken and carried before *Columbus*, who not only behaved to her with vaſt civility, but gave her ſome handſome apparel, and ſent her on ſhore, making her underſtand, as well as he could, by ſigns, that the other natives might, without any danger, repair to his ſhips. It appears from what happened immediately after, that ſhe made an excellent report of her benefactor to her countrypeople, who ſoon thronged round, and came on board the *Spaniſh* ſhips in their canoes. The *Spaniards*, with great pleaſure, beheld thoſe natives loaded with gold and ſilver bracelets, collars, and ear-rings; of which they were very liberal to all the ſailors who aſked for them. *Columbus*, finding the natives in ſo good a diſpoſition, went aſhore properly attended, and had an interview with one *Guacanarilla*, one of the caciques, or petty princes of the iſland, who gave him a moſt hoſpitable and generous reception. Mutual civilities paſſed between them. *Columbus* preſented the cacique with linen-drawers, caps, knives, looking-glaſſes, bells, and other toys; while the cacique beſtowed on him, in return, a large quantity of gold, and ordered his ſubjects to go in their canoes and recover as much as they could of the wrecks of the *Spaniſh* ſhip, which they did as carefully as if it had been their own property. *Columbus* was ſtill at a loſs for an interpreter; but he made a ſhift, by ſigns, to enquire where the natives got their gold; and they gave him to underſtand, that it was waſhed down by their inland rivers from their mountains. In the mean while, prodigious multitudes of the ſavages were daily crowding to ſee *Columbus* and his companions, being ſtruck with wonder at their appearance, and apeing their geſtures in whatever they ſaw them do. The *Spaniards* took advantage of their curioſity to teach them their prayers, and to give them ſome knowledge of their language, while they, in return, furniſhed them plentifully with gold, and foods of all kind.

COLUMBUS imagining, that he had now ſucceeded in what he had been ſo long in queſt of, was impatient to be him-

himſelf the firſt meſſenger of good news to his maſter the king of *Spain*. Before he took his departure from *Hiſpaniola*, he built, with leave of the cacique, a houſe, according to my author [d], of bricks, and called it, "The Nativity," being the firſt that ever was built by *Europeans* in *America*. Here he left thirty eight *Spaniards*, with orders to behave themſelves during his abſence, with the greateſt caution and moderation; but that they ſhould, during his abſence, inform themſelves of every thing relating to the iſland. He then put to ſea, carrying along with him the reſt of his crews, together with ſix of the natives, all the gold that had been preſented to him by the cacique, ſome parrots, and cakes of maiz, or *Indian* corn, with other rarities, the produce of the iſland. Two of the ſavages died in their paſſage to *Spain*; but *Columbus* preſented the other four to their Catholic Majeſties, together with the gold, which convinced them of the reality of his diſcoveries; and they ſhewed very particular marks of reſpect to *Columbus*, whom they made high-admiral of the weſtern world, with a tenth of the profits of his diſcovery; and his brother *Bartholomew* was appointed to the government of *Hiſpaniola*, the only place in *America* in which the *Spaniards* ſeem, as yet, to have obtained a footing.

COLUMBUS, on the other hand, gave their Catholic Majeſties entire ſatisfaction as to the value of his diſcoveries, and the prodigious matters they might expect from them; but deſired, at the ſame time, that he might return with a force and appointment ſufficient to complete them. A fleet of three ſhips of war, and fourteen caravels, carrying 1500 men, was accordingly fitted out, and plentifully furniſhed with proviſions, ammunition, cannon, corn, ſeeds, horſes, and mares, tools to work in the mines, and commodities that were proper for trafficking with the natives. Among the men he carried out with him were a few gentlemen, but abundance of prieſts and monks, the others conſiſting chiefly of labourers and artizans. In his voyage to *Hiſpaniola*, he touched at *Gomera*, one of the *Canary-Iſlands*, where he wooded and watered, and took in an additional number of live ſtock, with ſome garden-ſeeds; and, on the 23d of *November*, after diſcovering many other iſlands, he arrived on the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*. Here he found a dreadful revolution, all the *Spaniards* being dead whom he had left on the iſland. The admiral ſent aſhore a party to know the reaſon of this cataſtrophe, and along with them the four natives whom he had brought back, and who had been baptized in *Spain*. They

Columbus *in* Spain.

Returns to Hiſpaniola.

[d] Ibid, p. 35.

were directed to apply themſelves to the cacique *Guacanarilla*, who ſhewed great expreſſions of concern at what had happened, but imputed all the misfortunes of the *Spaniards* to their own miſconduct. He ſaid, that after the departure of *Columbus*, thoſe he had left behind him had violated the wives of the natives, and had baſtinadoed the men, beſides treating them ill otherwiſe, but that he (*Guacanarilla*) had no hand in their maſſacre; that another cacique, of more power than him, had come into his province, and ſeeing the bearded men proceeding to build houſes and make ſettlements on the iſland, had given orders that they ſhould be all maſſacred. *Guacanarilla*, at the ſame time, pretended that in taking part with the *Spaniards* he had received a wound in the leg, which he ſhewed all bound up to the meſſengers, who were convinced that he himſelf had been the author of the maſſacre.

His conduct.

IT is highly probable, that *Columbus* had foreſeen and expected this cataſtrophe, which he gave orders neither ſhould be enquired into nor puniſhed; all accounts agreeing, that the people he left upon the iſland were the moſt abandoned ruffians in the whole fleet, and, very poſſibly, the ringleaders of the mutineers who had brought him into ſo much diſquiet and danger during his firſt voyage. But, as he was now in a condition to command his own terms, he landed with his people, and laid the foundations of a town, to which, in honour of her Catholic Majeſty, he gave the name of *Iſabella*. After this, he built a town, which he called *St. Thomas*, near the gold mines of *Hiſpaniola*, fortifying the ſame with a citadel ſtrong enough to reſiſt the attacks of the natives. Here the *Spaniards* opened ſo rich a gold mine, that ſuch of them as were not preſent did not credit the reports ſpread of it, till they ſaw great quantities of pure gold which it contained; and which, according to *Oviedo*, the natives were not at pains to dig for, as all the gold they had in their poſſeſſion was found either upon the ſurface of the earth, or ſo near it, that it gave them very little trouble to come at it. This part of the *Spaniſh* hiſtory is well atteſted; but it would be difficult to account for the great ſcarcity of native gold that is now in *Hiſpaniola*, as we can ſcarcely imagine that the *Spaniards*, ravenous as they were for that metal, could have exhauſted the prodigious mines of it, ſaid to have been diſcovered at the time we now treat of. It has been pretended, indeed, that the *Spaniards*, finding themſelves too weak to work thoſe mines to their own profits, take care to conceal them. But avarice, and a deſire of gain, form an irreſiſtible argument againſt this allegation, as it would be impoſſible for them to conceal

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all knowledge of thoſe mines from their government, who would ſoon fall upon methods to work them, as well as thoſe of *Peru* and *Mexico*.

THIS promiſing beginning of a colony being effected, *Chriſtopher Columbus*, leaving his brother *Bartholomew* in his charge of *Hiſpaniola*, put to ſea with three ſhips, in which he compleated his diſcovery on the ſouth-ſide of *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, and other iſlands; and then returning to *Hiſpaniola*, he diſcovered a harbour which he called *Port Nicholas*, where he refitted his ſquadron, which had been greatly ſhattered by his cruiſe, and then he prepared to ſet out againſt the *Caribbeans*, who were the harmleſs natives of thoſe and the adjacent iſlands and continent, intending not only to burn all their canoes, but, if poſſible, to exterminate the people. Though the humanity, moderation, and juſtice of *Columbus*, have been greatly cried up by the *Spaniſh*, and other authors, yet we find that he poſſeſſed thoſe virtues only comparatively, as he certainly was a better man than many of thoſe monſters his cotemporaries and ſucceſſors, whoſe proceedings are ſo many apologies for the cruelties of other nations; but the virtues of *Columbus* were, perhaps, as much inferior to thoſe of a truly humane conqueror, as thoſe of the fiends, we have mentioned, were to his. While he was meditating upon this expedition, he was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, and confined to his new town of *Iſabella*, where he had nothing before his eyes but the approaching ruin of his colony. *His farther diſcoveries.*

MANY circumſtances confirmed the opinion, that the firſt *Spaniſh* adventurers to *America* were men, who, through their vices and crimes, could not live in *Europe*. During the abſence of *Columbus*, the coloniſts upon *Hiſpaniola* were guilty of the greateſt exceſſes againſt the unſuſpecting natives, whoſe reſentments were as keen and vindictive as their affections had been ſincere and generous. Perceiving that the *Spaniards* were proceeding to build houſes and forts, they began to ſuſpect that their intention was to reduce them to ſlavery, and to take poſſeſſion of their iſland; but they received no other anſwer than blows and ill treatment to any remonſtrances they, or their caciques, urged on this head. The inſolent coloniſts, at laſt, proceeded to murders, rapes, and robberies, and every quarter of the iſland preſented ſome ſcenes of cruelty and injuſtice. The inhabitants, knowing themſelves to be no match for their tyrants, formed the ſcheme of a moſt extraordinary revenge, which was that of intermitting the culture of their land for a whole ſeaſon, and of ſupporting themſelves inſtead of maiz, with a root, which our authors call jucca, the too frequent uſe of which produced a diſeaſe *Diſtreſſes.*

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ſomewhat like the venereal, and then they retired into the innermoſt parts of the iſland; but great numbers of them took the deſperate reſolution of putting an end to their own lives. The *Spaniards*, while their proviſion laſted, paid no regard to this migration; but beginning to be pinched for want of maiz and *Indian* corn, they went a foraging, and found nothing but deſarts and empty cottages, while all around the fields and roads lay the dead bodies of the *Indians*, ſome murdered, and others ſtarved or dead through the unwholſomeneſs of their food. The certainty of this calamity being reported at *Iſabella*, the coloniſts quarrelled with their officers, and a mutiny againſt *Bartholomew Columbus* enſued, while many of them periſhed, like the *Indians*, through want of ſuſtenance.

COLUMBUS at laſt recovered, and, after re-eſtabliſhing his authority, he began to enquire into the authors of the late mutiny againſt his brother, and the cruelties committed upon the inhabitants; and finding one *Gaſpar Feriz* to be at the head of them, he ordered him, and the other ringleaders, to be hanged. He durſt not, however, inflict the ſame puniſhment upon a *Benedictine* monk, one *Buil*, who reſented the execution of the malefactors ſo highly, that he excommunicated *Columbus* and all who had a concern in their death; while *Columbus*, on the other hand, ordered, that neither *Buil*, nor his brethren, ſhould be ſupplied from any part of the ſhip's ſtores, which the colony was now obliged to ſubſiſt on. *Columbus* then ſent out meſſengers to invite the caciques to a reconciliation, but without any great effect. To compleat the misfortune of the colony, one of the moſt dreadful hurricanes ever known in thoſe parts attacked the iſland, with moſt dreadful peals of thunder, and ſuch flaſhes of lightning, that the air ſeemed to be on fire. The new built houſes of the *Spaniards* were blown down, and four of their beſt ſhips, with all their crews, were ſunk in the harbour. The *Spaniards*, unacquainted with ſuch viſitations, were expoſed to all the fury of the ſtorm, by which many of them periſhed; while the *Indians*, who ſaw, from well-known obſervations, it was approaching, avoided its effects by retiring into caves. It is remarkable, that among the other wrecks which this ſtorm occaſioned, that of the ſugar-mills is particularly mentioned, which is a proof that the art of making ſugar was more early in *America* than is commonly imagined.

He is excommunicated.

A hurricane.

BUT neither this, nor any other calamity, could allay the vindictive ſpirit of *Buil*, and the other prieſts, who had formed ſo ſtrong a party againſt *Columbus*, that little regard was now paid to his authority. *Peter Margarita*, governor of *St. Thomas*,

mas, and ſome other leading *Spaniards*, endeavoured to make matters up; but the reconciliation, if any, was ſhort-lived; for *Buil* and his brethren oppoſed *Columbus* in every exerciſe of his office, on pretence that he ſtood excommunicated; and an aſſociation was formed among the remaining conſpirators for tranſmitting to *Spain* a charge of treaſon and tyranny againſt him. All that *Columbus* could oppoſe to this combination, was, to continue his prohibition againſt the prieſts receiving any proviſions; but they were ſupported by their party: and, at laſt, ſhips arrived from *Spain* with plentiful ſupplies of all kinds. From the courſe of hiſtory, it appears, as if an intercouſe had, all this time, been kept up between *Old Spain* and *Hiſpaniola*; for *Columbus* certainly came to the knowledge of the complaints that had been lodged againſt him with his Catholic majeſty, and he knew the power of the church too well to neglect them. He had ſent back great part of the fleet that came out with him, to *Spain*, under *Antony de Torres*, with ſome gold; and no ſooner were his remaining ſhips refitted after the late ſtorm, than he prepared to return to *Europe*; having, according to *Oviedo*, received an order from his Catholic Majeſty for that purpoſe by a noble *Spaniard*, one *Juan Agnado*, who had a commiſſion to carry his accuſers, at the ſame time, to *Spain*.

His failings.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great partiality of the *Spaniſh* writers towards *Columbus*, it appears from *Oviedo*, one of their earlieſt and beſt informed authors, that that great man (for ſuch he certainly was) was not without little failings. He had obſerved, that the *Indians* before they went to gather gold, went through a vaſt number of ceremonies, ſuch as abſtaining even from their wives, and undergoing a courſe of faſting: and *Columbus* ordered, that no *Spaniard* ſhould go in ſearch of gold, without preparing himſelf by the like penances, but be confeſſed and take the ſacrament. The *Spaniards* objected to thoſe orders, particularly to what regarded their faſting, of which they ſaid they ſuffered too much againſt their will. The admiral, on the other hand, who, poſſibly, thought that this rigour might reclaim them, inſiſted upon the punctual obſervance of his orders, and ſeverely puniſhed all who ventured to tranſgreſs them; by which means, it is no wonder, if he became odious to the libertines he commanded; and ſome of them accuſed him of impoſing thoſe ridiculous ceremonies upon them, that he might the more ſecurely engroſs the profits of the mines to himſelf. *Columbus* taking leave of *Hiſpaniola*, where he left things in great confuſion, landed at *Cales* in *Old Spain*; from whence he repaired to court, where the gold and the rarities he preſented

Returns to Spain. to the king, with the narrative of his adventures and discoveries, soon effaced all the charges againſt him. It is ſaid, that the quantity of gold he preſented on this occaſion was very great, and formed into ingots; and that he produced to his majeſty, in a journal kept by himſelf, an account of all his tranſactions in *America*, which fully vindicated him from all imputations of miſconduct or cruelty. His majeſty ſeemed to be extremely well ſatisfied of his innocence; but, at the ſame time, he hinted to him, that he had been a little too ſevere upon thoſe adventurers who had gone ſo far to enlarge the *Spaniſh* wealth and empire, and admoniſhed him to be leſs rigorous for the future. At that time, he renewed his commiſſion, and gave orders for fitting out a new fleet of twelve ſhips, with which he was to proſecute his diſcoveries. But we are now to return to what paſſed in *Hiſpaniola*; and we ſhall throw in what concerns the natives in the ſame narrative.

Hiſtory of Hiſpaniola. WHEN *Columbus* firſt arrived on that iſland it was governed by five caciques, viz. *Guarionex*, *Behecchio*, *Guacanarilla*, *Caiagoa*, and *Caonabo*. The firſt poſſeſſed a territory, comprehending a large plain of above ſeventy leagues in the middle of the iſland. *Behecchio* reigned over the weſtern part of it, as *Guacanarilla*, whom we have already mentioned, did over the northern. *Caiagoa* poſſeſſed the eaſtern part: this cacique died before the war between the iſlanders and the *Spaniards*, and was ſucceeded in his government by his wife, who turned chriſtian, and was baptized by the name of *Agnes de Caiagoa*. *Caonabo*, who was the moſt powerful prince among them, reigned in the highlands, and had under him a deputy-cacique, called *Uſmatex*, an excellent ſoldier and a great diſciplinarian. Thoſe princes ſeldom had any diſputes among themſelves, except concerning their boundaries and their fiſheries; but all quarrels ceaſed among them, when a deſcent, which often happened, was made upon their iſland by the *Caribbeans*, whom they conſidered as foreign invaders, and all of them united for their expulſion.

THE mines of *Cibao*, or (as the *Spaniards* then called them) *St. Thomas*, lay within the diviſion that belonged to *Caonabo*, who could not bear the thought of the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*; but he endeavoured to ſtifle his reſentment till *Columbus* was ſailed for *Spain*. *Alphonſo Ojeda* was then governor of *St. Thomas*, with a garriſon of fifty *Spaniards*, and *Caonabo*, encouraged by the example of *Guacanarilla*, who had cut off the thirty-eight firſt coloniſts, got together 5 or 6000 natives, with whom he laid ſiege to *St. Thomas*, after deſtroying all the ſtragglers he met with, and

burning the defenceleſs habitations of the *Spaniards*. The ſiege was ſo ſtrait for a month, that the fort was quite blocked up from all acceſs; but *Ojeda* reſolved to wear out the courage of the beſiegers by keeping within the walls, where he had, it ſeems, abundance of proviſions. Perceiving their vigilance began to abate, he harraſſed them with ſallies, and found means, by ſome of the friendly natives, to inſinuate to *Caonabo* and his army, that the admiral was daily expected with a powerful reinforcement, while *Ojeda* himſelf, ſeeming to be tired of the ſiege, offered terms to the cacique. Thoſe ſtratagems had their effect; for *Caonabo* became not only more remiſs in his diſcipline, but ſeemed inclinable to treat with the *Spaniards*, againſt the expreſs opinion of his tributary caciques, who offered, if he would wait a little, to bring him reinforcements ſufficient to exterminate thoſe ſtrangers from the iſland. Thoſe remonſtrances had no weight, and the incautious cacique, upon *Ojeda* plighting his faith for his ſafe return, went, with ſome of his chief officers into the fort, where the treacherous *Spaniard* immediately put him under arreſt.

CAONABO had a brother, a man of courage, and very popular among his countrymen; who, hearing of the *Spaniard*'s treachery, renewed the ſiege of *St. Thomas* with 7000 men; but *Ojeda* had, by this time, taken the field, at the head of about 300 men, among whom were ſome cavalry, ſent him by *Bartholomew Columbus*, and attacking the *Indians*, obtained an eaſy victory over thoſe ſavages, who were ſtruck with conſternation at the execution made by the horſe; animals they had never ſeen before; and the cacique's brother was taken priſoner. *Bartholomew Columbus* hearing of this victory, inſtead of generouſly reſolving to make atonement for *Ojeda*'s treachery, by ſetting the illuſtrious priſoners at liberty, reſolved to ſend them to *Spain*, under pretence that the peace of the iſland muſt ſtill be precarious, if they remained on the iſland, either in priſon, or at freedom. This reſolution being communicated to the cacique and his bother, they were ſo affected with grief, that the former died about twelve days before he was to have been put on board, as the other did, in the voyage. The deceaſed cacique's wife put herſelf under the protection of her brother the cacique *Beheccio*, who ſome time after was put to death with forty of his tributary caciques, by the governor *Nicholas Ovando*, on pretence of a conſpiracy againſt the Chriſtians. By her flight, the *Spaniards* remained in quiet poſſeſſion of her huſband's dominions; but the iſland in general was far from being reſtored to a ſtate of tranquillity.

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their own country, and carried to court ſome of the large pearls which that fiſhery afforded, and which being ſhewn to his majeſty, ſeemed to give ſome credit to *Roldan*'s charge againſt *Columbus*. The truth is, this admiral was entirely void of all blame, for he no ſooner was aſſured of the value of the *Cubagua* pearl-fiſhery, than he ſent a friend, one *Arroial*, to inform his Catholic majeſty of the diſcovery, with ſome ſpecimens of the largeſt pearls; but this meſſenger did not reach *Spain* time enough to prevent the bad impreſſions which the king had received from thoſe who had arrived ſooner, in other veſſels. It happened ſtill more unfortunately for the admiral, that perceiving the vaſt plenty of pearls at *Cubagua*, and that his ſailors could purchaſe them for the mereſt trifles, he was afraid that, if they remained longer on that iſland, it would be impoſſible for him to arrive at *Hiſpaniola* time enough to prevent the bad conſequences of his abſence; and therefore he had uſed ſome rough methods to force them on board their ſhips.

Columbus returns to Hiſpaniola.

THE admiral, on his arrival at *Hiſpaniola*, found, as we have already ſeen, his brother involved in a war with the caciques, which was ſoon ended to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Not to be wanting to himſelf, he no ſooner underſtood that *Roldan* had accuſed him to his Catholic majeſty, than he ſent over a full vindication of his own conduct, laying open, at the ſame time, the treacherous inhuman proceedings of *Roldan*, which had occaſioned ſo much bloodſhed, and had hazarded the loſs of the iſland to the crown of *Spain*. As her Catholic majeſty was the profeſſed patroneſs of *Columbus*, this apology for his conduct might have gone far towards clearing him of all ſuſpicion; but the courtiers, who were his enemies, becauſe he was a foreigner, had conceived ſuch high ideas of the *American* riches, that each aſpired to be a viceroy in the *New World*. *Columbus* and his brother being engaged in war with the natives of *Hiſpaniola*, it was impoſſible for them to procure hands for working the mines; and therefore they had, for ſome time, ſent no gold to *Spain*, which was a freſh matter of accuſation, for which the queen herſelf could make no apology, and therefore the king came to a reſolution of ſending thither a commiſſary, to enquire into the ſtate of affairs. For this purpoſe, he pitched upon one *Francis Bombadilla*, an old courtier, and a knight of *Calatrava*, a man of a ſour tyrannical temper, and very ill-fitted for all but the ſevere part of his commiſſion. It is to this day uncertain, how far his inſtructions reached, becauſe *Ferdinand*, in ſome meaſure, diſapproved of his proceedings. We are, however, to preſume, that they were diſcretionary; but

it

it is certain, that he had authority to ſettle the peace of the iſland, to enquire into the ſtate of the differences between *Columbus* and *Roldan*. It appears, however, that he ſet out on his commiſſion with a determined inveteracy againſt *Columbus* and his three brothers, for *Diego*, the youngeſt, had now arrived in *Hiſpaniola*.

BOMBADILLA ſailed from *Cales* in 1499, with four large, well-appointed ſhips, and he no ſooner came in ſight of the iſland, than the three brothers, who had been apprized of his coming, with a ſuitable retinue, came to receive him from on board his ſhip; but *Bombadilla* no ſooner came on ſhore, than by his orders, they were all three put in irons, and hurried, as malefactors, on board three ſeparate ſhips, bound for *Spain*. We cannot ſuppoſe, that *Columbus* and his brothers, who commanded on the iſland, would have ſubmitted to this treatment, unleſs *Bombadilla* had produced his authority; and therefore we muſt conclude it to have been more ample than it is repreſented by *Spaniſh* writers; neither can be believe that he ventured to proceed in ſo ſummary a way againſt the three brothers, as is pretended, becauſe it appears that they were relanded and underwent a trial, and that the copy of the proceedings againſt them was tranſmitted along with them to *Spain*. We can, however, have no doubt, that *Bombadilla* exceeded his commiſſion, by loading thoſe illuſtrious priſoners with irons, becauſe they no ſooner came to *Cales*, than their Catholic majeſties, hearing of their ignominious treatment, ſent orders not only that their irons ſhould be ſtruck off, but that they ſhould be brought to court with an honourable eſcort and equipages, every way ſuitable to their ſtations.

Columbus *ſent in irons to* Spain.

THOSE marks of reſpect were no other than preludes, intended by the politic prince to their removal from the poſts they then held; and, indeed, impartially ſpeaking, though he is juſtly accuſed of ingratitude, he, perhaps, by this removal, conſulted his own intereſt, the only ſtandard of his conduct. He ſaw that the *Spaniards* never could bear with the ſevere diſcipline of *Columbus*, who uſed to whip them on very ſlight occaſions, and hang ſuch of them as were found to have male-treated any of the *Indians*. In ſhort, *Ferdinand*, though intirely convinced by the integrity and good intentions of *Columbus*, was apprehenſive, that if he was continued in his command, he ſhould reap little benefit from his new acquiſitions. When *Columbus* was admitted into the royal preſence, he effectually cleared himſelf from all charges of concealment, ambition, or avarice, brought againſt his

conduct; and their Catholic majeſties expreſſed themſelves with indignation againſt *Bombadilla*, confirming *Columbus* in all the dignities that had been conferred upon him (excepting the perſonal exerciſe of his government in *Hiſpaniola*,) and reſtoring him to all his appointments and revenues, which were to be accounted for to him from the day of his impriſonment. We are in the mean while to obſerve, that their majeſties had ſo great an opinion of the abilities of *Columbus*, that they aftewards employed him in other ſervices.

Conduct of his enemies,

In the mean while, *Bombadilla* and *Roldan* engroſſed to themſelves a deſpotic power over the wretched natives, whom their predeceſſors had ſubdued, and whom they now reduced to labour like brutes, both above ground and in the mines; and, at the ſame time, they tyrannized over all the friends *Columbus* had left upon the iſland. They were ſenſible that complaints were lodged againſt them at the court; but *Bombadilla* knew it too well, to fear any cenſure there, while he could make his peace with gold, of which he and *Roldan* amaſſed prodigious quantities. In this manner they continued till the year 1502, when their tyranny became ſo inſupportable, that being ordered home, they embarked with all their treaſures. Their ingots of gold are ſaid to have amounted to 100,000 pounds weight, beſides immenſe quantities of large pieces found in lumps. Before this time, *Columbus*, who could not be inactive, and whom *Ferdinand* ſtill affected to treat with the greateſt marks of reſpect, had prevailed with that monarch to give him the command of four ſhips, for making new diſcoveries. He ſailed with them from *Cadiz* on the 29th of *May*, 1502, and came before *St. Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola*, while the fleet was lading that was to carry *Bombadilla* and his treaſures, the whole conſiſting of thirty capital ſhips, manned with *Spaniards*. *Columbus*, ſending his name on ſhore, received a meſſage from *Bombadilla*, abſolutely prohibiting him from landing. *Columbus*, by way of reply, ſaid, that it was a matter of indifference to him where he landed, but that it was his duty to acquaint the governor, that he had obſerved great appearances of an approaching ſtorm, and adviſed him by all means to defer his departure till the weather became more ſettled. *Bombadilla* rejected this ſalutary advice, and immediately put to ſea, where he and *Roldan*, with the general of the iſland, above 500 *Spaniards*, and all their immenſe treaſures, periſhed and were loſt.

who periſh.

HISPANIOLA was as yet the only regular ſettlement the *Spaniards* had in *America*, if we except the ſmall footing they

they had obtained in *Trinidada* and *Margarita*, commonly called the *Pearl Iſlands*. But the fame of thoſe diſcoveries, and the prodigious riches they contained, had prevailed ſo much among the *Spaniards*, that his Catholic majeſty was obliged to iſſue out an ordinance, making it highly penal for any maſter of a ſhip or pilot, to approach nearer than fifty leagues to any of the diſcoveries made by *Columbus*, without his ſpecial permiſſion. We have, in the hiſtory of *Jamaica*, related the farther adventures of that great man, and how he was obliged to ſend to *Hiſpaniola* for a ſhip to carry him from *Jamaica*. *Nicholas D'Ovando*, who had ſucceeded *Bombadilla*, was then governor of *Hiſpaniola*, and readily ſent *Columbus* a ſhip, which brought him to *St. Domingo*; from whence, after refreſhing himſelf for ſome days, he ſet ſail for *Spain*, where he died, ſoon after his arrival. It is ſaid, the purpoſe of his laſt voyage was to have diſcovered a paſſage to the *South-Sea*, which was afterwards found out by *Magellan*.

Avarice of the Spaniards.

IT appears, that the *Spaniards* were ſo intent upon acquiring the treaſures of *America*, that very little regard was paid to the ordinance of the king, prohibiting his ſubjects from approaching to thoſe coaſts. All he could do, therefore, was to encreaſe both in *Hiſpaniola* and *Margarita*, the number of his collectors and tax-gatherers, and to force the traders to pay the cuſtoms. Along with thoſe, a great number of monks and miſſionaries had flocked to *Trinidada* and *Margarita*, where the *Spaniards*, as uſual, had inflicted the greateſt cruelties upon the natives, who had received them in the moſt generous, hoſpitable manner, by keeping them to intolerable labour, in diving for pearls. The barbarians, ſimple as they were, ſoon came to entertain the utmoſt abhorrence and contempt of the *Spaniards*, on account of their ſordid, as they juſtly thought it, as well as cruel, behaviour; and therefore riſing upon them of a ſudden, they murdered all who fell into their hands, both clergy and laity; while the ſurvivors eſcaped to *Hiſpaniola*, from whence the governor diſpatched 300 men, with *Diego Ocampo* at their head, to reduce the barbarians. *Ocampo*, on his arrival at *Margarita*, ordered his men to conceal themſelves in their ſhip, and appeared himſelf with but a very few upon deck. The natives, rowing about his ſhip in their canoes, demanded from whence he came, and he anſwered, from *Old Spain*; upon which, ſome of them, though they ſuſpected the truth, went on board *Ocampo*'s ſhip, where ſeeing but a very few ſailors, they concluded that the news of their revolt had not yet reached

Hiſpaniola, and that their viſitors came from *Europe*. They therefore, after exchanging with him ſome pearls, returned on ſhore, where they reported to the cacique, that the *Spaniards* on board were ſo few, that they could eaſily ſurprize their ſhip and cargo, and ſlaughter the crew. The cacique, upon this, ordered a great number of his people to go on board, which they did in ſuch numbers, that *Ocampo*'s ſhip was almoſt filled. He then gave a ſignal for his men to appear with their arms upon deck, where they maſſacred or hung on the yards of their ſhip, as a terror to their countrymen, all the ſavages, excepting a few, who jumped overboard, and gained the ſhore. *Ocampo* then landed his men at the mouth of the river *Cumana*, where he committed the moſt horrible maſſacres upon the natives, and forced them to aſſiſt him in building a village, which he called *Toledo*. The *Dominican* friars had by this time built two monaſteries in thoſe iſlands, where they were moſt hoſpitably entertained by the inhabitants. *Charles* V. was then king of *Spain*, and the famous *Bartholomew de Caſas* was kind of a miſſionary in the *Weſt-Indies*, where he ſaw the moſt horrible cruelties committed by the *Spaniards* upon the natives, who did not fail to make reprisals on every occaſion. Motives of humanity prevailed with him to repair to *Spain*, where he laid before *Charles* all the miſconduct and cruelties of his ſubjects, even to the extermination of the human race. According to my author, with whom *de Caſas* is by no means a favourite, *Charles* beſtowed upon him the government of *Cumana* and *Margarita*, then called *Cubagua*, and furniſhed him with 300 men, with particular diſtinctions and privileges, who were to be under his direction in the pearl-fiſhery. Our author expreſly ſays, that this commiſſion was granted to *de Caſas* at the interceſſion of count *Naſſau*, father, as we apprehend, to the firſt prince of *Orange*. *De Caſas*, at the ſame time, was provided with ſhipping, and every neceſſary for the diſcharge of his high office.

Maſſacre of the Spaniards *by the natives.*

ARRIVING at *Cumana*, he produced his commiſſion to *Ocampo*, who was by no means diſpoſed to reſign his government, and made a thouſand pretexts for retaining it, till he could ſubdue the rebels (for ſo he called the natives); and pleaded, at the ſame time, that he could not leave the place without receiving his diſmiſſion from the governor of *Hiſpaniola*, under whom he acted. Some high words followed on this occaſion, but *Ocampo* ſtill retained the command; upon which, *de Caſas* went to *Hiſpaniola*, where he complained to the governor of the treatment he had received from *Ocampo*, who, it ſeems, had debarred him from entering his town of *Toledo*.

Toledo. Before his departure, he had run up ſome wooden barracks for the accommodation of the 300 *Spaniards* he had brought along with him; and ſoon after, *Ocampo*, whoſe men by this time were exceſſively rich, and began to quarrel among themſelves about dividing the plunder, left the iſland alſo. The natives were now free of all their tyrants, except the *Spaniards* left by *de Caſas*, and ſome ſtragglers whom avarice detained in the country. Thinking that a proper opportunity for recovering their liberties, they roſe as one man, and put to death all the *Spaniards* but a few friars who eſcaped to *Cubagua*; and after that, they ſet fire to all their dwellings, temples, and monaſteries; and, in ſhort, did every thing they could to aboliſh the very remembrance of their cruel invaders, even to the putting to death ſuch of their countrymen as had turned Chriſtians, and curſing their own native ſoil for giving ſupport to ſo infernal a ſet of men as the *Spaniards* were. They even endeavoured to paſs over from *Cumana* to *Cubagua* to exterminate all the *Europeans* there; but they had not boats and canoes to carry them over, ſhort as the paſſage is.

It is revenged.

THIS tragedy of the *Spaniards* was effected by *Ocampo*, who, not bearing to be ſupplanted by *de Caſas*, had left the new-comers to be ſacrificed by the natives. As to *de Caſas*, finding that there was a conſpiracy of all the other *Spaniards* againſt him, and that they paid no manner of regard to his commiſſion, he took refuge in a monaſtery in *Hiſpaniola*. The governor of that iſland, underſtanding how matters had gone in *Cumana*, immediately ordered a body of *Spaniards* to ſail thither under an officer, one *Caſtellio*. He arrived at *Trinidada* in eight days, and the natives bravely defended themſelves for forty, but were, at laſt, obliged to ſubmit. He made a moſt cruel uſe of his advantage, for he hanged no fewer than ſeventy of the caciques, under the ſhameful pretext of their being rebels, and ſent vaſt numbers of the natives to *Hiſpaniola*, where they were ſold as ſlaves. He then applied himſelf to re-edify the town of *Toledo*, which had been demoliſhed by the barbarians, and raiſed a town, conſiſting of ſeventy brick houſes, in *Cubagua*, calling it *New Cadiz*. Soon after, the *Dominicans* erected a monaſtery upon *Cubagua*, which ſeems to have undergone a remarkable change of climate; for we are told, that in thoſe days it was entirely barren, and without any trees, and ſo deſtitute of water, that its value was equal to that of wine. Later accounts informs us, that, notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of freſh water, the ſoil is fertile, produces maiz and fruit, and that the iſland has upon it a great number of groves. Add to

this, that the pearl-fiſhery, for which this iſland was formerly ſo famous, is now entirely exhauſted.

Diſobedience and opulence of the Spaniards.

SOON after, *Lampugnani*, a *Milaneſe* nobleman, arrived at *Cubagua*, with a commiſſion from his Catholic Majeſty to be governor of that iſland. He brought along with him four ſhips which had been fitted out by *Spaniſh* merchants to fiſh for pearls on that iſland; and an inſtrument ſomewhat of the nature of a harrow, which, when let down to the bottom of the ſea, ſerved as a kind of drag-net for bringing up the oyſters that contained the pearls. When *Lampugnani* produced his commiſſion, the *Spaniards* upon *Cubagua* treated him in the ſame manner as they had done *de Caſas*, and flatly refuſed to give any regard to the royal mandate, which was to beſtow upon a ſtranger the fruit of their labours. The truth is, the immenſe riches thoſe *Spaniards* had acquired, had inſpired them with ſtrong notions of independency upon their *European* ſovereign; and *Lampugnani*, perceiving they were unanimous in oppoſing him, and that no regard was paid to the royal mandate, fell into a frenzy through vexation of mind, being unable to return to *Europe* through the great debts he had contracted; and died on the iſland in the utmoſt miſery and diſtraction. This diſregard of his Catholic majeſty's orders prevailed ſo greatly, that he found, at laſt, there was no other method of retaining his *American* ſubjects in their duty, but by ballancing one governor againſt another; in which caſe, the royal authority generally turned the ſcale. *James Columbus*, ſon to *Chriſtopher*, was then governor of *Hiſpaniola*, and was intent upon ſettling his colony of *Jamaica*. But, by this time, the greateſt part of the *American* continent had been diſcovered, and his Catholic majeſty had granted commiſſions to *Diego Niqueſa*, and *Alphonſo Haida*, commonly called *Alonſo de Ojeda*, the former to be governor of *Veragua*, and the other of *Carthagena*. *Ojeda* fitted out four ſhips, and hired 400 ſoldiers at his own expence; and both thoſe governors arrived ſafe at *Hiſpaniola*. Their commiſſions were the moſt inhuman that can be conceived, as they were authorized to exterminate, by fire and ſword, or by any other means they thought proper, all the *Indians* who did not become Chriſtians, or more properly ſpeaking, ſlaves to the *Spaniards*; in which caſe, they promiſed them his Catholic majeſty's protection. The *Indians*, in a few words replied, that they knew nothing of his Catholic majeſty, and that they were determined to live independently. Upon this, the *Spaniards* butchered all the *Indians* who fell into their hands, till being tired with murder, they ſaved ſome to work as ſlaves in their mines. The Imperial court iſſued an ordi-

Diſcoveries of Ojeda,

ordinance in their favour, by which the *Indians* were declared to be free; but this did not happen till after the *Spaniards* had gone far towards exterminating the very ſpecies of the *Americans*.

OUR author mentions[h] his being in *Hiſpaniola* in 1545, when this edict was proclaimed there, and that it was received with great diſlike all over the *Spaniſh America*. Nay, that in *Mexico*, and ſome other provinces, it was utterly diſregarded. *Niqueſa* and *Ojeda*, whom we have mentioned, raging after gold, ſtill continued to butcher the *Indians*, or to torture them, in hopes of diſcovering where it was to be found; but they met with a ſpirited reſiſtance, ſo that *Ojeda*, having loſt the greateſt part of his ſoldiers, was obliged to return to *Carthagena*. We have from *Benzo*, ſeveral inſtances of great magnanimity exerted by the *Indians* during this expedition, which proved very fatal to the *Spaniards*. Upon their return to *Carthagena*, a kind of mutiny happened among *Ojeda*'s men; but the governor of *Hiſpaniola* ſending a ſhip laden with all ſorts of proviſions to their relief, kept them in temper while they laſted. When they were conſumed, they again grew outrageous, and deaf to all that their commanders could ſay to pacify them. *Ojeda* upon this, threw himſelf into a ſhip, and ſailed for *Hiſpaniola*, leaving the famous *Franciſco Pizarro* for his deputy, with this condition, that if he did not return in a certain number of days they were at liberty to diſpoſe of themſelves as they pleaſed. The fate of *Ojeda* was remarkable; his men had ſeized upon the wife of a cacique, who pretended to come to the *Spaniſh* camp to ranſom her, and for that purpoſe demanded audience of *Ojeda*, promiſing to give him whatever treaſure he demanded for his wife. *Ojeda* no ſooner appeared, than the cacique, apprehending that the honour of his bed had been violated, let fly a poiſoned arrow, which ſtruck him in the thigh, while the *Spaniards* cut in pieces the cacique, his wife, and all his attendants. The fire, which is the common antidote to thoſe poiſons, was applied to *Ojeda*'s wound, yet he died ſoon after his arrival at *Hiſpaniola*; ſome ſay in the habit of a *Franciſcan* friar, which he aſſumed through deſpair and vexation.

and other Spaniſh *adventurers.*

OJEDA not returning in the ſtated time, *Pizarro*, with fifty *Spaniards*, the remains of 300, embarked on board two ſhips, one of which periſhed at ſea; and *Pizarro*, in the other, after undergoing inexpreſſible miſery, fell in with two ſhips that were coming to his relief, under one *Anciſo*, who,

who oblige the natives to murder themſelves.

[h] Ibid. p. 82.

inſtead of carrying *Pizarro* and his crew to *Hiſpaniola*, as they earneſtly deſired, forced them back to *Carthagena*, where the *Spaniards* quarrelled with one another. In the mean while, the governor of *Hiſpaniola*, underſtanding the vaſt diſtreſs his countrymen were in at *Carthagena*, diſpatched *Roderigo Colmenares* with two ſhips to their relief, and he found them in a moſt miſerable condition. Upon the death of admiral *Columbus*, the government of *Hiſpaniola* was given to his ſon *Diego*, with the title of viceroy, and with the ſame powers which his father and grandfather had enjoyed. But the *Spaniards* ſtill conſidering the family of *Columbus* as being foreigners, rendered the viceroy's government extremely uncomfortable to him; and at laſt, his Catholic majeſty ordered him to repair to *Spain*, to anſwer the complaints againſt him, and there he died without being able to obtain common juſtice from that ungrateful court. Upon his death, a variety of governors ſucceeded, ſome of them laics, and others clergymen; but all of them monſters of cruelty. So that according to my author, [1] the wretched natives of *Hiſpaniola*, came to a general reſolution of putting themſelves to death, which they executed ſo effectually by poiſon, and all other means of ſelf deſtruction, that *Benzo* affirms, when he was upon that iſland, of two millions of natives who inhabited it in the days of *Columbus*, ſcarcely one hundred and fifty were alive, and that the other iſlands ſuffered the like depopulation from the ſame cauſes.

NOTHING remarkable occurs concerning *Hiſpaniola*, but the many expeditions that were fitted out from thence for diſcoveries on the main land, and which do not belong to this part of our work; but though *Hiſpaniola* continued to be the capital iſland, and indeed, ſeat of the *Spaniſh* government in *America*, few attempts were made againſt it, even in the active reign of queen *Elizabeth*; for in 1585, though Sir *Richard Greenvil* touched there with five ſhips, we know of no attempt he made againſt the iſland, which the more the *Spaniſh* colonies encreaſed on the continent, decreaſed the more in its riches and importance. Notwithſtanding all the arts the *Spaniards* made uſe of to diſcredit the character of the natives, and to exalt thoſe of their countrymen, the former appear to have been not only a harmleſs, but a moral, people, and this leads us to treat of their religion, inſtitutions, and manners.

Account of the religion.

ACCORDING to *Oviedo*, as well as *Benzo*, the *Indians of Hiſpaniola*, and likewiſe of the neighbouring continent, wor-

[1] Ibid. p. 114.

ſhipped

ſhipped moſt tremendous images, to whom they are pleaſed to affix the names of demons; perhaps with no great propriety, and to them they prayed for all the bleſſings of life. Their prieſts in ſome places were called buhiti, and in others caribes, and poſſibly, they impoſed upon the ignorant natives much in the ſame manner as Roman catholic prieſts do upon their votaries. *Peter Martyr*, one of the oldeſt hiſtorians we have of *American* affairs, informs us, that no ſooner did the *Spaniards* land in *Hiſpaniola*, than the power of their zemi (for ſo they called their idols) ceaſed, which the elders of the iſland looked upon as an omen of their ſubjection to a foreign power. *Oviedo* remarks, that thoſe demons were not long idle, for he ſays, that when he was in *India* in 1548, they raiſed a ſtorm, which killed almoſt all the four-footed creatures, deſtroyed the harveſt, and overthrew houſes, as if ſuch calamities did not daily happen in the courſe of nature. The truth is, the *Indian* prieſts were a good deal diſconcerted by the attempts the *Spaniards* made to introduce their religion into the iſland; but perceiving that they had, in fact, no god but gold, which led them to the commiſſion of all kinds of crimes, they ſecurely returned to the practice of their former impoſtures. When a cacique of *Hiſpaniola* intended to celebrate a feſtival in honour of his god, he ſignified the ſame to all his ſubjects, both male and female, with an order that they ſhould meet him at a certain place, and walk in proceſſion with him at their head to the temple of his deity. As ſoon as the cacique entered the temple, he beat a drum as a ſignal for his ſubjects to follow him, which they did in their beſt accoutrements, with great order and regularity, the men walking firſt; and it is remarkable, that on this occaſion, the women were obliged to appear without a grain of paint, of which they were at other times very fond, upon their bodies, as a mark of their purity. Another ceremony was performed on this occaſion, which, however ridiculous it may appear to ſome, may be conſidered by others as exhibiting an allegorical meaning, though barbarouſly expreſſed. The cacique, who appears to have been the high-prieſt, thruſt a little inſtrument down his throat, which obliged him to vomit before his deity, as an emblem that he concealed within him no ſentiments of rancour, revenge, or hypocriſy. After this, all the aſſembly joined in a hymn in honour of the god, while a freſh company of women came into the temple with baſkets of odoriferous flowers and perfumes, which they ſtrewed all around. They then changed their notes, and ſung by turns in concert, and next they ſung to the praiſes of their cacique. After this, they offered

bread

offered bread to their idol, and the under prieſts after conſecrating it in their own way, moſt ceremoniouſly broke and divided it among the aſſembly, and then each returned to his own home with great joy and ſatisfaction.

Manners. SUCH was the worſhip paid by the *Indians* to their deity, as repreſented by writers, who were far from being favourable to their cuſtoms and religion. It is true, ſome of them, and *Benzo* in particular, attribute to them ſeveral very ridiculous notions and cuſtoms; but we are to obſerve, at the ſame time, that one of thoſe capital charges he brings againſt them is, "their ſmoaking that helliſh diabolical weed called tobacco" [k]. The ſame writers frankly acknowledge, that the native *Americans* were far from ſhewing any diſlike to the Chriſtian religion, and that many of them were baptized, but relapſed into idolatry, upon ſeeing the ſcandalous and infamous lives that were led by the *Spaniards*, whoſe prieſts and *Dominicans* were, in matters of true religion and ſound morality, equally uninformed with the barbarians themſelves. One of the capital points of religion with the natives was, an exact adherence to the honour of the marriage-bed, of which the *Spaniards*, who firſt invaded this country, had no idea; and we have already mentioned how ſignally the violation of it was puniſhed in the perſon of *Ojeda*. Another inſtance of the ſame kind occurred in 1519. A cacique, who took the name of *Henriquez*, or *Henry*, had been, when he was young, baptized, and growing up he took to wife one of his country women, and went to live at a village called *St. Juan de Maguana*, which was likewiſe the reſidence of *Vadiglio*, one of the *Spaniſh* deputies. *Henry*, though he lived with the *Spaniards* in a ſtate of ſervitude, obſerving that one of them had taken a fancy to his wife, complained of the injury done him to *Vadiglio*, who was ſo far from puniſhing the *Spaniard*, that he abuſed and impriſoned *Henry*, but at laſt releaſed him, on condition that he never ſhould make the like complaints for the future. *Henry* then carried complaints to the *Spaniſh* court of parliament, for ſo my author terms it [l]; which ſate at *St. Domingo*; but all the ſatisfaction he got was his being remitted for juſtice to his former judge. *Vadiglio* then once more threw him into priſon for his inſolence in repeating his complaint. *Henry* diſſembled his reſentment ſo well, that he once more obtained his liberty; but all the uſe he made of it was to murder every *Spaniard*, with the moſt exquiſite torments, who fell into his hands

[k] Tetri illius & vere diabolici fumi. Ibid. p. 117.

[l] Indus ad curiam Parlamenti quæ erat S. Dominici ſe confert. Ib.

for

for thirteen years; nor could the *Spaniards* with all their art and induſtry ever lay hold of him.

AMONG the natives of *Hiſpaniola*, it is agreed upon on all hands, even by authors, who in other reſpects differ from one another, that theft is conſidered among them as ſo monſtrous and unnatural a crime, that it was puniſhed with the moſt exquiſite tortures, even that of impaling alive, which was performed by them in the ſame manner as among the *Turks* and other *Aſiatics*. In this their juſtice is ſo exemplary, that the criminal, let his rank or condition be what it will, never is pardoned, even for the ſlighteſt offence. The reaſon which authors give for this extraordinary ſeverity, is, becauſe thoſe barbarians look upon avarice, which they eſteem the prompter of theft, as being a prodigy in nature, and therefore, of all crimes the moſt deteſtable. We are farther told, that for this reaſon, they make uſe neither of locks nor bolts, as they do not ſuppoſe any one to be capable of committing ſo monſtrous an offence. In ſhort, all the *Spaniſh* writers admit, that when *America* was firſt diſcovered, the natives were free even to prodigality of whatever they poſſeſſed, and that the *Spaniards* needed but look upon any thing to become maſters of it. We are, however, given to underſtand, that they did not long continue in this ſtate of ignorance, and that their gueſts ſoon inſtructed them in the value of money, and other commodities; ſo that they quickly became as expert as the *Europeans* themſelves in the arts of pilfering.

Hiſtory of an Indian lady.

SOME particulars of moment to the hiſtory of *Hiſpaniola*, prove, that the females of that iſland are ſuſceptible of tender paſſions. A young *Spaniard* of *Arragon*, one *Michael Diaz*, happening to quarrel with a domeſtic belonging to the governor, and wounding him, though not mortally, he fled from *Iſabella*, which was the only town the *Spaniards* then poſſeſſed upon the iſland, and rambling firſt to the eaſt, and then to the ſouth, with five or ſix of his companions, who followed his fortune, they pitched upon the ſpot where *St. Domingo* now ſtands, and where they found ſome *Indian* cottages. This quarter of the iſland belonged to an *Indian* lady, who fell violently in love with *Diaz*, and having ſeveral children by him, ſhe was baptized by the name of *Catherine*; and ſhe diſcovered to her lover ſome rich mines which lay about twenty miles from the place of their habitation. The fame of this ſpreading abroad, brought other *Spaniards* to ſettle with *Diaz*, and, the lady at laſt encouraged him to give a general invitation to all his countrymen at *Iſabella*, and elſewhere, upon the iſland, who were willing to ſettle on her eſtate,

which was the fineſt in the whole iſland, and ſufficient to produce them all kind of accommodations. *Diaz* accordingly went to *Iſabella*, where he was ſoon received into favour by the governor, who finding his reſidence at *Iſabella* to be attended with many inconveniencies, paid a viſit in perſon to *Catherine*'s eſtate, which he ſoon perceived exceeded in beauty and fertility the moſt favourable reports that had been made of it. There pitching upon a convenient ſpot, at the mouth of the river *Ozama*, he began to build the old city of *St. Domingo*; but ſo as no way to incommode their generous benefactreſs. Afterwards, the waters of the *Ozama* being found brackiſh, the capital of the iſland was removed to a more convenient ſituation.

End of the expedition againſt Hiſpaniola *by the* Engliſh,

We have little beſides what may be found in other parts of this work to add to the hiſtory of *Hiſpaniola*. In 1586, while the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* were at war, the importance of *Hiſpaniola* had been greatly reduced through the diſcovery and conqueſt of the rich kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico*, by which the great ſeats of the *Spaniſh* empire in *America* were transferred from *St. Domingo* to thoſe countries. Sir *Francis Drake*, therefore, found no great difficulty that year in ſurpriſing and conquering *St. Domingo*, of which he kept poſſeſſion about a fortnight, till the inhabitants agreed to raiſe 60,000 pieces of eight, to ranſom it from being entirely burnt down. After this, *Hiſpaniola* recovered ſomewhat of its former ſplendour; but not through any encouragement given it from *Spain*. The conveniency of its ſituation, its ports and harbours, for carrying on a clandeſtine trade with all the *European* ſettlements in *America*, invited thither vaſt numbers of ſmugglers and buccaneers, who amaſſed ſuch large eſtates, that *Cromwell*, in 1656, fixed his eye upon *Hiſpaniola* as a moſt deſirable object of conqueſt. One *Gage*, who had been a Roman Catholic prieſt, but afterwards pretended to turn proteſtant, had travelled over the greateſt part of the *Weſt-Indies*, and was well acquainted with the ſtrength and weakneſs of the *Spaniards* there. One *Simon de Caſſeres*, a *Spaniard*, was likewiſe conſulted on the ſame ſubject, and *Cromwell* received ſuch a variety of intelligence, that he was in a manner bewildered in his choice of the place againſt which he was to direct his arms. The advice given him by *Gage* was to attack both *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*, by which he demonſtrated if ſucceſsful, he would ſoon become maſter of all the *Spaniſh* treaſures in *America*. *Cromwell* was pleaſed with the greatneſs of this enterprize, the ſucceſs of which he concluded muſt depend upon ſecrecy, he ordered a fleet immediately to be equipped, conſiſting of thirty ſhips of war, under vice-

vice-admirnl *Penn*, and gave the command of 4000 land-forces, to be employed in the ſame expedition, to general *Venables*, as we have already ſeen in the hiſtory of *Jamaica*. It is ſaid, that in the inſtructions given to thoſe two commanders by *Cromwell*, they were tied down to no particular deſtination; and that they were at liberty to attempt *Carthagena*, the *Havannah*, or *Porto Rico*, or even to ſettle on ſome part of the continent to the windward of *Carthagena*.

CROMWELL had this expedition ſo much at heart, that *Mazarine* and all the other miniſters in *Europe* remained in the dark as to its object, notwithſtanding their moſt earneſt applications: but the ſecret jealouſy which he entertained of the two chief commanders, whom he ſuſpected of having a warm ſide to the royaliſts, ſeem to have defeated his main intention, for he appointed ſuch a number of commiſſioners, whom he thought he could truſt, as ſo many checks upon them; and this introduced the utmoſt confuſion and diſagreement in the ſervice, both by ſea and land. After touching at *Barbados*, they ſailed to *Hiſpaniola*, where the inhabitants were ſo much alarmed at their appearance, that it was thought they would have abandoned the iſland, had it not been for the unaccountable conduct of the invaders. *Venables*, is, perhaps, unjuſtly blamed, on this occaſion, for ordering a proclamation to be read at the head of his troops, prohibiting them, under ſevere penalties, to plunder the iſland, or to leave their ranks during their march. This prohibition damped their ardour: they had embarked in the expedition chiefly from the proſpect of plunder, which they imagined *Venables*, by his proclamation, intended to engroſs to himſelf. They likewiſe found great fault with his having carried along with him his wife, who was ſaid to have the entire management of him, and who had the character of being proud and rapacious. No good reaſon has as yet been aſſigned, why the army was landed at forty miles diſtance from *St. Domingo*, the main object of their deſtination; but it is certain, that this occaſioned the miſcarriage of the expedition. The roads, through which the men were to march, conſiſted either of deep ſcalding ſands, or thick impracticable woods, all the way deſtitute of water, and all kind of refreſhments, in a ſultry ſeaſon, not to mention, that they were entirely unacquainted with the country. All thoſe diſcouragements ſpread an irrecoverable damp on the troops, and gave ſuch ſpirit to the *Spaniards*, that they returned to *St. Domingo*, and made ſuch diſpoſitions for harraſſing the *Engliſh* upon their march, as fruſtrated their undertaking. The ſoldiers, oppreſſed with heat and thirſt, ſcarcely attempted to defend themſelves againſt their

and Cromwell, *which proves unſucceſsful.*

their enemies, who butchered them as they dropped upon the ground through fatigue and faintneſs. Major-general *Haynes*, an excellent officer, and colonel *Holmes*, with about 700 ſoldiers, periſhed in this manner, beſides great numbers whom the *Spaniards* cut off in ſtraggling parties. As to the ſequel of this expedition, it has been already related; as has the manner in which the *French* came to fix themſelves on the weſt part of the iſland.

The French ſettle on Hiſpaniola.

THE frequent minorities that happened in the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and the weakneſs of their adminiſtrations, made them guilty of capital overſights in the affairs of *Hiſpaniola*. When that iſland could afford them no more gold, they never attempted to avail themſelves of the inexhauſtible riches which might have been made by cultivating the ſoil in tobacco, ſugar, and other rich commodities. Inſtead of that, they ſuffered the *French* to acquire new ſtrength every day, till by degrees, they were able to make head againſt all the *Spaniards* on the iſland, of which, they, at this very time, poſſeſs the moſt cultivated part. Three ſorts of *French* at firſt reſorted to *Hiſpaniola:* the firſt were buccaneers or hunters, who lived by killing black cattle, and ſelling their tallow and hides to vaſt advantage: the ſecond ſpecies of adventurers, the flibuſtiers, ſo called from the *Dutch* fly-boats, in which they generally ſailed; but are commonly confounded with the buccaneers. Thoſe flibuſtiers were, properly ſpeaking, no other than free-booters, who, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Jamaica*, being deprived of the protection of the *Engliſh* government, repaired to *Hiſpaniola*, where they found ſhelter, and carried on a very gainful traffic. The third and laſt ſet of adventurers were thoſe who ſettled in the iſland, and by attaching themſelves to the cultivation of the ſoil, were, properly ſpeaking, planters. The *French* court at firſt affected to diſcourage thoſe ſettlers; but they took no effectual means to ſuppreſs them, or to oblige them to leave the iſland, though their trading and ſettling there was directly contrary to the ſpirit of the treaty of *Munſter*; and, indeed, it is ſurpriſing, if the *Spaniards* were too weak to drive the *French* from *Hiſpaniola*, that they were not aſſiſted by the other powers of *Europe*, *England* in particular. The *Spaniards* at laſt began to open their eyes ſo far, that they made ſome attempts for diſlodging their troubleſome viſitors, but it was too late. Thoſe intruders being ſecretly ſupported, and ſupplied with arms by the *French* governors of the other iſlands, made good their footing, and had they been encouraged, they might even have acted offenſively againſt the *Spaniards*; but their government not chuſing to drive the

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Spaniards from the iſland, becauſe of the vaſt profits they made by them, and fearing leaſt they ſhould rouſe the jealouſy of other powers, contented themſelves with a peaceable ſettlement. At the ſame time, perceiving their own ſtrength, they no longer diſavowed the proceedings of their free-booters, but regularly ſent them governors, of whom M. *du Caſſe*, as we have already mentioned, was one; and in 1697, by an article in the treaty of *Ryſwick*, the *Spaniards* made a legal ceſſion of the north-weſt part of the iſland to the *French*, containing one of the fineſt territories in the world. The vaſt improvements ſince that time that has been made upon this acquiſition, are almoſt incredible; and ſome have computed, that their ſettlement at *St. Domingo*, exceeds in value thoſe of all the others they poſſeſs in *America*. Far from imitating the policy of the *Spaniards*, they have not even begun to ſearch either for gold or ſilver, though it is the general opinion, that their part of the iſland contains both, as thinking that the riches acquired by commerce and induſtry are preferable.

Brave exploit of three Engliſh *captains.*

It is not eaſy to account for the reaſon why, during our late wars with *France* and *Spain*, no attempt was made upon *St. Domingo*, unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that the *Britiſh* government thought their enemies too ſtrong in that iſland to attempt to reduce it; but this is a point we ſhall have occaſion to examine in our deſcription of this iſland. It is certain, that many gallant actions were performed off this iſland, where the *French* had ſettled themſelves to vaſt advantage, and had fortified themſelves ſo ſtrongly, as to bid defiance to all the *Britiſh* naval power in thoſe ſeas. In 1758, captain *Arthur Forreſt*, who commanded the *Auguſta*, a *Britiſh* ſhip of war, had an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf to great advantage on the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*. A *French* ſquadron, under one M. *Kerſin*, had arrived from *Africa* at *Cape François*, where a large fleet of valuable *French* merchantmen lay at the ſame time waiting for an opportunity of ſailing for *Europe*. This coming to the knowledge of rear-admiral *Cotes*, he ordered captain *Forreſt* to ſail from *Port-Royal* with his own ſhip, the *Dreadnought* and the *Edinburgh*, under the command of the captains *Suckling* and *Langdon*, and to cruize off *Cape François*, which they did. The *French* at the *Cape* perceiving that *Kerſin*'s ſquadron was far ſuperior to the *Britiſh*, reproached him for not fighting, or rather, for not bringing all the *Britiſh* ſhips in as prizes, and their crews priſoners. No longer able to withſtand thoſe reproaches, he gave orders to put to ſea; but had the precaution to reinforce his ſquadron with ſome ſtoreſhips,

which

which he mounted with guns, and converted into armed veſſels on this occaſion, and took on board an additional complement of ſoldiers and ſeamen from the garriſon and the merchant-ſhips. This rendered the party very unequal; *Kerſin* having under his command four large ſhips of the line and three ſtout frigates. The *Britiſh* commodore ſaw them approach, and after a ſhort conſultation with his captains, it was agreed to fight them. By this time, the ſhore was covered with the *French* inhabitants, who were in full expectation of ſeeing their ſhips victorious almoſt without fighting. The action began between three and four in the afternoon, and the *French* exerted themſelves with unuſual vigour and activity during an engagement of two hours, in which they were ſo roughly handled, that their commodore and their captains were obliged to make ſignals for their frigates to tow them off; and a land-breeze ſpringing, they eſcaped back. The *Britiſh* ſhips had ſuffered too much to be able to follow them, and were obliged to return to *Jamaica*, with the loſs of about 100 men; that of the *French* was 300 men killed, and about as many wounded, beſides their beſt ſhip being diſabled for future ſervice; but their commodore took advantage of the abſence of the *Britiſh* ſquadron to ſail with his convoy for *Europe*.

againſt the Spaniards.

SOON after this engagement, captain *Forreſt*'s ſhip being refitted, admiral *Cotes*, beating up to the windward from *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, underſtood that another *French* fleet (ſo immenſe was the *French* trade in *Hiſpaniola* at that time) was at *Port au Prince*, a *French* harbour, at the bottom of a bay, on the weſtern part of *Hiſpaniola*, ready to ſail for *Europe*. Had *Forreſt*'s advice been taken, that place would immediately have been attacked, but he was directed to cruize for two days only off the iſland of *Gonave*, and if nothing extraordinary preſented, to rejoin the ſquadron at *Cape Nicholas*. Proceeding up the bay, that divides *Gonave* from *Hiſpaniola*, with the greateſt caution, under *Dutch* colours, he diſcovered ſeven ſail of ſhips ſteering to the weſtward; and at night he chaced with all the ſail he could carry; about ten he diſcovered two ſail more, one of which fired a gun, while the other ſteered towards *Leogane*; and now captain *Forreſt* began to underſtand the meaning of the gun that had been fired; for he diſcovered eight ſail to the leeward, near *Petit Guaves*. Having taken the ſhip that fired, he manned her with his own men, and diſpatched her to prevent any of the enemy's ſhips that might attempt to get into *Petit Guaves*. Next morning he found himſelf engaged with all their fleet, which, after making ſome faint reſiſtance, he took,

took, one ship after another, to the number in the whole of nine; a success hardly to be paralleled, considering how near they lay to their harbours, where, could they have reached any one of them, they might have been safe. The prizes thus taken, were found to be very rich, as indeed, all the *French* ships, during that war, bound to *St. Domingo*, were, and there sold for the benefit of the captors. The rest of the military operations upon the coasts of *Hispaniola* were too inconsiderable to deserve a particular relation; but they were numerous, and every action did great honour to the *British* commanders.

Description of Hispaniola.

THOUGH the climate of *Hispaniola* is hot, yet it is not reckoned unwholesome; and some of the inhabitants upon it are said to live to the uncommon age of 120. It is sometimes refreshed by breezes and rains, and its salubrity is likewise, in a great measure, owing to the beautiful variety of hills and vallies, woods and rivers, which every where present themselves. Upon the whole, *Hispaniola* is reckoned incomparably the finest and the most pleasant island of all the *Antilles*, because it is the best accommodated to all the ordinary purposes of living, when duly cultivated. It contains forests of cabbage-trees, palms, elms, oaks, pines, besides several other woods, not common, and hardly known, in *Europe*; and it is generally agreed, that the pine-apples, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, limes, dates, apricots, and the like fruits, have a finer taste and flavour in *Hispaniola*, than those that grow upon any other of the *Antilles Islands*. As to its other products, both animal and vegetable, they are pretty much the same with those of the other *West-Indian* islands; only it is said, that the *French* part of *Hispaniola* breeds horses sufficient to supply all the *West-Indies*, besides innumerable quantities of black cattle. Crocodiles and alligators infest its coasts and rivers; but they abound, at the same time, with tortoises. Besides the commodities already mentioned, *Hispaniola* produces vast plenty of indigo, cotton, cocoa, coffee, ginger, tobacco, salt, wax, honey, and ambergrease, besides a variety of drugs and dyers woods. It is thought, that the soil is improper for corn; but we learn by the earliest accounts of the *Spaniards*, that the natives, with very little trouble, raised upon it maiz, and other *Indian* corn; and it is imagined, that if the *French* would now apply themselves to that culture, they would succeed. The truth is, the population of this island bears no proportion to its extent; so that the inhabitants cannot spare hands for the cultivation of corn-grounds. The *French* are said to be more numerous upon the island than the *Spaniards*; but the whites of both nations

Its products.

in 1726, did not exceed 30,000, while the negroes and mulattoes, as they are called, amounted to 100,000. It is, however, reaſonable to preſume, that the infinite pains which the *French* government has ſince taken upon this iſland, have doubled that number. The profits they make from the products of this iſland are immenſe; and, according to ſome authors, in ſugar, indigo, tobacco, and coffee, twenty years ago, their exports amounted to above twelve hundred thouſand pounds annually. During the laſt war, their exports, as appeared from the prodigious value of their ſhips that were taken, muſt have conſiderably exceeded that ſum; and ſince the peace of 1763, nothing has been wanting on the part of the *French* to render their ſettlement on *St. Domingo* a counterbalance for all the ceſſions which they were obliged to make to the *Engliſh* in *America* by that treaty. In this they are greatly aſſiſted by the *Spaniards* themſelves, who, poſſeſſed of great treaſures, but without induſtry, laviſh the former to purchaſe from their *French* neighbours the returns of the latter.

THE advantages of ſituation, which the *French* in this iſland enjoy, may be judged from the numerous harbours, many of them more capacious and convenient, than any in *England*, which their territory contains. Originally, the *St. Domingo* company, eſtabliſhed by the *French* government, had a grant of all their part of the iſland; but when the value of it came to be better known in 1720, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty revoked the grant he had made to that company of the ſouth-weſt part of this country, from *Cape Tiberon* to *Cape Mougon*, ſo that his governor-general, who is count *D'Etaign*, has under him the governments of *Cape Françoſ*, *St. Louis*, *Port Paix*, and *Petit Guaves*; a tract which contains about 150 miles in length; and this brings us to treat of the particular *French* ſettlements on or near this iſland.

St. Louis. *SAINT LOUIS* has a harbour on an iſland, with a fort, but the town is no way remarkable, it having been ruined by a hurricane in 1737, and the inhabitants are put to great inconveniencies for freſh water.

Vache Iſland. *Vache Iſland* lies about three leagues from the main land of *Hiſpaniola*, and is about nine in compaſs, though voyagers are ſtrangely divided as to thoſe calculations. It was formerly the chief rendezvous of all the pirates and free-booters who reſorted to thoſe ſeas; and it contains two or three ports, one of which can receive ſhips of 300 tons. The chief excellency of this iſland conſiſts in the conveniency of its ſituation for a trade with *Cayenne*, (the only ſettlement the *French* have upon the continent of *South-America*,

America) and with the *Spaniſh* continent. This iſland ſerves now as a kind of magazine of live ſtock, particularly black cattle and hogs for the *St. Domingo* company. *Donna Maria Bay*, at the weſt end of the iſland, is a famous wooding and watering-place for the ſhips of all nations which paſs that way. About eight leagues from *Petit Guaves* is a negro-ſettlement, called *Fond de Negros*, where they rear cocoas. In 1654, the *French* buccaneers made themſelves maſters of *Petit Guaves*; ſo that it is the oldeſt ſettlement the *French* have upon the iſland, and it is now a place of conſiderable trade. Upon the ſame bay lies *Leogane*. This town and territory, while it was held by the *Spaniards*, was thought to be of ſo much importance, that it was erected into a principality, which gave title to a natural daughter of *Philip* III. of *Spain*, and it is ſaid, ſhe died here in a caſtle, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen, as is an aqueduct, of half a mile long, which ſupplied it with freſh water. In 1711, the *French* built a new town here, and obliged the inhabitants of two neighbouring towns, *L'Eſterre*, and *Petite Riviere*, to repair thither. After this, *Leogane* became the reſidence of the *French* governor-general, and of the royal judicature, with that of the ſupreme council, whoſe juriſdiction extends from *Cape Mougon* to the river *Artibonite*. The town of *Leogane* itſelf, however, is but very indifferently ſituated, in a low, boggy, ground. The air of the territory is otherwiſe ſaid to be pure, and ſuch was the vanity of the inhabitants formerly, that they inſerted the principality of *Leogane* among the *French* king's royal titles, till they were checked. The plain of *Leogane* is a moſt delightful ſpot, extending about twelve leagues from eaſt to weſt, and four from north to ſouth. Its fertile ſoil is watered with rivers and brooks, and is full of ſugar, and cocoa-plantations; but being bounded by mountains, it is exceſſively hot, ſo that they are obliged to cover up their pot-herbs in beds, to preſerve their being burnt up. Notwithſtanding this inconveniency, the plain is the paradiſe of the *French* part of the iſland, and great numbers of its inhabitants keep their equipages. Donna Maria Bay.

LA PETITE RIVIERE, which lies in the ſame principality, is beginning to recover from its depopulation; and though a mean place, is the ſeat of a conſiderable trade. *L'Eſterre* is likewiſe repeopled, and is become the country-reſidence of the moſt polite *French* in that diſtrict, who have houſes of pleaſure there, and its avenues and inlets are ſo nobly laid out, that it is ſaid to be exceeded by few places in *Europe*. The citron-trees, particularly, are trained and cultivated in ſuch a manner, as to afford a ſhade, impenetrable La Petite Riviere.

to the weather; and the inhabitants, in all the magnificence and elegancies of life, rival thoſe of *Old France*. *Port Paix*, which faces the iſland of *Tortuga*, has been already deſcribed, and before it was ruined by the *Engliſh*, in king *William*'s time, it was the ſeat of the *French* government in *Hiſpaniola*. Its neighbourhood is well watered, its ſoil is rich, and the *French* having repaired the town, it is now a place of conſiderable ſtrength. The iſland of *Tortuga*, which we have ſo often mentioned in the preceding part of this work, lies off *Cape St. Nicholas*, thirty-five leagues eaſt from *Cuba*, and is by nature fitted for what it formerly was, a harbour for pirates, it being ſurrounded for the moſt part with rocks, and the acceſs to it very difficult to find. The free-booters of all nations, who ſettled here, proved ſo troubleſome to the *Spaniards*, that in 1638, the latter drove them from their haunts with fire and ſword. The conveniency of the ſituation invited one *Willes*, an *Engliſh* pirate, to repair thither with his crew, but he, in his turn, was diſpoſſeſſed by the *French*, who returned in ſuch numbers, that after various conflicts with the *Spaniards*, they made good their footing in *Tortuga*, and received ſuch ſupplies from their other iſlands, that they were enabled to paſs over to *Port Paix*, which they built, and extended themſelves all along that coaſt. This little iſland formerly abounded in turtles, from which it took its name, and is ſix or ſeven miles diſtant from the main land of *Hiſpaniola*, and is ſix leagues from eaſt to weſt, and three, where broadeſt, from north to ſouth, being about ſixty leagues in compaſs. It produces all the commodities found upon other *Weſt-Indian* iſlands, but lies under the diſadvantage of having little or no freſh water, but what the inhabitants ſave in ciſterns. The wild-boars, with which this iſland abounds, are ſaved for proviſion, in caſes of neceſſity. Only the ſouth part of the iſland is inhabited, and is now a populous, flouriſhing ſettlement, with a convenient harbour, which receives large ſhips. The town here is called *Cayona*; and is defended by a fort, which takes its name from one *D'Ageron*, who is eſteemed the father of the ſettlement. The north part of the iſland is almoſt uninhabited, on account of its unwholſome air, and rugged coaſt. The town of *Cape St. François*, which is ſituated on the north ſide of the iſland, is, properly ſpeaking, the capital of the *French Hiſpaniola*. It has a fine harbour, and though the town was twice deſtroyed in king *William*'s time, it is now in a flouriſhing, opulent condition. The ſtreets are well laid out, and though the town lies in a miſerable ſituation, and is but indifferently fortified, yet its conveniency for trade, and the fertility of its neigh-

Flouriſhing condition of the French *in* Hiſpaniola.

neighbourhood, has drawn hither about 8000 inhabitants. This quarter is, by way of diſtinction, often called the *Cape*; and the *French* government has eſtabliſhed here a ſuperior council, to judge of appeals from other parts of the iſland.

SUCH is the flouriſhing condition of the *French* part of *Hiſpaniola*. But, beſides all the riches we have already mentioned to ariſe from it to *Old France*, we are not to forget, that by the contraband trade carried on between the natives and the *Spaniards*, *French* manufactures, to the amount of two millions of dollars annually, are diſpoſed of among the latter, and paid for in ready money, which goes directly to the mother-country. Add to this, that the *French* have upon *St. Domingo* ſuch vaſt quantities of excellent ſugar-grounds not yet cultivated, that it is in their power, at any time, to treble the quantity they raiſe of that commodity, and the conſideration of this was the true reaſon that induced the government of *England* to reſtore the iſlands of *Guadaloupe* and *Martinico* by the late definitive treaty; as the *French* inhabitants of thoſe iſlands would, in general, have removed to *St. Domingo*, and, in a ſhort time, have raiſed more ſugar than both of them produce. The court of *Spain* itſelf, has of late expreſſed great uneaſineſs on different occaſions at the power of the *French* in *Hiſpaniola*, which, they ſay, has been eſtabliſhed contrary to treaty. This conſideration, on ſome future occaſion, may be an object well worthy the attention of *Great Britain*, when her intereſts ſhall be thoroughly conſolidated with thoſe of *Spain*.

Deſcription of St. Domingo.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many blows that the city of *St. Domingo* has received, it ſtill continues to be the capital of *Hiſpaniola*, and contains ſeveral magnificent edifices, which would make a figure in *Europe* itſelf. Though its trade has been long gone, yet through the veneration attached to it by the *Spaniards*, it is ſtill in a reſpectable condition, and its inhabitants are thought to amount to 30,000, of whom 7000 may be real *Spaniards*, the reſt are meſtizoes, mulattoes, and *Albatraces*. The city itſelf is large, and well built of ſtone, its port is ſafe, and defended by batteries, with a caſtle at the end of the pier, and other works of conſiderable ſtrength; and here ſome remains of the former trade of the city ſtill ſubſiſt. It is the reſidence of an archbiſhop, who has for his ſuffragans the biſhops of *La Conception* in this iſland, *St. John's* in *Porto Rico*, *St. Jago* in *Cuba*, *Venuzuela* in *New Caſtile*, and of the city of *Honduras*. Here the governor-general of the *Spaniſh Indies*, and the judges of the royal court hold their ſupreme ſeats of juſtice; and the audience of *St. Domingo* has the precedency of all the other royal au-

diences belonging to the *Spaniards* in *America*. The preſident, who holds the firſt place in the law here, purchaſes his place, which formerly was very gainful, becauſe an appeal lay to him from all the *Spaniſh* provinces in *America*; but his juriſdiction is now confined to their *Weſt-Indian* iſlands. The clergy here are numerous and rich, and the hoſpital has a revenue of 20000 ducats a year. *St. Domingo* boaſts of a Latin-ſchool, and an univerſity, ſeven large monaſteries, two nunneries, a college, with a revenue of 4000 ducats, beſides a power of coinage. Its cathedral is ſpacious and magnificent. The market-place lies in the middle of the city, in the form of a ſquare, from whence the principal ſtreets run in direct lines, and are croſſed by other ſtreets at right angles. The town, which is almoſt quadrangular, has a fine navigable river on the weſt, the ocean on the ſouth, and is bounded on the eaſt and weſt by a fruitful country. In ſhort, this city owes its preſent ſupport to the lawyers and clergymen, whoſe profeſſions oblige them to reſide upon it.

and the Spaniſh part of the iſland,

The city of *Conception de la Vega* is a biſhop's ſee, founded by one of the family of *Columbus*, and is 25 leagues north of *St. Domingo*. It contains a cathedral and ſeveral pariſh churches, beſides convents. *St. Jago de los Cavalieros* lies 10 leagues north-weſt of *La Conception*. The air of this town is greatly commended by father *Charlevoix*, who was there in the year 1722. He obſerves, that the mountains, with which the plain of *Cape François*, which we have already mentioned, is bounded to the ſouthward, will ſoon, on account of the wholeſomeneſs of their air, be better peopled than the plain itſelf, which he ſays is watered with innumerable brooks, and would be more delightful than the valley of *Tempe* of the antients, did it not lie within the torrid zone. Notwithſtanding this, ſuch ſick people of the iſland as reſort to thoſe mountains, after all other remedies have failed them, are ſoon cured; and *Charlevoix* remarked that few of their natives have any diſeaſes. Thirty-five leagues north of *St. Domingo*, lies *Porto de la Plata*, or the Haven of Silver, built by *Ovando* in 1502, upon an arm of the ſea, and defended by a caſtle: formerly it was reckoned the ſecond place of conſequence in the iſland, but is now no better than a fiſhing village. *Monte Chriſto* has a commodious harbour, 19 miles weſt from *Porto de la Plata*, and 40 north-weſt from *St. Domingo*. On the banks of the river *Yaguey*, which waſhes it, are ſeveral outworks. Some little iſlands of no great note lie round *Hiſpaniola*. The moſt conſiderable of them is *Savona*, which is naturally fertile; it produces guaiacum and caſſavi, and its coaſts abound with turtle; but, through the unaccountable indolence of the Spaniards, it is next to uninhabited, few

or

or none but fiſhermen and freebooters repairing to it, and that in the turtling-ſeaſon. It is not diſtant above five leagues from one part of *Hiſpaniola*, and is about ſeven leagues in length, but not ſo broad. *Mona*, another iſland, due eaſt from *Hiſpaniola*, is only about three leagues in compaſs, but of ſo excellent a ſoil and temperature of climate that it is populous.

Porto Rico may be ſaid to be the only large iſland of the *Antilles*, that now remaineth to be deſcribed. It lies eighteen leagues from the moſt north eaſterly point of *Hiſpaniola*, and extends from longitude 65 to 67, and from latitude 18 to 18. 40 min. being about 150 miles from eaſt to weſt, and between 40 and 50 in breadth. The antient name of this iſland was *Borichen*. It was diſcovered by *Columbus*; but the hiſtory of his ſucceſſors upon the iſland admits of no diverſification, being made up of maſſacres and murders, the moſt unbounded cruelty and inſatiable avarice. The firſt diſcoverers gave it the name it now bears, which implies that of *St. John*, with the rich port, on account of the treaſures they found there. The iſland, at that time, is ſaid to have contained 600,000 inhabitants, who underſtanding that the *Spaniards* had made themſelves maſters of *Hiſpaniola*, an iſland far more powerful and populous than their own, concluded that they muſt be immortal. One of their petty princes, it ſeems, had ſome doubts with regard to this point, and queſtioned, though they came from the eaſt, whether they were really the children of the ſun as they pretended to be [m]. He communicated his doubts to the other caciques of the iſland, upon which about 200 *Spaniards* had landed; and it was agreed, that before they reſigned their liberties they ſhould make an experiment upon the immortality of their invaders; but, in the mean time, to treat them with great complaiſance and hoſpitality. *Salſedo*, a domeſtic of *Columbus*, whom we have already mentioned, happened to be the unfortunate object of this experiment. As the behaviour of the ſavages had given the *Spaniards* no room to doubt of their ſubmiſſion, the latter careleſsly ſtrolled through the iſland, and *Salſedo* falling into the territory of *Jaguaca*, belonging to the cacique *Vraican*, he was entertained in the moſt ſumptuous and humane manner; and upon his departure, an eſcort of fifteen or twenty ſavages was appointed to attend him and to carry his baggage. When they came to the river *Guarabo*, in the eaſtern part of the iſland, the *Indians* deſired the honour of *Salſedo* to carry him over on their ſhoulders, which he very

and Porto Rico *iſland.*

[m] Benzoni, apud de Bry. p. 21, 22.

readily agreed to, proud of having ſo many ready ſlaves. Some of the ſtrongeſt of the ſavages accordingly took him up; but while they were in the deepeſt part of the river they threw him into it, according to their inſtructions, and, by keeping him down, ſoon diſpatched him. When he was dead they dragged his body aſhore, and under the firm perſuaſion that he was immortal, they remained about it for three days, aſking pardon for what they had done, till the carcaſe began to putrify, and then they informed their cacique of what had happened, and he repaired to the ſpot to examine the body, which being then quite corrupted, convinced him and the other caciques that the *Spaniards* were mortal; upon which they fell upon them, and, almoſt in an inſtant, put 150 of them to death, while they were rapaciouſly plundering the natives of their gold; and the reſt muſt have undergone the ſame fate, had not *Diego Salazar* arrived with a freſh ſupply of *Spaniards* and reſcued them.

Spaniard *drowned for an experiment.*

Cruelty of the Spaniards.

THIS maſſacre gave the *Spaniards* a plauſible pretext for exterminating the natives, which, in a ſhort time, they effected; but this inhumanity was far from anſwering their purpoſe; for the vaſt treaſures of the iſland diſappeared with the natives. This was not unuſual, as we have already obſerved; and it gives ſome credit to the report of the *Indians* having the ſecret of diſcovering and working their mines, which ſecret periſhed with themſelves. Notwithſtanding this, the iſland of *Porto Rico* was ſtill a moſt deſirable object, on account of its fertility and ſituation. In the year 1514, its chief town, which goes by the name of the iſland, was founded, and *John Ponce de Leon* was appointed its governor. In 1594, while it was in a very flouriſhing condition, it was attacked by Sir *Francis Drake*, the *Engliſh* admiral, who deſtroyed all the ſhips in the harbour, but could make no farther progreſs againſt the iſland. In 1597, the earl of *Cumberland* received a privy ſeal from queen *Elizabeth*, by which he was impowered to attack and deſtroy the territories of her enemies, and to diſtribute among his men all the plunder he ſhould make, ſaving only ſuch cuſtoms as were due to the crown upon all goods brought into any of its dominions [n]. We have been the more particular as to this commiſſion, becauſe it was a very ſingular one; the crown in other caſes reſerving to itſelf a large portion, ſometimes a fifth, of the plunder. The ſhips equipped upon this occaſion, were, the *Malice-Scourge*, the *Royal Merchant*, the *Aſcention*, the *Sampſon*, the *Alcodo*, the *Conſert*, the *Proſperous*,

[n] MSS. Hiſtory of the family of Clifford.

the

the *Gallion*, the *Centurion*, the *Affection*, the *Pegaſus*, the *Anthony*, the *Frigate*, the *Scout*, the *Guyana*, and the *Muſketa*. From the curious manuſcript, quoted in the note, we have the following journal of his lordſhip's expedition.

" His lordſhip being prepared, at his chiefeſt charge in his own perſon, embarked himſelf in the *Malice-Scourge*, admiral, being his own ſhip, wherein he was general of the fleet, on *Monday*, *March* 6, 1597; from then he ſet ſail with all his fleet.

" *SATURDAY* the 18th of *March*, at ſix o'clock in the evening, there came a great *Fleming* towards them, as they were at anchor at the *Burlings*, which as ſoon as they eſpied, they ſent the ſhip called the *Scout* to ſee what ſhe was. She being come near the *Fleming*, he ſet upon her, and fought with her. The fleet hearing them in fight, they ſlipt their cables and man'd towards them, and within half an hour they fetcht up the *Fleming*, who fought about three hours, ſlew two, wounded two or three more, and cut off one of captain *Thomas Greenwell*'s legs, and the *Engliſh* ſhot it through in eight ſeveral places, and boarded him, who at laſt yielded. She was loaded with corn, copper, cottons, &c. *Earl of Cumberland's journal.*

" *MONDAY* the 20th of *March*, kept his courſe towards *Capitcher*, a foreland of *Portugal*, where beating up and down, waiting for the *Spaniſh* king's carracks coming from *Liſbon*, until *Tueſday* the 4th of *April*, 1598; in which time, they ſpake with five *Flemings*, and took two carvels, who all agreed in one affirming, that the ſaid caracks were in readineſs to come out with the firſt wind, during which time the *Affection* took a *Fleming*, loaden with wheat, and ſent her to *England* unknown to the earl. The reſt of the fleet took three other *Flemings* loaded with wheat, and a *Frenchman* loaded with wine.

" *SATURDAY* the 8th of *April*, they were informed that one *Moſely*, an *Engliſh* maſter of a ſhip, of *London*, (who brought certain priſoners out of *England*) certify'd them the earl of *Cumberland* lay waiting for them, whereupon thoſe carracks ſtaid their voyage till the earl's departure.

" *SATURDAY* the 13th of *May*, they made towards a ſmall iſland ſhort of *Dominico*.

" *Monday* the 22d of *May*, they came to anchor in the harbour of *Dominico*, and ſtaid the reſt of the month.

" *WHITSUNDAY* being the 4th of *June*, they landed to muſter their men, and after ſetting ſail they directed their courſe towards *St. John Porto Rico*, a very ſtrong iſland in the *Weſt-India*.

TUES-

" *TUESDAY* the 6th of *June*, in the morning the fleet landed, marching towards the fort twelve or fourteen miles diſtant from their landing, and by night came within a mile of the bridge, where they reſted themſelves till midnight, and then they marched down to the bridge thinking to have entered there; but it was ſo ſtrong of itſelf, and ſo well defended, that they were forced to retire with the loſs of twenty perſons, and as many wounded.

" THE next day they lay all about the bridge, where playing with their muſkets at another fort, called the *Red-Fort*, they killed moſt of the enemy, and forced the reſt to forſake the fort, by which means the boats landed their men that evening.

" *THURSDAY* morning the 8th of *June*, the earl marched to the bridge, where they entered without reſiſtance, and ſo the *Engliſh* captains, meeting together, marched to the town, where they entered in like manner; the enemy being likewiſe fled; but the governor, with 2 or 300 ſoldiers betook themſelves to a fort for refuge, and there kept the earl's men in play, with their great ordnance, until they made barricadoes, and planted four or five great pieces fetched from their ſhips.

" *SUNDAY* the 18th, and *Monday* the 19th of *June*, he made a battery in two or three places.

" *TUESDAY* the 20th, the enemy beat a parley, and on *Wedneſday* yielded the fort and town.

" DURING their ſtay in the town, there came from *Angola* a frigate loaded with negroes into the harbour. There came another into the mouth of the harbour, but ſeeing the fleet ſhe tack'd about and made her eſcape.

" AFTERWARDS the earl ſent away all the *Spaniards* in *Spaniſh* bottoms, ſome bells, ſome good value of good ginger, ſugar, and other good ſpices, and ſhipped them away, and ſo ſet ſail from *Porto Rico* the latter end of *July*, 1598, having taken eight great and ſmall ſhips, which he brought away with him; all he got falling far ſhort of the great expences he had been at in this expedition.

" HE loſt 700 men, whereof ſixty, or thereabouts, were ſlain in fight at *Porto Rico*, 600 died of the bloody-flux, and about forty were caſt away in their return.

" THE old frigate was caſt away upon the *Uſhant*. One of his barks was ſunk in the harbour of *Porto Rico* on purpoſe; another was caſt away at the iſland of *Bermudas*, but not a man loſt. The *Pegaſus* was caſt away at his return upon the *Goodwin-Sands*, but the men were ſaved.

" HE arrived at *Portſmouth* in good health and ſafety on the firſt day of *October*, 1598, with fifteen good ſhips, one bark, and 1000 men."

In 1615, the *Dutch* invaded the iſland of *Porto Rico*, and took the town, but without being able to make themſelves maſters of the caſtle, which, by all accounts, is exceeding ſtrong. Infinite pains have been taken by the *Spaniſh* government to prevent an illicit trade at this place; but all to no purpoſe, becauſe of the mutual conveniency that accrues to the *Spaniards*, as well as to the *Engliſh*, and other nations, who carry it on. In the war between *Spain* and *England*, which commenced in the year 1739, *Porto Rico* was the chief receptacle for all the *Engliſh* prizes, made by the *Spaniſh* guarda coſtas. The convenience of its ſituation for a contraband trade is ſuch, that all the ſevere edicts of the *Spaniſh* government have been found inſufficient to prevent it; and the city of *Porto Rico* is thought to be the very center of the illicit commerce in *Spaniſh America*. It is well built and populous, and the ſeat of a governor as well as a biſhop's ſee. The cathedral has a monaſtery belonging to it, but the heat of the climate renders it inconvenient to make uſe of glaſs windows, and their canvas and wooden lattices diſfigure their buildings. The city is often in diſtreſs for water, all they have being that which falls from the heavens and preſerved in ciſterns; though we are told by thoſe who have deſcribed it, that two rivers fall into the harbour. This ſcarcity of water, it ſeems, does not prevent the iſland itſelf from being extremely fertile, and enjoying all the benefits of the moſt temperate climate. It is beautifully diverſified with woods, hills, and valleys; its meadows are very rich; and the cattle, of which they feed great plenty, were originally imported from *Old Spain*. All thoſe advantages are owing to a number of brooks and rivers that deſcend from the mountains, which run from eaſt to weſt of the iſland, and which are cloathed with woods of all kinds, eſpecially ſuch as are proper for ſhip-building.

Porto Rico taken by the Dutch.

Deſcription of Porto Rico.

The *Spaniards* have been at great pains in fortifying the city and iſland of *Porto Rico*, the latter of which, with its harbour, are defended by a citadel and a caſtle. After all, nothing but the immenſe profits accruing to the traders upon this iſland, could compenſate for its many inconveniencies. The rains which fall in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, though they cool the exceſſive heat of the ſeaſon, render it unwholſome, and the iſland, in general, is ſubject to violent hurricanes and blights from the north-eaſt wind. The north part of it, which is the moſt barren, is ſaid to contain various mines, ſome of them of ſilver and gold; but we know of none that are worked at preſent, though it is confidently affirmed that gold duſt is often found in the ſands of their rivers. Ten

Its produce and

ſugar mills are built on the banks of the *Caribon*; and the iſland produces all the different fruits which we have ſo often mentioned to be common in the *Weſt-Indies*. Its graſs is long and coarſe, and ſuch is the indolence of the inhabitants, that they ſcarce cultivate any one art or manufacture that can render life comfortable, for even their bread is made of the caſſavi root, and they have but little other liquor than what is made of molaſſes and ſpices, excepting wine, which they import at an exceſſive expence. The woods are ſtored with parrots, wild-pigeons, and other fowl. *European* poultry is found here in plenty, and their coaſts afford abundance of fiſh. A breed of dogs, which the *Spaniards* brought over to *America* for hunting and tearing in pieces the defenceleſs inhabitants, are ſaid to live here wild in the woods, near the ſea-ſhore, and ſubſiſt upon land-crabs that burrow in the earth. The principal trade of the natives conſiſts in their ſugar, ginger, hides, and cotton, both raw and manufactured, caſſia, maſtic, ſalt, oranges, lemons, and ſweetmeats.

Trade.

THE place of greateſt note in this iſland, beſides the city of *Porto Rico*, are as follows; *Port del Agnada*, where the flota provide themſelves with water and other neceſſaries in their voyage to *Spain*; *Bomba d' Inferno*, famous for an excellent turtle fiſhery; *Crab's-Iſland*, ſo called from the number of crabs there found, which is ſo agreeable and fertile, that ſome *Engliſh* ſettled there in 1718, but in 1720, they were diſpoſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, and tranſplanted to other parts of their dominions, or ſent back to the *Britiſh* iſlands. The *Virgin Iſlands*, which lie to the eaſt of *Porto Rico*, belong likewiſe to the *Spaniards*, but are of little value, becauſe they are barren and ſandy; for which reaſon the *French* when they poſſeſſed *St. Chriſtopher's*, baniſhed thither their criminals. One of them is called *Bird-Iſland*, from the multitude of booby-birds it contains, which are ſo tame, that a man can catch them with his hand. *St. Thomas* is generally reckoned one of the *Virgin-Iſlands*, and though nominally ſubject to his *Daniſh* majeſty, it is the ſtaple of a large contraband trade carried on by all the *European* nations reſorting to the *Weſt-Indies*.

Leſſer iſlands deſcribed.

The plan of this work does not admit of our deſcribing every little iſland which the *Spaniards*, or any other nation poſſeſs in *America*, and which are of ſo little importance that they can be eſteemed only as large rocks: we ſhall, therefore, juſt touch on thoſe not already mentioned, that are of the greateſt conſequence. The iſle of *Penguins*, which lies on the eaſt part of the *Terra Magellanica*, is remarkable only for taking its name from a white-headed bird as large as a

goose,

gooſe, but it belongs to antiquaries to account for the ſimilarity between this *American* word and the *Welch* penguin, which likewiſe ſignifies a white head. On the weſtern coaſts of the ſame country lie ſeveral other iſlands, ſome ſay to the number of eighty, but are too inconſiderable to be deſcribed. The *Terra del Fuego*, which forms one part of the ſtraits of *Magellan*, is repreſented as being a cluſter of iſlands, ſeveral of which furniſh capacious bays and roads, and contain fertile paſture grounds, but ſubject to violent hurricanes. The natives are as white as the *Europeans*, but paint their bodies in the moſt fantaſtic manner. They are ſavages of the moſt uninformed kind, being little different in their intellects from brutes. If they ſhew any ſigns of humanity to ſtrangers, it is that they may have an opportunity to maſſacre them. Some travellers, however, repreſent thoſe ſavages in a better light; but all agree that they live without religion, laws, or government. The iſlands on the *Braſil* coaſt are of little importance, excepting that of *St. Catherine's*, which is repreſented as being a continued grove of trees which enjoy a perpetual verdure. The inhabitants, who acknowledge themſelves to be ſubject to the king of *Portugal*, are ſo little accuſtomed to the modes of civilized life, that they have no part of their iſland clear, but the neighbourhood of their ſcattered dwellings, which lie in fifteen or ſixteen ſpots upon the ſhore. With the *Portugueſe* inhabitants are mixed ſome *European* fugitives, and all of them are under the government of a *Portugueſe* captain; but their aſſiſting him againſt the ſavages of the continent is all the benefit his maſter or he receives from his government. They are, in conſequence of this exemption from taxes, a people ſo free, that they live like men in their original ſtate of ſociety. Though they know the uſe of fire-arms, they have among them ſcarcely any guns or powder; ſo that they ſupply the uſe of them with bows and arrows. Hunting is at once their diverſion and employment, and the thickneſs of their impaſſable woods is their ſecurity againſt all ſurprizes or attacks. *Frezier*, the *French* voyager, found them in ſuch want of common neceſſaries, that they refuſed to accept of money for the proviſions they furniſhed him with, and preferred a piece of linen or woollen ſtuff, a ſhirt, or breeches, to gold or ſilver, which, they ſaid, could not protect them from the weather; and a coloured waiſtcoat and hat, completed the dreſs of the moſt opulent and ſumptuous among them. Buſkins of tyger's-ſkin guard their legs during their excurſions into the woods, and fiſh and game, with potatoes and fruit, furniſh their common meals; but we perceive that monkeys are their chief

Deſcription of St. Catharine's Iſland.

veniſon.

veniſon. After all, they may be conſidered as a race of philoſophical ſavages. They have opportunities to know enough of *European* manners to enable them to value their own happineſs, in deſpiſing laborious and dangerous purſuits after gold and ſilver, and to pity thoſe who follow them. A *Portugueſe* chaplain, who comes from *Lagoa*, on the continent, does as much religious duty as ſerves to keep up among them the name of chriſtianity, by ſaying maſs on the principal feſtivals of the year, for which he receives a ſtipend, the only tax which thoſe iſlanders are ſubject to. The air of this iſland is wholſome, the climate good, and the inhabitants enjoy an excellent ſhare of health, being ſubject to few or no diſeaſes, but what the vegetables of their own ſoil can cure. Saſſafras, and guiacum, oranges, lemons, citrons, cotton, and other trees, grow here to vaſt perfection; and the potatoes of *St. Catharine*'s are eſteemed to be the beſt in the world.

In the *South-Sea* lies the iſland of *Chiloe*, off the coaſt of *Chili*, in ſouth-latitude, 44, or rather from 42 to 44 deg. It is about 150 miles in length, and 21 in breadth; but is only remarkable for giving ſhelter to ſhips during the tempeſtuous weather, and for two miſerable defenceleſs towns, in poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*, who had been long accuſtomed to think themſelves ſecure from all attacks in the *South-Seas*. The
Chiloe. iſland of *Chiloe* produces all the neceſſaries of life, and is ſurrounded by forty more, which all go under the ſame name. The other iſlands, in the *South-Sea*, belonging either to the *Spaniards* or the *Portugueſe*, are too inconſiderable to be mentioned, and even that of *Juan Fernandez*, can be conſidered only as a fortunate landing place for diſtreſſed mariners.

According to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the iſlands of the *Oroonoko* river are inhabited by the *Tinitavas*, a people divided into two nations, the *Crawaris*, and the *Warrwaris*. The bread they make is of the pith of the palmetto-tree, their other food they acquire by hunting and fiſhing, but they are
Trinidad. at perpetual war among themſelves. The iſland of *Trinidad* forms the ſtrait of the gulph of *Paria*, to the north of *Oroonoko*, and has been ſeveral times occaſionally mentioned. It is the largeſt of any on the coaſt. Its eaſtermoſt point lies in north latitude 10 deg. and 23 minutes, and the iſland itſelf is about twenty-five leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. By the beſt accounts, the climate is unwholſome, but produces great plenty of fruit, and the roots that are moſt common in *America*; and tobacco and ſugar-canes might be here cultivated. This iſland is in a great meaſure unpeopled, and ſeems to be held by its proprietors in very little eſti-

mation.

mation. The iſland of *Margarita*, which we have already mentioned to have been diſcovered by *Columbus*, who prized it highly for its great pearl-fiſhery, is about thirty-five leagues in compaſs. In the time of its ſplendor, it was very rich and populous; but the rapaciouſneſs of the *Spaniards* has deſtroyed the pearl-fiſhery; nor do pearls bring the ſame price now as formerly, when *America* was diſcovered. The greateſt inconveniency of this iſland is the want of freſh water, which the inhabitants are obliged to bring from the main land; and yet the iſland abounds with paſture and verdant groves, and is fertile in maiz and fruits. According to *Benzo*, when *Columbus* firſt came upon the coaſts of this iſland, he found the inhabitants buſy in fiſhing for oyſters o, and ordered ſome of them on board his own ſhip, where the ſavages, far from being terrified, became familiar with the *Spaniards*, who at firſt imagined, that the oyſters they fiſhed for, ſerved them for food, but on opening them, they found they contained pearls. This diſcovery gave inexpreſſible pleaſure to the *Spaniards*, who immediately made to the ſhore, where they found all the inhabitants dreſſed in thoſe valuable pearls, which they diſpoſed of to the *Spaniards* for the mereſt trifles. In proceſs of time, the *Spaniards* built a caſtle, called *Monpadre*, and employed prodigious numbers of *Guiney* and *Angola* negroes in the pearl-fiſhery, cruelly forcing them to tear up the oyſters from the rocks, to which they ſtuck, through which, many of them were deſtroyed by ſharks, and other voracious fiſhes. In the year 1620, this iſland was invaded by the *Dutch*, who demoliſhed the caſtle upon it, ſince which time it has been, in a manner, abandoned by the *Spaniards*, and it is now principally inhabited by the natives, who had ſome particular indulgences from the court of *Spain* for their tame ſubmiſſion to *Columbus*. North-weſt from *Margarita*, in the latitude of ten degrees, thirty-five minutes north, lies the iſland of *Salt Tortuga*, ſo named to diſtinguiſh it from the other *Turtle Iſlands* on the coaſts of *America*, on account of a large ſalt-pond at the eaſt end of it, within two hundred paces of the ſea, where merchant-ſhips take in ladings of ſalt in the months of *May*, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*. But though there is a ſmall harbour in the iſland, it is barren, rugged, and uninhabited. The iſland of *Blanco* lies north of *Margarita*, in latitude 11 deg. 15 min. north, but is remarkable only for its turtle-fiſhery.

Margarita.

Salt-Tortuga.

Blanco.

o Benzo, apud de Bry, p. 44.

Sequel

Sequel to the Hiſtory of VIRGINIA. (A).

WE have, in a former volume, deduced the hiſtory of this colony to the year 1620, when its government was ſettled, and the colony was in a flouriſhing condition. This was in a great meaſure owing to the care of the earl of *Southampton*, who was one of the company at *London*, and through his means, principally, Sir *George Yardly* carried with him to *Virginia* 1300 men in twenty-eight ſhips. In *Auguſt*, after the meeting of the firſt aſſembly, a *Dutch* ſhip arrived there with negroes from *Guiney*, who were the firſt ever imported into *Virginia*. New ſettlements were now formed in place of thoſe which had been deſerted. The boundaries of *James-Town* were marked out; the borders of *James* and *York* rivers were peopled, and means were found to aſcertain both public and private property with greater preciſion than before. At *Cape Charles* a ſalt-work was ſet up, and an iron one at *Falling Creek*. Sir *George Yardly* was, in 1621, ſucceeded in his government by Sir *Francis Wyat*, who carried over with him from *England* a freſh ſupply of planters. The coloniſts were now ſo induſtrious in raiſing tobacco, that the market for it was over-ſtocked, and the planters greatly out of pocket; ſo that *James* I. ordered that no planter next year ſhould raiſe above one hundred pounds worth of tobacco, and enjoined them to apply themſelves to other manufactures.

Negroes imported into Virginia.

THE colony now became ſo populous, that the aſſembly found it neceſſary to appoint inferior courts, for the trial of ſmall cauſes, while the larger ones were determined by the governor and council. All this while, no proper police was introduced into the colony, for regulating matters between the *Engliſh* and the natives. The latter appeared to be ſo tractable and ſubmiſſive, that the former admitted them into their houſes, till they became maſters of all the myſtery of fire-arms, and other particulars, from the knowledge of which they ought to have been carefully excluded. Their chief commander, at this time, was *Oppecancanough*, one of whoſe ſubjects had been put to death by the *Engliſh*, for robbing and murdering a planter. This *Indian* happening to be a favourite with the emperor, his death haſtened the execu-

Conſpiracy of the natives.

(A) The hiſtory of this colony was left imperfect in page 247. vol. XXXIX. through the indiſpoſition of one of the authors of this work.

tion

tion of a ſcheme, which he had been long meditating, for a general maſſacre of the *Engliſh*, which was fixed to the 22d of *March*, 1622, and almoſt all the natives entered into the conſpiracy. It is hard to pronounce, at this diſtance of time, the provocation which the natives, who, in all other reſpects, are repreſented as a harmleſs, inoffenſive people, might have for this barbarity; but we are apt to think, that ſome provocation muſt have been given. It happened fortunately for the *Engliſh*, that ſome of the natives had by this time become converts to chriſtianity, and one of thoſe diſcovered the conſpiracy to one Mr. *Pace*, a few hours before that appointed for its execution. *Pace* gave the alarm to all round him; ſome fled to *James-Town*, others ſtood upon their defence, till they could retreat to their forts; and, in general, they ſet fire to their houſes and out-houſes. The diſcovery, however, did not reach the remoter plantations time enough to prevent about 334 *Engliſh* from being butchered; for the *Indians*, having been entirely familiarized with the planters, found means to ſeize upon their utenſils and arms, and to employ them againſt them as inſtruments of murder. All the manufacturers near *Iron Creek* were cut off, excepting a boy and a girl, who ſecreted themſelves. This was an inexpreſſible loſs to the colony, becauſe thoſe works never could be reſtored, and all knowledge of the lead-mines, which had been juſt diſcovered, was loſt. The ſcheme for erecting glaſs-houſes at *James-Town*, was likewiſe fruſtrated. The *Engliſh*, having ſomewhat recovered themſelves, carried their reſentment to the like extreme, for they deſtroyed all the natives who fell into their hands, and drove the remainder into the woods. Even the authority of the government could not put a ſtop to their revenge; for, after the governor of *Virginia*, by the promiſe of peace and pardon, had prevailed with the natives to return to the cultivation of their lands, the planters cut them in pieces, and deſtroyed *Oppecancanough*'s palace. The news of the *Indian* maſſacre reaching *England*, excited ſuch a ſpirit againſt the natives, that ſupplies of arms and ammunition were ſent from the Tower of *London* to the coloniſts, who ſoon drove the ſavages from all the cultivated parts of the province.

NEW meaſures were then taken for the benefit of the colony, and the natives were once more reinſtated in their poſſeſſions; but the tyrannical diſpoſition of the coloniſts ſtill continuing, the ſavages again conſpired againſt the planters, and cut off all the *Engliſh* they could meet with. This was in a great meaſure owing to the differences and diſputes that prevailed among the coloniſts, and encouraged

The Virginian company diſſolved.

the natives in their inſurrections; and when *Charles* I. came to the crown of *England*, the *Engliſh* property in *Virginia* was reduced to ſo low a paſs, that his majeſty diſſolved the company, and ordered all patents and proceſſes to iſſue in his own name, reſerving a quit-rent of two ſhillings for every hundred acres. *Charles*, on this occaſion, acquired great honour in *America*, while his affairs were going to wreck in *England*. The aſſembly, which conſiſted of repreſentatives from the towns and counties, was continued, and the government veſted in a governor and twelve counſellors, with the aſſembly. The ſame powers as the proprietors had formerly, were granted to ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen; and among others, as we have already ſeen *Maryland*, which formerly was a part of *Virginia*, was veſted in *George Calvert* lord *Baltimore*. This appointment was complained of by the *Virginians*, as eſtabliſhing ſeparate intereſts in the ſame colony; for when the *Virginian* planters prohibited the exportion of bad tobacco, the tenants of the independent proprietors, not being under the ſame reſtrictions, ſent it to *England*, to the great diſcredit of that commodity. Sir *John Harvey* was the firſt governor of *Virginia* appointed by *Charles* I. after the diſſolution of the company; but he behaved in ſo arbitrary a manner, that the gentlemen of the colony ventured to ſeize his perſon, and to ſend him priſoner to *England* in the year 1639. This was a meaſure ſo contrary to the arbitrary principles of *Charles* I. that tho' the *Virginians* ſent over two gentlemen to make good their charge againſt him, the king re-inſtated him in his government, without their being admitted, ſo far as we can perceive, to a hearing. He, on the other hand, had his complaints likewiſe againſt the planters, ſome of whom were ſent for from *Virginia*, and ſubjected to great inconveniences by their frequent attendances upon the council-board. At laſt matters growing very ſerious between *Charles* and his parliament, *Harvey* was diſplaced and Sir *William Berkley* was appointed governor of *Virginia* in his room.

Sir John Harvey, *governor.*

Sir William Berkley, *governor.*

THOSE altercations between the governor and the planters ſunk the character of the *Engliſh* greatly in the eyes of the natives, which encouraged *Oppecancanough* to meditate a freſh maſſacre. He was a man of uncommon abilities both of body and mind; but it is uncertain whether he was deſcended from their ancient chiefs, or was a foreigner choſen into the government by the natives. He complained that the *Engliſh* had, againſt the public faith given him, made many encroachments upon his territories, for which he had received no ſatisfaction, and no regard was paid to his remonſtrances.

Another maſſacre of the Engliſh.

Perceiving that the *Engliſh* had ſpread themſelves over a vaſt extent of country, he ordered his ſubjects to attack the outſettlements, where they murdered about 500, while he himſelf and his followers cut off all the *Engliſh* who were ſettled in *York-River*, in the neigbourhood of his capital. Sir *William Berkley* underſtanding, that in proſecution of his deſigns, he had advanced into the *Engliſh* territory at ſome diſtance from his own reſidence, ſurpriſed him in *Henrico* county, with a party of horſe, and intended to have ſent him to *England*, but a brutal *Engliſhman* gave him a mortal wound in the back. He was at that time ſo aged, that he was unable to move without being aſſiſted, but he behaved with a magnanimity that would have done honour to the greateſt heroes of antiquity. Underſtanding by the help of a ſervant, that he was expoſed to the diverſion of a rabble, "Had it been my fortune (ſaid he to Sir *William Berkley*) to have made thee a priſoner, thou ſhouldſt not have been expoſed to the inſults of a rabble." *Death of* Oppecancanough.

THE ſpirit of the natives ſeems to have died with *Oppecancanough*, who, by all accounts, was an extraordinary genius, and had long maintained himſelf againſt all the power of the *Engliſh*, by uniting the various nations of the *Indians* in a common intereſt which his death diſſolved. Sir *William Berkley* had good ſenſe enough to improve this incident, by making a pacification with the natives, who could find none to ſupply the place of their deceaſed chieftain; but there is ſome reaſon to believe, that the *Engliſh* did not make a very warrantable uſe of their advantages. At the time the civil wars in *England* broke out, the *Engliſh* ſettled in *Virginia*, excluſive of women and children, are computed to have been about 15000; but a moſt lamentable difference then took place between the loyalty of the governor, and the intereſts of the planters. *Berkley*, who appears to have been a man of great reſolution, ſided with the royal party, and prohibited all intercourſe between the *Virginians* and the reigning party in *England*, to the infinite prejudice of the former. Their tobacco, which was their ſtaple commodity, and of which vaſt quantities were, at that time, taken off in *England*, lay upon their hands, and though they had great ſtores of proviſions for their immediate ſubſiſtence, yet being deſtitute of manufactures, and the benefits of commerce, they ſuffered very conſiderably; nor were they able to ſupply themſelves even with tools for managing their plantations. The *Engliſh* parliament, which, in the time of the republic, was compoſed of very able men before *Cromwell* was made protector, reſolved to reduce *Virginia*, as well as their other Virginia *reduced to the power of the parliament.*

American plantations, to their ſubjection. Sir *George Aſcough* beeing appointed with a fleet, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Barbados*, to reduce that iſland, ſent, purſuant to his inſtructions, a ſmall ſquadron under captain *Dennis*, with ſome land troops on board againſt the *Virginians*. The *Dutch* were then upon bad terms with the *Engliſh*, and Sir *William* engaged ſome of their ſhips to aſſiſt him in reſiſting the *Dutch*, which he did ſo effectually, that *Dennis* deſpairing of ſucceſs had recourſe to ſtratagem. He ſent a meſſenger to the province, importing, that he had on board his ſquadron a very valuable cargo of goods belonging to two leading men of the council, which he was reſolved to detain if they continued to hold out. It is not very important, whether this report was a pretext or a reality, for the intereſt of the colony directed them to a ſubmiſſion, which *Berkley* was not able to prevent, and therefore he retired to his own plantation; and thus the parliament was left in quiet poſſeſſion of *Virginia*.

Col. Diggs *governor.*

To do the *Engliſh* government at that time juſtice, it muſt be acknowledged, that they made a very moderate uſe of their ſucceſs, as none of the *Virginian* royaliſts were perſecuted for their reſiſtance, loyalty, or principles. Colonel *Diggs* was appointed by parliament to ſucceed *Berkley* in the government of *Virginia*; but nothing remarkable happened during his adminiſtration. After that, the unſettled ſtate of affairs in *England* ſeems to have introduced ſome confuſion into the government of *Virginia*, to which one Mr. *Bennet*, and one Mr. *Matthews* ſucceeded by *Cromwell*'s orders. Upon the death of *Matthews*, the people of *Virginia* had ſo grateful a ſenſe of Sir *William Berkley*'s government, that they applied to him to reſume the ſame; but he refuſed to comply, unleſs they would promiſe to ſtand by him in their allegiance to their lawful ſovereign againſt *Cromwell* and all the powers of the uſurpation. This they actually did, though they thereby incurred all the penalties of rebellion; and king *Charles* II. was formally proclaimed all over the province. It happened luckily for Sir *William*, and the *Virginians*, that during theſe tranſactions *Cromwell* died and *Charles* was reſtored; but Sir *William Berkley* received no other reward for his unprecedented loyalty, than being continued in the government of *Virginia*, and made one of the proprietaries of *Carolina*. The firmneſs which the *Virginians* expreſſed in the royal cauſe, drew from the king a particular mark of his favour; for it is ſaid, that ſome part of his habit, at the time of his coronation, was compoſed of *Virginian* ſilk ſent him from the colony. Upon Sir *William Berkley*'s going over to *England* to congratulate his majeſty upon his reſtoration, he ſubſtituted colonel *Meri-*

Bennet, *governor.* Matthews *governor.* *Sir* William Berkley *re-choſen governor.*

ſon

ſon in his government, and he proved a moſt excellent deputy. He collected the laws into one body, and had them confirmed by the aſſembly. He procured laws for promoting and encouraging manufactures of all kinds, particularly thoſe of ſilk, linen, woollen, ſalt, and tanning, and had the pariſh ſettlements ſo well regulated, that all their miniſters were comfortably provided for.

THE welfare of *Virginia*, at this time, was ſo favourite a meaſure with his majeſty, who was himſelf, when he choſe to give application to ſuch matters, a moſt excellent judge of his people's intereſt, that Sir *William Berkley* had many audiences from him upon that head. Among other things the king recommended to him was his peopling *James-Town*, by giving all poſſible encouragement for inhabitants to ſettle there. This was a wiſe proviſion had it been followed; but the planters were ſo fond of living upon their own eſtates, that it was diſregarded, which is the reaſon why, to this day, the towns of *Virginia* are ſo poor in people. In 1662, Sir *William Berkley* returned to his government, and obtained an act of the aſſembly for enlarging *James-Town*, by each county in the province building a certain number of houſes; but this, for the reaſon above-mentioned, proved of little effect. If Sir *William Berkley* was deficient in any part of conduct, as a governor, it was in his prepoſſeſſions againſt the puritans, and procuring too ſevere laws to be made for conformity to the church of *England*, which drove many of the inhabitants into other colonies. *Regulations.*

THE reſtoration having taken place in *England*, many of the republican and *Cromwellian* ſoldiers, were, in their turns, baniſhed to *Virginia*, and their principles gaining ground in the colony, had almoſt ruined it; for the ſervants entered into a conſpiracy to murder their ſuperiors, and render themſelves maſters of the province. *Birkenhead*, one of the conſpirators, ſtruck with remorſe at ſo bloody a purpoſe, revealed it to the government; and a party of militia-horſe was immediately diſpatched to intercept the conſpirators as they were marching towards *Poplar-Spring*, the place they had agreed upon for their rendezvous. This precaution had the deſired effect; for the conſpiracy was defeated, four of the ring-leaders were hanged, and *Birkenhead* was rewarded with 200 *l.* and his freedom. This conſpiracy awakened the attention of the government in *England*, and orders were ſent over for the *Virginians* to build forts and a citadel at *James's-Town* for the protection of the government, in caſe of another conſpiracy or inſurrection of the ſame kind. No money being ordered for thoſe purpoſes, the *Virginians* forgot their *A conſpiracy.*

danger, and the meaſure was neglected; all but the raiſing a ſmall battery of cannon for the protection of *James Town*. As the government in *England* thought they had a right to all the advantages that could ariſe from their colonies, the execution of the navigation-act was enforced with ſome rigour, and no foreign goods were imported into *Virginia*, that were not firſt landed in *England*. This neceſſarily raiſed the price of *European* commodities, and lowered that of tobacco, which created great diſcontents in the colony, eſpecially, as upon all occaſions the planters were undermined by the province of *Maryland*; which being under a ſeparate government, underſold them in their tobacco, and were not liable to any of the acts they paſſed for diſcontinuing the planting of it, till its value ſhould riſe. The *Virginians*, for ſome time, remonſtrated againſt this oppoſition of the *Marylanders*, which they conſidered as being unnatural, but to no purpoſe.

Diſcoveries. ORDERS were ſent from *England*, that all ſhips trading to *Virginia* ſhould ride under certain forts that were to be built upon rivers, and which alone were to be deemed there the ports of trade. In ſpeculation, this was an excellent conſtitution for fortifying the colony; but little regard was paid to it by the planters, who conſidered their own intereſt alone, and carried on their trade in ſuch places as were moſt convenient for themſelves. This, for ſome time, weakened the colony, and during the war between *England* and *Holland* in the reign of *Charles* II. the *Dutch* often took occaſion to inſult its coaſts, and they ſometimes even cut ſhips out of its harbours. Sir *William Berkley* ſtill continued to be governor of *Virginia*, and ſet a moſt noble example, by his own practice, for the coloniſts to improve their manufactures of ſilk, linen, pot-aſhes, and hemp. Fourteen *Engliſh*, and as many *Indians*, were ſent out to make diſcoveries upon the continent, which they found to be very plentiful. They travelled for ſeven days under the command of one captain *Batt*, but coming to a certain boundary, the *Indians*, who attended him, refuſed to go further, becauſe the nations who lived beyond it, deſtroyed all the ſtrangers who came among them.

Bacon's *rebellion.* UPON *Batt*'s return, Sir *William Berkley* was ſo pleaſed with his report that he reſolved to go in perſon, and to improve his diſcoveries, but was prevented by an unexpected rebellion which broke out in the colony. The cauſes of complaint among the inſurgents were, that the price of goods imported into *Virginia* were very high, on account of the impoſts laid upon them in *England*, where their tobacco ſcarcely bore a price to defray their expence of rearing it.

Their

Their next ground of complaint was founded on the grants of lands, included within the original charter of *Virginia*, made to noblemen and others, by which they were not only diſpoſſeſſed of what they conceived to be their property, but thwarted in all the meaſures they took for advancing the intereſts of their own colony. They likewiſe complained of the vaſt taxes they were obliged to pay, and of the moleſtation they met with from the *Indians*; all which they attributed to the ſeverity of the *Engliſh* government, which had no regard to the intereſt or condition of *Virginia*. Thoſe complaints had but too much foundation before the flame of rebellion, which they occaſioned, broke out. One colonel *Park*, and Mr. *Ludwell*, who was ſecretary of the colony, were ſent to *England* at a conſiderable expence, to petition for redreſs; but the ſpirit of the *Engliſh* government, at that time, could bear no ſuch application, and they returned without the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſucceſs.

THE *Indians*, who for ſome years had been very quiet, ſtill conſidered the *Engliſh* as intruders upon their country, and finding great diſcontents among the planters, they began to move towards the head of the bay of *Cheſapeak*, and the planters of *New York*, and other *Engliſh* ſettlements, forming ſeparate intereſts from thoſe of *Virginia*, they encouraged the ſavages to rebel. The conduct of Sir *William Berkley*, though otherwiſe an excellent governor, gave them but too great a handle for this. They complained of the inroads which had been made into their country, as being ſo many preparatives for exterminating them, and that encroachments were every day made upon their properties. Thoſe complaints, whether well or ill-founded, induced the ſavages to commit many barbarities upon the *Engliſh*, which provoked the latter ſo much, that without any regard to government, they demanded arms, which the prerogative principles of *Berkley*, their governor, denied to them, deeming it unlawful for the people to judge of their own intereſts. One colonel *Nathaniel Bacon*, a perſonable young man, of parts and ſpirit, and one, who, perhaps, thought his merit had been neglected, ſtruck in with the reigning diſcontents of the colony, and took every opportunity of exaggerating their miſeries. His addreſs and abilities ſoon gained him followers, and the inferior people of the colony, almoſt to a man, choſe him for their leader againſt the *Indians*. *Bacon* knew the danger of accepting ſuch a commiſſion, without leave or authority, which he demanded from Sir *William Berkley*. The governor, who was an enemy to the leaſt appearance of democratical power, but at the ſame time ſenſible of the dan-

ger of the province, from the ſpirit of the people, triſled with *Bacon*, though without giving him any flat refuſal, on pretence that he muſt conſult his council. *Bacon* knew the meaning of that language, and that it tended only to diſappoint him. He therefore ſtrengthened his intereſt among the lower ranks of the people ſo greatly, that he bade defiance to the governor himſelf, and came to *James-Town* with forty people, not to ſollicit, but to demand his commiſſion.

Bacon arreſted. INSTEAD of appearing as a rebel, he took his ſeat at the council-board, where he laid open the dangerous ſtate of the colony, which was provided with ſufficient powers for its own remedy, were the inhabitants properly armed and authorized. *Berkley* ordered him and his followers to return home, and abſolutely refuſed to grant the commiſſion he demanded; but *Bacon* was no ſooner gone, than the governor reflecting on what had paſſed, and on *Bacon*'s behaviour, arreſted him at *Sandy-Point*, and brought him back to *James-Town*. The principles of the two parties were incompatible: *Bacon* was ſenſible of his intereſt with the people, and diſdained the royal commiſſion, which he ſeemed to ſollicit for. The governor, on the other hand, conſidered *Bacon*'s demand as an inſult upon his maſter, and though he treated *Bacon* with the greateſt regard and tenderneſs towards his perſon, yet he continued to refuſe granting him the commiſſion. In the mean while, the murders and depredations of the *Indians* ſtill encreaſing, and the people being thereby exaſperated beyond all bounds, *Bacon* made his eſcape from *James-Town*, but ſoon returned at the head of ſix or ſeven hundred men, and laid a kind of a ſiege to the ſtate-houſe, where the aſſembly met.

Proceedings of Bacon againſt the governor. MANY of the members in their private ſentiments favoured *Bacon*'s cauſe and ſpirit; and as the ſituation of the province became now a caſe of neceſſity, they in a manner forced *Berkley* to ſign a commiſſion, appointing *Bacon* to the command of all the forces in *Virginia*. *Bacon* no ſooner obtained this commiſſion, than he withdrew; and he no ſooner withdrew, than the governor revoked his commiſſion, proclaimed him a traitor, and commanded all his attendants to diſperſe. *Bacon* had now two enemies to deal with, the *Indians* and the *Engliſh*. The murders committed by the former ſtill continued, but *Bacon* thought that his greateſt danger was to be apprehended from the governor, and his men demanded to be led directly to *James-Town*, where the militia had been raiſed, and all preparations had been made againſt an open rebellion. In their march, they treated the governor's friends and abettors as rebels, by deſtroying their eſtates and plantations. *Berkley* could not aſſemble a force ſufficient

to

to oppoſe them, and he fled to *Accomack*, where he hoped to form a party. In doing this, he in fact abdicated his government, which *Bacon* took upon himſelf; and when he came to *James-Town*, he, by his own authority, and that of four of the council, ſummoned the aſſembly, which accordingly met. Here it was declared, that *Berkley* the governor had fomented the civil war in the province, and by his withdrawing himſelf from *James Town*, had left the people at liberty to ſhift for themſelves, and likewiſe that they juſtified *Bacon* in all his proceedings, and that his army was raiſed for the good of the public.

THE governor, all this while, remained at *Accomack*, where *Bacon*'s intereſt was but weak; and he found means to raiſe ſome forces to oppoſe him. This produced various ſkirmiſhes, to the great deſolation of the colony; and *Berkley* wrote to *England* for ſupplies of every kind. The rebels, for ſo *Bacon*'s people were called, finding *Berkley* exaſperated againſt them beyond all meaſure, affirmed that he had abdicated the government; that *Bacon* was their only lawful governor; and that they were determined to ſtand by him at all events. Both parties made their appeals to *England*, where the newspapers were every day filled with their exploits; but their intereſt at court and in the parliament admitting of no compariſon, *Berkley* received encouragement to perſiſt in making no conceſſions to the rebels, and orders were given for the equipment of a ſquadron of men of war, under Sir *John Berry*, which was to carry over a regiment of ſoldiers for ſuppreſſing the rebellion. By this time, the colony was almoſt completely ruined. The rebels deſtroyed the eſtates of all the royaliſts with the moſt unrelenting fury; and at laſt, *Lawrence*, an officer under *Bacon*, finding his men ſomewhat backward, with his own hands ſet fire to *James-Town*. All that part of *Virginia*, which lies to the weſt of the bay of *Cheſapeak*, was now fully in the power of the rebels, and had they continued to be united among themſelves, the conſequences muſt have been abſolutely irretrievable; for the *Indians*, againſt whom the rebels had declared in the beginning of their inſurrection, taking advantage of the diſtractions among the *Engliſh*, under pretence of aſſiſting *Berkley*, fell upon the frontier ſettlements, where they gave no quarter to age or ſex, and indiſcriminately deſtroyed the plantations of both parties ſo effectually, that it is ſaid, thoſe parts of the colony have not, to this day, recovered their devaſtations.

Succours ſent from England.

IT muſt be acknowledged, that Sir *William Berkley* diſcovered great firmneſs on this occaſion. He animated the officers and gentlemen, who ſtood by him, to a very noble reſiſt-

reſiſtance, till *Berry*'s ſquadron ſhould arrive; but in the mean time, *Bacon* died at a friend's houſe in *Glouceſter-County*, and his party foreſeeing, what ſoon afterwards happened, buried his body ſo ſecretly, that it was not afterwards expoſed to public ignominy, when ſought for by his enemies. The miſeries which deſolation occaſioned, and the death of *Bacon*, brought down the ſpirits of the party. Supplies of proviſion were denied them from *England*, and all her colonies in *America*, and the armament under *Berry* was daily expected. It is to the honour of Sir *William Berkley*'s memory, that he behaved with more moderation after the rebels were in a manner at his feet, than he had done when they were his ſuperiors in number. It is, however, to be obſerved, that *Bacon*'s cauſe had at this time many advocates among the people of *England*, and even in the parliament itſelf; ſo that the court-party, though they diſliked the principles of it, behaved with lenity towards its authors, who were by far the greateſt number of the coloniſts. Colonel *Ingram*, and colonel *Walklate*, who had been the chief officers under *Bacon*, ſubmitted, on the receiving from *Berkley* a promiſe of pardon; but it does not appear, that he had any formal authority for this from *England*; nor were any of the chiefs of the party admitted into their former poſts under the government. The arrival of Sir *John Berry* with his ſquadron and the ſoldiers, which happened in *February*, 1677, completed the tranquillity of the province; and though commiſſioners, (of whom the lord *Colepepper* was the firſt) were appointed to enquire into the cauſes of the late rebellion, and to try the delinquents, yet nothing was done in conſequence of the commiſſion, as we ſhall have occaſion ſoon to obſerve.

Death of Bacon, *and*

his rebellion ſuppreſſed.

THOUGH the rebellion was thus ſuppreſſed, it was thought proper to keep in pay the ſoldiers who came over with *Berry*, and Sir *William Berkley* reſolving to viſit *England*, appointed *Herbert Jeffreys*, Eſq; to be his deputy-governor; but Sir *William* died ſo ſoon after his arrival in his native country, that he had not the honour he ſo ardently wiſhed for, of receiving in perſon his majeſty's thanks for the ſervices he had done him. It muſt be acknowledged, that he was a very extraordinary man, by being able, during the ſpace of almoſt forty years, to keep up the ſpirit of loyalty in *Virginia*, under the prodigious difficulties he had to encounter, and at laſt to leave it in tranquillity, without ſhedding a drop of blood after the rebels had ſubmitted. *Jeffreys*, after the departure of *Berkley*, had given orders for an aſſembly to meet at *Middle-Plantation*, now called *Williamſburgh*, which had been ſo lately the chief ſeat of rebellion, and the *Indians* had an in-

Jeffreys, *deputy-governor.*

invitation there to treat of a peace, which they joyfully accepted of. Care was taken that this meeting ſhould be as ſplendid as poſſible, to impreſs the ſavages with a high idea of the *Engliſh*; and it was fixed for the 29th of *May*, the birth and reſtoration-day of *Charles* II. that they might have a greater opportunity to expreſs their loyalty. The queen of *Pamunke* accordingly appeared in the aſſembly, at the head of the chief *Indians*. Silence was proclaimed, the articles of peace, which had been drawn up by the deputy-governor, were read and explained by interpreters, and the queen being admitted within the bars of the court, moſt chearfully ſigned the treaty in behalf of herſelf and the other chiefs; and all other ceremonies of ratifying and exchanging it being performed, the whole of it was concluded by a general diſcharge of all the artillery. After this, her majeſty and the chiefs were highly regaled by the *Engliſh*, and next day returned home in the beſt of humours. The terms of this peace had been dictated, as well as drawn up, by the deputy-governor, and whatever the inclinations of the ſavages might have been, they never have had it in their power, ſince that time, to give the *Engliſh* any material diſturbance. *Peace with the* Indians.

THE year after this treaty was made, Mr. *Jeffreys* died, and was ſucceeded, as deputy-governor, (for lord *Colepepper*, who was then in *England*, had been appointed chief governor) by Sir *Henry Chickely*. This gentleman prevailed with the aſſembly to build forts at the head of their four great rivers, where garriſons were kept for bridling the *Indians*; and the ſame aſſembly obſerving, that the people of *Carolina* and *Maryland* yearly ſhipped off from *Virginia* large quantities of tobacco, they paſſed an act againſt ſuch practices for the future, that they might engroſs to themſelves all the advantages of their ſituation. In 1679, the lord *Colepepper* arrived at his government of *Virginia*. The ſtate of this province had been well conſidered in *England*, and beſides the commiſſion we have already mentioned, for trying *Bacon*'s followers, he carried over with him ſuch inſtructions from the *Engliſh* miniſtry, as in fact unhinged the conſtitution of the colony, and changed its government into a precarious dependence upon the crown. The aſſembly were ſenſible of the vaſt powers with which he was armed; and therefore, without putting him to the trouble of employing any menaces, they paſſed many of his bills into acts, and he agreed to ſuch bills that were preſented to him, as might conduce to the territorial peace and intereſt of the colony. His own ſalary was not forgot, and inſtead of contenting himſelf with 1000 *l.* a year, which had been the appointment of his predeceſſors, he Chickely, *deputy-governor.*

he in a manner obliged the aſſembly to grant him 2000*l.* beſides 150*l.* a year for houſe-rent. As preſents of wine and proviſions had been uſually made by the maſters of ſhips to the governor, this lord converted that cuſtom into a certain revenue. He obliged every maſter to pay him twenty ſhillings for each ſhip under 100 tons burden, and thirty for all above it; and this impoſition has prevailed ever ſince, though it was founded on no act of the aſſembly.

Lord Colepepper's arbitrary proceedings,

As his lordſhip was determined to make but a ſhort ſtay in *Virginia*, he reſolved to make the beſt, of his powers, for his own intereſt. The current coin of the colony was in value far lower than the ſame pieces were in the neighbouring countries. This proved ſo irreſiſtible a temptation for traders to export it, that the aſſembly ſaw their colony in danger of loſing all their currency in ſpecie, and therefore they ordered in a bill to raiſe the value of it to a par with their neighbours. The lord *Colepepper* very properly told them, that it was not in his power to paſs ſuch a bill, becauſe it interfered with that part of the prerogative which gave the king a right to alter the value of money as he ſhould think proper; but he added, that he was empowered as his majeſty's repreſentative to anſwer their ends equally as well, by iſſuing a proclamation, which would have the ſame effect in that particular as an act. The aſſembly ſaw the tendency of this doctrine, but durſt not oppoſe it; and his lordſhip made the beſt uſe of the intermediate time in buying up all the light pieces of eight at five ſhillings, and then raiſing their value to ſix by proclamation. But this happened to be an unſucceſsful expedient. It is true, he iſſued his currency at the advanced price, and obliged the *Engliſh* regiment that had been brought over by Sir *John Berry*, to receive them at that rate; but when he came to be paid his own ſalary, his duty, and ſhipping, and the other parts of the revenue, in thoſe light pieces, he found that he had loſt more than he gained by his proclamation, not to mention that his government was endangered by a mutiny of the ſoldiers.

Besides this arbitrary proceeding in the affair of coinage, his lordſhip was daily giving the *Virginians* freſh provocation, in repealing, by proclamation, the acts of the aſſembly, and giving them to underſtand that their validity depended only on his pleaſure. Two conſiderations prevented the *Virginians* from reſenting his conduct by a rebellion. The firſt was, that the common people had ſuffered ſo much by that which had been but lately ſuppreſſed, that they had neither the means nor the ſpirit, to enter into a freſh one. The next was, that his lordſhip, in all matters that did not affect his own

own powers as governor, ſhewed himſelf very ready in promoting every meaſure that could be of ſervice to the colony. But thoſe conſiderations did not prevent the aſſembly from coming to ſome very vigorous reſolutions againſt his unwarrantable ſtretches of power. Upon his leaving *Virginia*, where he did not remain for above a year, he appointed Sir *Henry Chickely* to be his deputy-governor. The colony had now recovered ſo well from its late loſſes, that the planters made more tobacco than they could get vent for. This glut was in ſome meaſure as detrimental to them, as a ſcarcity would have been, and the poorer ſort perceiving that the commodity fell ſo much in its value, that it did not afford them the ſame profits as heretofore, entered into a combination to deſtroy all their own and their neighbours plants. This frantic reſolution was in part executed by the lower ranks of the inhabitants, who firſt deſtroyed their own plants, and then fell upon thoſe of their neighbours; but the deſolation they made, preſented ſuch ſcenes, as damped their courage, and many of them being ſeized, were tried and executed for felony; the cutting up tobacco-plants being adjudged to be ſuch. We have ſeveral times had an opportunity of animadverting on the arbitrary diſpoſal of *American* lands by the crown, or rather the favourites of the crown at home. It is true, the firſt adventurers being under contracts with the government, the crown had a right to ſtand upon the performance; but after the lands ſo diſcovered were ſettled and improved at the expence of the coloniſts, and under the grants of the government, none but the coloniſts themſelves could have any property in thoſe lands; but this capital maxim of juſtice was often ſet aſide; ſometimes by the forfeiture of the patentees, ſometimes by neglects or inability to perform their engagements; ſometimes by finding flaws in their patents, and other frivolous pretexts. A large tract of land in *Virginia*, called the *Northern Neck*, had been granted to the earl of *St. Albans*, and other proprietors; but it was now re-granted to lord *Colepepper*. This tract contained ſeveral counties, which had a right to ſend repreſentatives to parliament; but the inhabitants conceiving that they muſt ſuffer by being put under a proprietary direction, brought an appeal before the aſſembly againſt his lordſhip's claim.

reſented by the aſſembly.

Caſe of the Northern Neck.

THIS was a tender point, conſidering the tenacious diſpoſitions of the *Virginians*. But to do lord *Colepepper* juſtice, he ſeems to have proceeded with great caution and equity; for he ſatisfied all the former proprietors in their fair demands, though he ſaw, that without ſome new authority from *England*, it would be impoſſible for him to bring the aſſembly over

over to his views. For that purpoſe, he fomented an emulation between the aſſembly and the council, by encouraging the former to inſiſt upon the ſole right of judging appeals, but at the ſame time, he repreſented matters ſo at home, as to procure an order, veſting that right ſolely in the governor and council. This order entirely altered the powers which the aſſembly had hitherto thought themſelves poſſeſſed of; but lord *Colepepper*, far from making any undue advantage of a circumſtance ſo much in his favour, did not ſeek to avail himſelf of the royal grant, but endeavoured, by all means, to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants of the *Northern Neck* to his proprietaryſhip. Several gentlemen, of great property, who had been ſettled there, joined with him, and undertook to bring over the inhabitants, but all was to no purpoſe, for the majority of them carried their complaints before the aſſembly, and they petitioned the king; but having no agent in *England*, they met with no ſucceſs. At laſt, the inhabitants perceiving that they maintained a deſperate cauſe, compounded with the proprietor, and paid him their quit-rents, and this eſtate is now in the poſſeſſion of lord *Fairfax*, a deſcendant of that lord who married lord *Colepepper*'s daughter, whoſe ſon immediately went over to *Virginia* to ſettle all matters relating to this valuable acquiſition.

In the mean while, the lord *Colepepper* omitted nothing that could contribute to the proſperity of the province of *Virginia*. He baniſhed from their courts of law the low practices which had long oppreſſed the ſuitors, and are a reproach to the profeſſion. He reduced the public expences of the colony, eſpecially by demoliſhing *Chickely*'s forts, which had been found to be very burdenſome, without anſwering the great expence of maintaining them, and in their place he ſubſtituted certain troops of horſe, which ſcoured the country, and checked the natives, who were now too much reduced to make any dangerous efforts againſt the colony. In 1683, he returned to *England*, after having, by his own authority, appointed one Mr. *Spencer*, in preference of older members, to be preſident of the council; by which the adminiſtration of the province fell upon him during the abſence of the governor and his deputy. Lord *Colepepper* was ſucceeded in his government by the lord *Howard* of *Effingham*. This nobleman is accuſed of having outdone lord *Colepepper* in all his arbitrary proceedings, without receiving the like benefits from his adminiſtration. Equally mean as imperious, he obliged the clerks and underlings of his courts to give him a ſhare of their fees. Taking advantage of a ſimilar inſtitution in *England*, he obliged lawyers to take out licences before

Lord Colepepper *returns to* England.

Arbitrary adminiſtration of lord Effingham Howard, *governor.*

fore they could plead, and ſchoolmaſters before they could teach. He introduced exorbitant expences into all the teſtamentary proceedings, and keeping up to the full of his prerogative powers, he impriſoned the inhabitants by his own authority, without bringing them to a trial. He ſubſtituted his proclamations inſtead of laws, and even pretended that they could repeal ſtanding laws. The judges, however, without regarding thoſe proclamations, paid the ſame regard to the laws as formerly. In the governor's patent he had a power of exacting the quit-rent in money; but by an act of the aſſembly, the planters were at liberty to pay it in tobacco, at 2 d. a pound. When that commodity fell in its value, the governor iſſued a proclamation, repealing that law, and inſiſted upon the quit-rents being paid either in money, or tobacco at 1 d. a pound, a hardſhip to which the *Virginians*, on account of the expreſs words of the patent, were obliged to ſubmit to. They had the ſpirit, however, to ſend over one colonel *Ludwell*, as their agent to *England*, to petition his majeſty for redreſs of the grievances which they ſuffered under lord *Effingham*'s adminiſtration; but they were ſo far from obtaining it, that upon the acceſſion of *James* II. the impoſts upon tobacco were encreaſed to ſuch a degree, as muſt have entirely ruined that trade, had not other colonies, both *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Engliſh*, diſcontinued the raiſing of tobacco, becauſe they found more account in other commodities.

Lord *Effingham*, during his government, finding that the ſtate-houſe at *James-Town* had not been rebuilt ſince it was laid in aſhes by colonel *Lawrence*, prevailed with the aſſembly to lay a duty upon all liquors imported from other plantations for rebuilding the ſame. Under pretence that he was, by his patent, inveſted with a chancery-power, he erected a court, under that name, in which he ſat himſelf, employing his counſellors as maſters in chancery, exacting moſt exorbitant fees, and ſetting aſide all the chancery-juriſdiction, that had always, ſince the firſt conſtitution of the colony, reſided in the general court, who, notwithſtanding, reſumed it upon his lordſhip's departure for *England*. This happened ſoon after the Revolution, when his lordſhip, upon his departure, appointed colonel *Nathaniel Bacon*, father to the famous rebel of that name, to be preſident of the province. During this gentleman's adminiſtration, the project for a college was preſented to him and his council, who approved of it, and referred it to the aſſembly.

He returns to England. Bacon, *preſident.*

Francis Nicholſon, Eſq; was appointed lieutenant-governor of the province under lord *Effingham*. He was a gentleman un-

Nicholſon, *governor.*

unexceptionably well qualified for this poſt, and brought over with him a ſcheme of government far more liberal and public ſpirited than any that the *Virginians* had yet experienced. Among the firſt exerciſes of his government was his reſuming the plan that had been propoſed for a college, and which ſeems to have been ſuſpended, for a ſhort time, for want of money to carry it on. By Mr. *Nicholſon*'s advice and aſſiſtance, books were opened, and 2500 *l.* was ſoon ſubſcribed, and other conſiderable donations came over from the *Virginian* merchants in *London*. Upon ſo fair a foundation the affair was moved in the aſſembly, where it was ſo well received, that an addreſs was drawn up to king *William* and queen *Mary*, praying for a charter to eſtabliſh it; and the reverend Mr. *Blair* was ſent over to *England* to ſollicit it. The addreſs met with all the encouragement which the moſt ſanguine of the projectors could have expected. Dr. *Thomas Bray*, a zealous clergymen of the church of *England*, was appointed preſident of the future college; and he laid out a conſiderable ſum for a library which he was to carry over with him, beſides engaging ſeveral learned gentlemen who were to be fellows and profeſſors. It happened, however, that either the money which had been ſubſcribed was inſufficient, or had not been paid in, which put a freſh ſtop to the project; but this inconveniency was likewiſe removed by their majeſties, and ſome of the principal nobility, clergy, and gentry in *England*, generouſly contributing their benefactions. A ſufficiency of money being thus provided, the ſcheme was afterwards carried into execution, and the building itſelf was erected upon a very noble plan, drawn by Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, with all the magnificence, conveniences, gardens, walks, porticos, apartments, and other decorations, that are to be found in *European* inſtitutions of the ſame kind, with moderate appointments for the profeſſors, among whom is a maſter for teaching *Indian* youths. This college has been ſince greatly improved, and by the meaſures that have been taken ſince the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, under his royal patronage, it bids fair to be one of the ſeats of ſcience, and the polite arts. It is, notwithſtanding, to be hoped, that this paſſion for learning never ſhall carry our planters into purſuits inconſiſtent with thoſe of induſtry and commerce, and that they never will make uſe of the generous encouragement that has been furniſhed them by their mother-country, for diſputing or evading the dependence and allegiance they owe her.

The college erected.

Good government of Mr. Nicholſon.

Mr. *Nicholſon*, far from imitating his predeceſſors in ſeparating the intereſts of the government from thoſe of the people

ple, omitted no means to ingratiate himſelf with the provincials. He invited and encouraged all ſchemes that were laid before him for improving the ſoil or territory of the colony; and he exhibited prizes to ſuch of the common people as excelled in athletic exerciſes; a moſt excellent policy in a country that lies in the neighbourhood of ſavages. Notwithſtanding all his cares, the *Virginians*, like the *Canadians*, never could be brought into the practice of cohabitation, that is, of living together in large towns, and for the ſame reaſon; becauſe every one choſe to cultivate that ſpot of ground that lay moſt convenient for his own eaſe and intereſt. But in this the *Virginians* were far more defenſible than the *French Canadians*, they having, by this time, no reaſon to apprehend thoſe dreadful irruptions of the ſavages that had ſo often depopulated *New France*. During Mr. *Nicholſon*'s government, a cohabitation-act paſſed; but it was ſo far from having effect, that the greateſt part of *James-Town* ſtill continued to lie in aſhes, or to be uninhabited, and no new towns were built. After all, though cohabitation may be extremely commodious for the revenue, and the great traders, yet ſome have doubted whether it would contribute to the real intereſt of the colony, as the living in ſeparate dwellings keeps the price of labour low, and prevents that luxury and thoſe vices that prove ſo detrimental, and often deſtructive, to many individuals in large cities. During Mr. *Nicholſon*'s government, ſeveral acts likewiſe paſſed for the encouragement of the linen, leather, and other manufactures; and he acquired the eſteem of all the inhabitants by his affability, and the great attention he always paid to the legiſlature of the province.

In 1692, to the amazement of the public, lord *Effingham* being removed from his government of *Virginia*, Sir *Edmund Andros* ſucceeded him. He had been, as we have already ſeen, extremely obnoxious for his arbitrary proceedings as governor in other provinces of *America*, during the late reigns, and it was thought would have been ſeverely, if not capitally puniſhed, inſtead of being rewarded with the government of *Virginia*. We can account for this extraordinary ſtep only, by ſuppoſing that the *Engliſh* miniſtry was then held by tories, which often happened to be the caſe in king *William*'s reign; and that *Andros* was poſſeſſed of abilities for a governor, which he had proſtituted only to the intereſts of his ſuperiors. Somewhat of this kind ſeems to be true; for it is generally allowed, that he was far from being a bad governor of *Virginia*, where he arrived in *February*. As the *Engliſh* merchants, and maſters of ſhips, trading to *Virginia*, See Vol. XXXIX. p. 312, 313.

diſliked the cohabitation-act, which, in the end, would have reſtricted them to certain ports, Sir *Edmund* carried over with him inſtructions to procure the repeal of it by the aſſembly, in which he ſucceeded. A patent was laid before the ſame aſſembly, for making Mr. *Neal*, a projector of thoſe days, poſtmaſter-general of *Virginia*, and other parts of *America*; but though the aſſembly paſſed an act in favour of this patent, it had no effect; it being impoſſible to carry it into execution by reaſon of the ſtraggling ſituation of the provincial dwellings. In 1693, ſo dreadful a ſtorm happened in *Virginia*, and its neighbourhood, as ſeemed to reverſe the courſe of nature, by ſome rivers being ſtopped up, and channels opened for others that were even navigable.

His adminiſtration,

THE great objection which lay againſt the government of *Andros*, was, his attempts to reduce the conſtitution of *Virginia* to a nearer conformity with that of *England*. This was vigorouſly oppoſed by the *Virginians*, who thought it would weaken the authority of the aſſembly, whoſe acts they looked upon to be the beſt ſecurity they had for their eſtates. In other reſpects, Sir *Edmund* diſcharged the duties of a good governor. He encouraged manufactures of all kinds, fulling-mills, and the propagation of cotton. He regulated the public offices, into which great abuſes had crept ſince *Bacon*'s rebellion. He collected, and put in order, all the regiſters and public papers of the province, and ſhortened the expence of time in law and commercial proceedings. In ſhort, he was in a fair way of retrieving his character when he was recalled. About this time, *viz.* in 1697, the *Engliſh* ſquadron under admiral *Nevil*, which had gone in purſuit of *de Pointis*, was obliged to ſtop at *Virginia*, carrying with them an infectious diſtemper, which killed the admiral, and the moſt conſiderable officers of his ſquadron, both *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, and communicated itſelf to the *Virginians*, of whom great numbers died, eſpecially at *James-Town*. A whig-adminiſtration now prevailing in *England*, Mr. *Nicholſon*, who was in *Maryland*, was nominated to the government of *Virginia*, and he immediately removed the courts of juſtice, his own reſidence, and the ſeat of provincial buſineſs from *James-Town*, to *Middle Plantation*, to which he gave the name of *Williamſburg*. He then laid out a town in the form of a W, either from the low conceit of paying a compliment to the initial letter of that monarch's name, or becauſe the nature of the ground beſt admitted of a city in that form. It was here the college we have already mentioned was erected, as was, oppoſite to it, by the governor's direction, a ſtately fabric which he termed the capitol, and the founda-

and recal.

Mr. Nicholſon, *chief governor.*

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tions of many new, and in that province, magnificent buildings were laid. All this could not be done without great expence, which fell upon the colony. Such of the planters as had few or no ideas of public elegance and magnificence, repined at the ſums levied, and the rather, becauſe the crops that year were remarkably ſhort, and their labourers ſickly. A tax of fifteen ſhillings was impoſed upon every Chriſtian ſervant, and twenty upon every negro; and thoſe expences grew the more inſupportable by the war, which was then ready to break out between *France* and *England*, and the ſwarms of privateers and pirates that infeſted the coaſts of *Virginia*.

Pirates hanged.

AMONG others, in the year 1700, a *French* pirate, or, as he was called, a privateer, arrived at the mouth of *James-River*, where he intercepted ſome merchant-ſhips bound for *London*; but a ſmall veſſel ſlipping by him, advertiſed captain *Paſſenger* of the *Shoreham* man of war of what had happened, and he getting his ſhip ready, came up to the pirate and forced him to ſurrender. It was about this time, that a fort was projected at *New-York*, which was to be provided with a regular garriſon. The people of *New York*, unable of themſelves to be at this expence, repreſented, by their agents, to king *William*, that as the province of *Virginia* would be greatly benefitted by the erection of the ſaid fort, which would ſecure them againſt the invaſions of the *French* and *Indians*, they ought to be at ſome part of this expence, at leaſt as far as 900 *l.* Governor *Nicholſon*, happening himſelf to be of the ſame opinion, undertook to carry this affair through the aſſembly, to which it was referred from *England:* but here it met with a very different reception from what he expected; for the aſſembly remonſtrated, "That neither the forts then in being, nor any other that might be built in the province of *New-York*, could in the leaſt avail to the defence and ſecurity of *Virginia*; for that either the *French*, or the *Indians*, might invade that colony, and not come within an hundred miles of any ſuch fort." This diſappointment did not relax the zeal of the governor for the good of the province; and looking upon himſelf to be in ſome meaſure anſwerable for the money, he immediately ſet out for *New York*, where he gave his bills for the ſame; and threw himſelf entirely upon the generoſity of queen *Anne*, who was, by this time upon the throne of *England*, for his indemnification. In all other parts of his conduct, he ſhewed himſelf equally generous and publick-ſpirited, having laid it down as a principle, and a moſt excellent one it was, that all the *Engliſh* provinces on the continent of *America*, ought to be confederated in one

His generoſity.

common intereſt, and contribute equally, according to the abilities, to defend themſelves againſt the *French* and *Indians*.

The earl of Orkney, governor.

DURING his government, the *Virginians* having received moſt wonderful accounts of the benefits that would riſe to the province from the introduction of camels, who are able to carry 1200 weight, gave a commiſſion to ſome Guinea traders, who brought over ſeveral of them to *Virginia*; but there, as in *Barbados*, the climate was unfavourable to the conſtitution of thoſe animals, and the project came to nothing. About this time, the war breaking out between *France* and *England*, the governor found it neceſſary to lay an embargo upon the ſhipping in *Virginia*, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Some time after, an unuſual hurricane happened at *Virginia*, which did prodigious damage to the ſhips belonging to the province, as well as to its plantations. In other reſpects, the government of *Virginia*, at this time, experienced a greater degree of tranquillity than any of the neighbouring colonies; and the miniſtry of *England* thinking proper to employ Mr. *Nicholſon* in more active branches of its ſervice, he was called to *England* in 1704, and ſucceeded in his government by the earl of *Orkney*. The truth is, as the *Virginians* were leſs expoſed than many other of the *Engliſh* colonies to the attacks of the enemy, the miniſtry appropriated from that time 1200 *l.* of the 2000 granted to the governor, as an appointment for ſome nobleman or other, during his life, whom they could not provide ſo conveniently for in any other manner; and his lordſhip happened to be firſt who obtained this fine-cure. That this government is ſuch, appears from the arrangements made by the miniſtry at home; for the lieutenant-governor who reſides in the province, has his commiſſion from the crown, under the great ſeal, equally as the chief governor, and is inveſted with the ſame powers as the latter would be, was he actually upon the ſpot. The *Virginians* complained that they were loaded with the payment of 12,00 *l.* a year, without receiving from it the ſmalleſt benefit; but all the redreſs they received, was an intimation that they would find it highly for their benefit to have a powerful protector in the name of chief governor, always reſiding in *England* to favour their ſuits. This, however, was far from being the caſe with regard to the earl of *Orkney*, who had a commiſſion in the army, and generally was upon ſervice in *Flanders*. He held the nominal commiſſion for above thirty-ſix years; and his firſt lieutenant-governor was *Edward Notte*, Eſq. Nothing memorable happened during the adminiſtration of the latter, but his prevailing with the aſſembly to provide a fund for

and Notte, lieutenant-governor.

erect-

erecting a handſome houſe for the governor at *Williamſburg*; and, upon his death, brigadier *Hunter*, whom we have already mentioned in the hiſtory of *Jamaica*, ſucceeded him. He was a gentleman of great abilities, but he had no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in this government, from which he was removed to that of *Jamaica*. He was ſucceeded as lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, by colonel *Alexander Spotſwood*, nor indeed could the crown, through all its dominions, have pitched upon an abler man for this department: He thoroughly underſtood the intereſts and nature of the provincials he was to govern; and, being an excellent mathematician, he laid out the ſpots for new plantations and roads, which rendered the province far more commodious and ſecure than it had ever been before. Obſerving the great diſadvantages of trading with the *Indians*, without proper regulations, he formed ſchemes for that purpoſe, which proved of infinite ſervice to the colony; and he even found out means to give the children of thoſe ſavages ſuch an education as to render them uſeful to the *Engliſh*, by raiſing a fund for that purpoſe. Spotſwood, *lieutenant-governor*;

As tobacco was the ſtaple commodity of *Virginia*, Mr. *Spotſwood* obſerved, with no little concern, that by the abuſes introduced into that trade, it had come into ſome diſrepute at the *Engliſh* and other markets. Had thoſe practices continued, the province muſt have ſoon been ruined; for which reaſon, Mr. *Spotſwood* carried through a law, which, though afterwards repealed, was undoubtedly well-intended for the general good of the colony; for it provided, that all tobacco which were to be carried from *Virginia*, ſhould be lodged in warehouſes, and there examined as to its quality and goodneſs. After the peace of *Utrecht*, it was thought high time for the *Engliſh* inhabitants of *Virginia*, if poſſible, to acquire ſome knowlege of the countries lying beyond the *Apalachian* mountains; and governor *Spotſwood* reſolved to proſecute that important diſcovery in perſon. This was the more neceſſary, as the *French* had made it a capital maxim in their *American* policy, to conceal all the country between thoſe mountains and the *Miſſiſſippi* from the *Engliſh*, who knew no more of them than what they had from a few ſtraggling travellers and *Indians*. Having performed this painful expedition, when he returned to *Virginia* he gave orders for trying eight pirates, four of whom were executed, who had appeared in the province, but were diſcovered in the diſguiſe of traders. When the war with *Spain* broke out about the year 1718, a project was ſet on foot for the raiſing a great continental force of the *Engliſh*, which was to attack the *Spaniſh* ſettlements to- *his excellent adminiſtration.*

wards the weſt; and governor *Spotſwood* was, in the opinion of the public, and indeed of the government, pointed out as the moſt proper perſon for heading that momentous expedition. He had drawn up a plan for that purpoſe, which, with the aſſiſtance of the *Britiſh* inſular colonies, would probably have ſhaken the *Spaniſh* dominions in thoſe parts; but the politics of *Europe*, at that time, did not ſo much as admit of its being attempted. A peace being clapped up, it was thought Mr. *Spotſwood* did no ſervice to his private fortune, by inſiſting upon the practicability of his plan, and requiring that the people and friends he had employed ſhould be indemnified for their expence and trouble. On the other hand, ſome of the *Virginians* themſelves thought that governor *Spotſwood* was too well converſant in their affairs, and practiſed ſeveral low arts to obtain his removal, which was at laſt effected; and *Hugh Dryſdale*, Eſq; was, under the ſeal of *Orkney*, appointed lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, where he arrived in 1723. As to the late lieutenant-governor, he remained in *America*, and upon the breaking out of the war with *Spain* in 1739, the government thought fit to adopt his projects; and orders were iſſued for a very great force to be aſſembled on the continent of the *Engliſh America*; the command of which, it was generally believed, would have been given to colonel *Spotſwood*, had he not died in the mean time. The *French* ſoon after entering into the war, and new alterations happening in the affairs of *Europe*, all thoughts of this expedition were likewiſe dropt, that the operations might be the more vigorouſly carried on againſt the *French*.

Mr. Dryſdale, *lieutenant-governor.*

Mr. *Gooch* ſucceeded Mr. *Dryſdale* as lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, and bore a great ſhare in his own perſon, of the war with *France* and *Spain*, that was terminated by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle* in 1748. But as the particulars of that war are to be found in the preceding parts of this work, we cannot repeat them here, and the province affords, during that period, little or no other hiſtorical matter. Under the government of Mr. *Dinwiddie*, during the late war, *Virginia* happened to take the lead in the alarms which were ſent over to *England* concerning the encroachments of the *French* upon that province. Mr. *Dinwiddie*, upon this important occaſion, behaved with great addreſs and ſpirit; and it is but doing him juſtice to ſay, that he was the firſt of the *Britiſh* governors in *America*, who penetrated into the real deſigns of the *French* to cut the *Engliſh* off from all the *Indian* trade to the weſtward, and even to encroach upon their back ſettlements. So early as *October* 1753, he diſpatched a meſ-

Gooch, *lieutenant-governor.*

Dinwiddie, *lieutenant-governor.*

ſenger to the banks of the *Ohio* to obſerve the progreſs of the *French* there. The meſſenger was very well received, and entertained by the *French*, who made it no ſecret that they were ſettled there to the number of 1500 regulars; that they had built three forts, which they were determined to keep, and that too upon lands which the government of *Great Britain* had thought to belong to them, and which they had actually granted to ſome gentlemen in *London* and *Virginia*, who were to be incorporated under the title of the *Ohio* company; and then they diſmiſſed the meſſenger with a guard of 200 men, to protect him from the ſavages. Theſe facts being eſtabliſhed beyond all contradiction, Mr. *Dinwiddie* tranſmitted them to the government of *Great Britain*; and Sir *Thomas Robinſon*, then ſecretary of ſtate, directed Mr. *Dinwiddie* to procure, in his province, a ſufficient quantity of freſh proviſions for the uſe of the forces that were to be immediately employed againſt the *French*, and to be commanded by general *Braddock*. In conſequence of his inſtructions, Mr. *Dinwiddie* called together the aſſembly of *Virginia*, and laid before them the dangers that threatened them, with a detail of the meaſures which they were to purſue, eſpecially in keeping up a proper correſpondence between their army and *Williamſburg*, and for furniſhing proviſions to the ſubalterns in the eaſieſt manner. At the ſame time, by command of his majeſty, he laid before them an inſtruction he had received for paſſing an act of inſolvency. The reader, in other parts of this work, may perceive the glorious effects which thoſe vigorous meaſures were attended with, and which terminated in the reduction of all the *French* territories in *North America*, and their ceſſion to the crown of *Great Britain*. We ſhall, therefore, proceed to give ſome account, and that too from better authorities than have been hitherto publiſhed, of the antient inhabitants of this province, at the time when they were firſt viſited by the *Engliſh*, and this from the Memoirs of Mr. *Hariot*, a domeſtic of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and by him ſent to take a ſurvey of this mother province.

His inſtructions againſt the French.

WHEN the *Engliſh* firſt arrived off *Virginia*, they were received by the natives with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment; but the new viſitors ſoon convinced them, as they perfectly underſtood the language of ſigns, that they carried with them no hoſtile intentions, and therefore they returned to their ſhips, from whence the *Engliſh* were conducted to the manſion of one of their petty kings, whom the moſt authentic accounts [p] term their

Account of the antient Virginians *from the moſt antient authorities.*

[p] HARIOT, apud de Bry. p. 2. of the cuts.

weroans, who was, it ſeems, maſter of only one town, to which they were guided. This prince, though at firſt, terrified by the appearance of the ſtrangers, entertained them hoſpitably; and the *Engliſh* had leiſure to become acquainted with the habits and diſpoſitions of the natives. They were, in general, dreſt in the ſkins of deer, or other wild beaſts, which hung before their middle, but all the reſt of their bodies was naked. Their arms were bows, made of hazel, and arrows of reeds; but how theſe were pointed, we are not informed. They likewiſe wielded bludgeons, each about three feet long; but all their defenſive armour conſiſted of ſhields, made of the bark of trees, and a kind of wicker-armour, which they made uſe of in time of war. Notwithſtanding this, it is certain, that thoſe ſavages were far from being ſo barbarous as thoſe the *French* found in *Canada*, or as they have been repreſented by our own writers. They of *Secota*, one of their provinces, had among them, beſides their king, a degree of nobility, who were more elegant in their dreſſes, particularly their hair, which they formed in various ſhapes, and adorned with the fineſt feathers they could procure. From their ears hung either large pearls, the feet of birds, or ſuch other ornaments, as the wearers fancied; and they painted both their faces and bodies. Round their neck, and upon their arms, they wore chains and bracelets of pearl, to which, after their acquaintance with the *Engliſh*, they preferred bits of braſs; and their ſkins were ſo neatly fitted round their middle, that the tail of the creature always hung behind between their buttocks. Such was the dreſs in which they appeared on ſolemn occaſions; but when they went to war, they painted themſelves in as horrible a manner as they could.

THEIR women were naturally well-ſhaped; and when their married ladies came abroad, their ſkin-coverings were more elegant than thoſe of the men, and concealed the whole of their bodies, behind as well as before. They cut the fore part of their hair ſhort, and wore a kind of a chaplet round their temples; but they took took care to diſfigure their faces, legs, and arms, with punctures and painting; and the chains and bracelets they wore were full of the ſame. The better ſort wore pearl-bracelets, and others bracelets of bones, exquiſitely well poliſhed. They took great delight in walking by the ſides of rivers, and in hunting and fiſhing. Their prieſts were generally men advanced in age; they ſuffered the fore hair of their heads to grow, and kept all the reſt cloſely cut; and they wore a cloak, that reached from their neck almoſt to their knees, of the very fineſt ſkins their country afforded,

afforded, and went quite round their bodies. The dreſs of the young ladies in general reſembled that of the married ones, only their hair was more elegantly plaited, and tied up behind. In ſome provinces, the ladies wore long ſtrings of triple or quadruple rows of pearl round their necks, in which they ſlung their left arm. Their old men were more comfortably cloathed than their youth, for they wore cloaks of ſkins, that reached from their ſhoulders almoſt to their feet, but leaving their right arm naked and at liberty. The women had a peculiar way of carrying their children at their backs; but we find, that in ſome of the provinces, their bodies were without punctures or painting. The people, in general, were much addicted to a ſet of jugglers, who pretended to predict future events, and by ſometimes gueſſing right, obtained great credit. But the moſt extraordinary circumſtance, (and which we believe has not been taken notice of by late accounts) attending the antient *Virginians*, was their having the uſe of characters, the forms of ſome of which we have, in *de Bry*, copied from the originals by Mr. *White*. Thoſe characters are various, and far from being inelegant; but were impreſſed upon the bare backs of the natives, as ſo many ſignatures, to denote the province, tribe, or prince, to which they belonged. The ſtamp of four arrows denoted ſovereignty; the ſtamp of one, a relation to the prince. How far thoſe characters reached, we are at a loſs to ſay.

Their manner of cookery.

THOUGH the native *Virginians* knew not the uſe of iron, yet they had a wonderful art of felling the bodies of large trees, and of excavating them by the force of fire, which they managed with moſt ſurpriſing ſkill, by means of ſmall fans, rendering it fiercer or gentler, to the very pitch they wanted. They poliſhed the excavation by ſhells, which they ſharpened, and made uſe of, for that purpoſe, till a perfect canoe was made; and, indeed, conſidering the ſimplicity of their utenſils and materials, their operations in all the mechanics they practiſed, is almoſt incredible. The chief uſe to which they put their canoes when fabricated, was to go a-fiſhing in them, in which they were ſo dextrous, that they excelled all the *Europeans* in that exerciſe. It was their favourite diverſion, as well as employment, and women and men equally applied themſelves to it; ſometimes by fiſhing in their canoes, ſometimes by angling with baits, ſometimes by ſpearing them, and often by driving them into wicker cribs, which were conſtructed with more art than thoſe we ſee in uſe in many parts of *Europe*, and where they generally took immenſe ſhoals. Thoſe fiſh were dreſt upon wooden gridirons, and they managed the fire ſo, that the

flames

flames never took hold of them. Sometimes they boiled their fiſhes in clay-pots, which which were made by their women with ſo much dexterity, as to equal the art of any *European* potter; the round part being as exact as if it had been turned upon a wheel; but at thoſe boiled entertainments, they dreſſed in the ſame pot or kettle, not only all kinds of fiſh, but of fleſh and roots, which, when ſufficiently boiled, they ſerved up in a kind of baſkets. Mr. *Hariot* obſerves, that they were very moderate in their repaſts, to which he aſcribes the longevity they enjoyed when the *Engliſh* firſt diſcovered their country; but their ordinary food was maiz, which they eat from a mat, ſitting on the ground, the man on one ſide, and the woman on the other.

Their feſtivities.

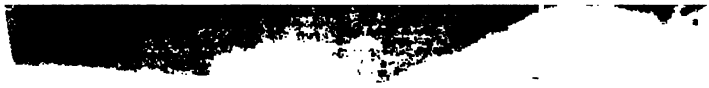
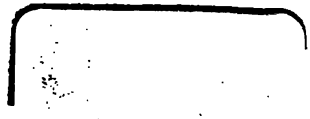
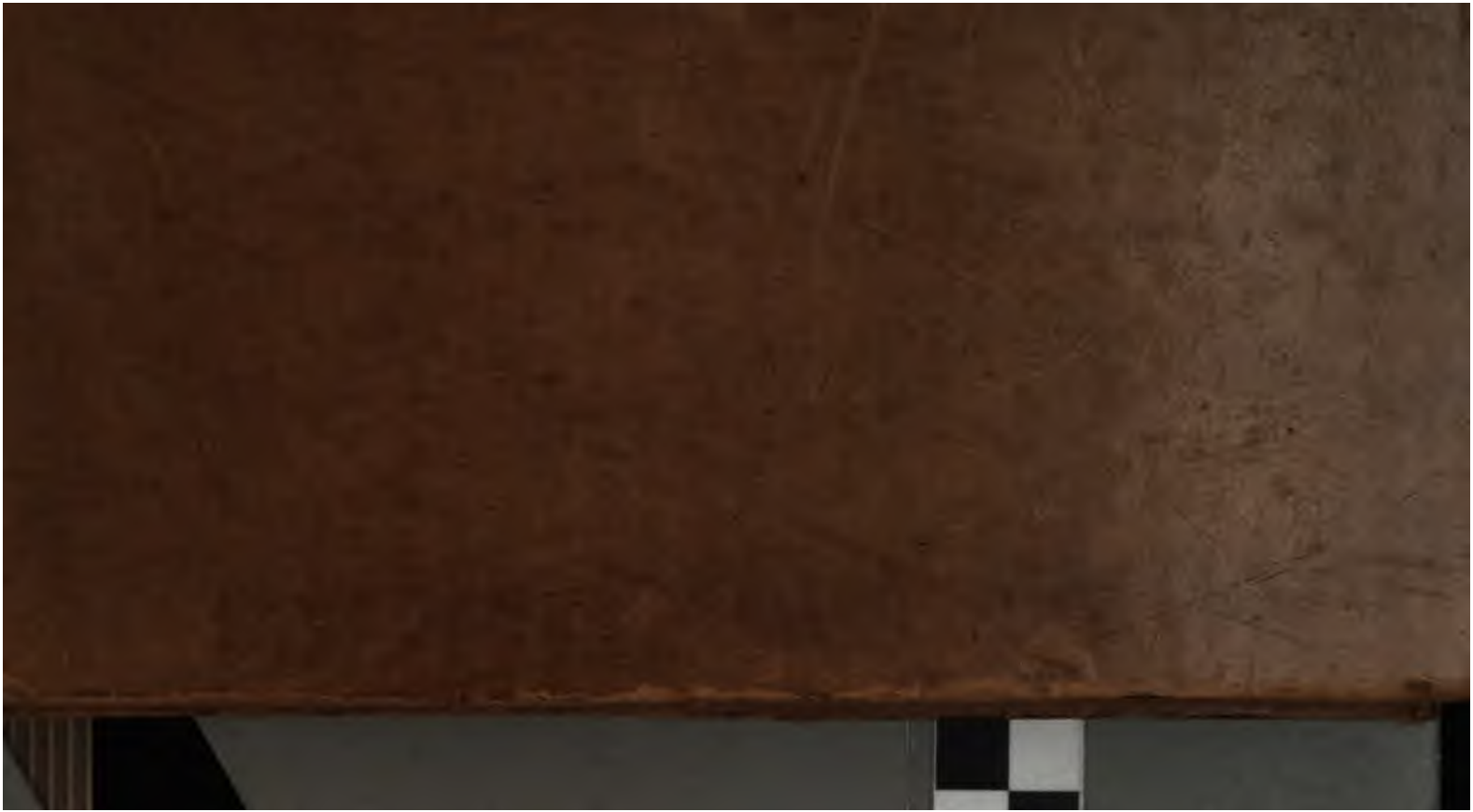
UPON ſolemn occaſions, ſuch as the finiſhing a war, or eſcaping from ſome great danger, they expreſſed their thankſgivings, by ſeating themſelves round a large fire, and beginning a rude concert of vocal and inſtrumental muſic; the latter being performed by a hollowed dried gourd, cucumber-ſhells, or thoſe of ſome other fruit, which they filled with ſmall pebbles, and rattled with great vehemence. Beſides thoſe temporary rejoicings, they had their anniverſary jubilees, which were celebrated by virgins, the particulars of which are ſo extraordinary, that we ſhould not have ventured to tranſcribe them, did they not reſt upon the moſt unqueſtionable authority. They marked out a circle in the midſt of a plain; round this circle, at certain diſtances, they drove poſts, each about a man's height, and reſembling *Roman Termini*, ending in the head of a woman carved, with a veil hanging from her brow down the ſides of the face. The time for this anniverſary celebration being arrived, the inhabitants of all the neighbouring country aſſembled, each with his rank and quality, and the name of his country, tribe, and village, marked upon his back. The young ladies, who are the only actors in this exhibition, next ranged themſelves at proper diſtances round the circle in the moſt fantaſtic dreſſes, and then they began a dance, with the moſt extravagant geſtures, that each could contrive; extravagance of motion being at that time looked upon as doing the higheſt honour to the aſſembly. To qualify the ridiculouſneſs of this circular chorus, three virgins, of the moſt exquiſite form and beauty, who had been ſelected from the reſt, were placed in the middle of the circle, in the very attitudes in which the antients repreſented the three graces, gently embracing one another, and in that form beating time with their feet to the rude muſic, which was compoſed of the excavated ſhells and pebbles we have already mentioned.

In

In all thoſe particulars, there was a great reſemblance be- *Dwellings.*
tween the manners of the *Virginians* and the *Floridans*. The like was obſervable in the conſtruction of their villages. The ſpot, on which they were built, was ſometimes a circle, the circumference of which conſiſted of ſtrong palliſadoes, but not ſo ſtrong as thoſe of the *Floridans*. Of the few buildings this circle contained, one was always a temple, covered with fine mats on the top, and admitting of no light, but by the door: oppoſite to that ſtood the dwelling of the headman of the village. All their houſes were built of ſlender piles, driven into the ground, and covered with mats, ſo as to admit, according to the ſeaſon of the year, juſt as much air and light as the inhabitant pleaſed. Near their village they always took care to dig a pond, which ſupplied it with water; but ſome of their towns, that of *Secota* particularly, that were not incloſed within thoſe palliſadoes, were by far the moſt pleaſant. In them, the houſes were laid out ſo, as to form a main ſtreet; and they had behind them gardens, fields, and paddocks, in which they raiſed tobacco, *Indian* corn, and other vegetables, beſides feeding-deer, and game of all kinds. Of thoſe improvements they were ſo careful, that they had watch-houſes for their fields, where a man was placed, to deter the birds from devouring the corn. In the ſame townſhip, they had their places of devotion as well as feaſting. The idol they worſhipped, was called *Kiwaſa*; it was carved out of wood, about four feet high, and ſeemed to be copied from the *Floridan* idols. The head was of a fleſh colour, the breaſt white, and all the reſt of the body black; it was placed at *Secota*, in the ſepulchre of the deceaſed princes; but we do not find that the natives were originally impreſſed with any great degree of devotion towards it; for it remained in the tomb as an object of terror rather than of worſhip. In other public repoſitories two, and ſometimes four, or more of thoſe idols, were placed for the ſame purpoſe, but all of them in the darkeſt part of the building, to give them the more tremendous appearance. As to the temple or place of ſepulchre itſelf, it is no other than a ſcaffolding, raiſed upon piles, nine or ten feet from the ground, covered with mattings, upon which they lay the bodies, after they have been carefully embowelled, and the ſkin ſtript, and all the fleſh ſcraped from them, all which, with the bowels, they wrap up in mats, and place at the feet of the ſkeletons; but they have an art of covering the ſkeleton with ſkins, ſo artfully ſtuffed, that it has the appearance of its never having been embowelled or anatomiſed. Below the ſcaffolding, the prieſts have their habitations, upon the ſkins of wild-beaſts,

and

and they were employed in conſtantly mumbling prayers and guarding the ſepulchre. The above are all the particulars which we have thought fit to inſert from the oldeſt and moſt authentic accounts of this mother-colony, and which have been omitted by more modern authors.

WITH regard to other points of the religion of thoſe natives, they are the ſame with what we are told of other ſavages, that they have general, but groſs ideas of a Deity; but we ſhall not venture to enter upon the modes of their belief of his exiſtence, as they are whimſical, and far from being univerſal amongſt the barbarians, and perhaps are greatly indebted to the ſpeculations and inventions of writers. As to the modern conſtitution of the colony, the reader can eaſily form a notion of it from the preceding hiſtory; and the laws, by which they are governed, are, as near as poſſible, conformable to thoſe of *England*. The population of *Virginia* is not near ſo numerous as might have been expected from ſo antient and flouriſhing a colony; nor are their towns of any conſiderable note. This laſt circumſtance is owing to the vaſt commodiouſneſs of water carriage, which every where preſents itſelf to the plantations of private planters, and the ſcarcity of handicrafts. *James-Town* is now ſcarcely to be mentioned, and *Williamſburgh* is conſiderable only as being the ſeat of provincial government, and of learning. *Virginia*, however, is diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral magnificent public buildings; it ſtill retains its original ſtaple-manufacture and commodity of tobacco, and they carry on a great trade with the *Weſt Indies*, in lumber, pitch, tar, corn, and proviſions; and with *Britain* for flax, hemp, iron, ſtaves, and plank. The preſent number of whites in *Virginia* is computed to be about 70,000, and that of the negroes 100,000; but by the good policy of the province, and temperature of the climate, they propagate here ſo well, as to require but few recruits from *Africa*.

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